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36

AN

# EXPOSITION

OF THE

# XXXIX ARTICLES

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

WRITTEN BY

GILBERT BISHOP OF SARUM.

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

1805.

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For the use of the
Clerks of All Souls
College. —

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TO THE

# KING.

SIR,

THE title of *Defender of the Faith*, the nobleſt of all thoſe which belong to this imperial Crown, that has received a new luſtre by Your MAJESTY's carrying it, is that which You have ſo gloriouſly acquired, that if Your MAJESTY had *not found* it among them, what You have *done* muſt have ſecured it to Yourſelf by the beſt of all claims. We ſhould be as much aſhamed not to give it to Your MAJESTY, as we were to give it to thoſe who had been fatally led into the deſign of overturning that, which has been beyond all the examples in hiſtory preſerved and hitherto maintained by Your MAJESTY.

The Reformation had its greateſt ſupport and ſtrength from the Crown of England; while two of Your renowned Anceſtors were the chief Defenders of it in foreign parts. The blood of England mixing ſo happily with theirs, in your Royal Perſon, ſeemed to give the world a ſure prognoſtic of what might be looked for from ſo great a conjunction. Your MAJESTY has outdone all expectations; and



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has brought matters to a ſtate far beyond all our hopes.

But amidſt the laurels that adorn You, and thoſe applauſes that do every where follow You, ſuffer me, GREAT SIR, in all humility to tell You, that your work is not yet done, nor your glory complete, till You have employed that power which God has put in your hands, and before which nothing has been able hitherto to ſtand, in the ſupporting and ſecuring this Church, in the bearing down Infidelity and Impiety, in the healing the wounds and breaches that are made among thoſe who do in common profeſs this Faith, but are unhappily disjointed and divided by ſome differences that are of leſs importance: and, above all things, in the raiſing the power and efficacy of this Religion, by a ſuitable reformation of our lives and manners.

How much ſoever men's hearts are out of the reach of human authority, yet their lives, and all outward appearances, are governed by the example and influences of their Sovereigns.

The effectual purſuing of theſe deſigns, as it is the greateſt of all thoſe glories of which mortals are capable; ſo it ſeems to be the only thing that is now wanting, to finiſh the brighteſt and perfecteſt character that will be in hiſtory.

It was in order to the promoting theſe ends, that I undertook this Work; which I do now moſt

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moſt humbly lay before Your MAJESTY, with the profoundeſt reſpect and ſubmiſſion.

May God preſerve Your MAJESTY, till You have glorioufly finiſhed what You have ſo wonderfully carried on. All that You have hitherto ſet about, how ſmall ſoever the beginnings and hopes were, has ſucceeded in your hands, to the amazement of the whole world: the moſt deſperate face of affairs has been able to give You no ſtop.

Your MAJESTY ſeems born under an aſcendant of Providence; and therefore, how low ſoever all our hopes are, either of raiſing the power of Religion, or of uniting thoſe who profeſs it; yet we have been taught to deſpair *of* nothing that is once undertaken by *Your* MAJESTY.

This will ſecure to You the bleſſing of the preſent and of all ſucceeding ages, and a full reward in that glorious and immortal ſtate that is before You: to which, that Your MAJESTY may have a ſure, though a late admittance, is the daily and moſt earneſt prayer of,

May it pleaſe Your MAJESTY,

Your Majeſty's moſt loyal,

moſt obedient, and moſt

devoted Subject and Servant,

GI. SARUM, C. G.

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# PREFACE.

IT has been often reckoned among the things that were wanting, that we had not a full and clear explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles, which are the ſum of our doctrine, and the confeſſion of our faith. The modeſty of ſome, and the caution of others, may have obliged them to let alone an undertaking, that might ſeem too aſſuming for any man to venture on, without a command from thoſe who had authority to give it. It has been likewiſe often ſuggeſted, that thoſe Articles ſeemed to be ſo plain a tranſcript of St. Auſtin's doctrine, in thoſe much diſputed points, concerning the *Decrees* of *God*, and the *Efficacy* of *Grace*, that they were not expounded by our Divines for that very reaſon; ſince the far greater number of them is believed to be now of a different opinion.

I ſhould have kept within the ſame bounds, if I had not been firſt moved to undertake this work by that *great Prelate*, who then ſate at the helm: and after that, determined in it by a command that was ſacred to me by reſpect, as well as by duty. Our late Primate lived long enough to ſee the deſign finiſhed. He read it over with an exactneſs that was peculiar to him. He employed ſome weeks wholly in peruſing it, and he corrected it with a care that deſcended even to the ſmalleſt matters; and was ſuch as he thought became the importance of this work. And when that was done, he returned it to me with a letter, that, as it was the laſt I ever had from him, ſo it gave the whole ſuch a cha-



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racter, that how much ſoever that might raiſe its value with true judges, yet in decency it muſt be ſuppreſſed by me, as being far beyond what any performance of mine could deſerve. He gave ſo favourable an account of it to our late bleſſed Queen, that ſhe was pleaſed to tell me, ſhe would find leiſure to read it: and the laſt time that I was admitted to the honour of waiting on her, ſhe commanded me to bring it to her. But ſhe was ſoon after that carried to the ſource, to the *fountain of life*, in whoſe *light* ſhe now ſees both *light* and truth. So great a breach as was then made upon all our hopes, put a ſtop upon this, as well as upon much greater deſigns.

This work has lain by me ever ſince: but has been often not only reviewed by myſelf, but by much better judges. The late moſt learned Biſhop of Worceſter read it very carefully. He marked every thing in it that he thought needed a review; and his cenſure was in all points ſubmitted to. He expreſſed himſelf ſo well pleaſed with it to myſelf, and to ſome others, that I do not think it becomes me to repeat what he ſaid of it. Both the moſt reverend Archbiſhops, with ſeveral of the Biſhops, and a great many learned Divines, have alſo read it. I muſt, indeed, on many accounts own, that they may be inclined to favour me too much, and to be too partial to me; yet they looked upon this work as a thing of that importance, that I have reaſon to believe they read it over ſeverely: and if ſome ſmall corrections may be taken for an indication that they ſaw no occaſion for greater ones, I had this likewiſe from ſeveral of them.

Yet after all theſe approbations, and many repeated deſires to me to publiſh it, I do not pretend to impoſe this upon the reader as the work of authority. For even our *moſt reverend Metropolitans* read it only as private divines, without ſo ſevere a canvaſſing of all particulars as muſt have been expected, if this had been intended to paſs for an authoriſed

thoriſed work under a public ſtamp. Therefore my deſign in giving this relation of the motives that led me firſt to compoſe, and now to publiſh this, is only to juſtify myſelf, both in the one and in the other, and to ſhew that I was not led by any preſumption of my own, or with any deſign to dictate to others.

In the next place, I will give an account of the method in which I executed this deſign. When I was a Profeſſor of Divinity thirty years ago, I was then obliged to run over a great many of the ſyſtems and bodies of divinity that were writ by the chief men of the ſeveral diviſions of Chriſtendom. I found many things among them that I could not like: the ſtiffneſs of method, the many dark terms, the niceties of logic, the artificial definitions, the heavineſs as well as the ſharpneſs of ſtyle, and the diffuſive length of them, diſguſted me: I thought the whole might well be brought into leſs compaſs, and be made ſhorter and more clear, leſs laboured, and more ſimple. I thought many controverſies might be cut off, ſome being only diſputes about words, and founded on miſtakes; and others being about matters of little conſequence, in which errors are leſs criminal, and ſo they may be more eaſily borne with. This ſet me then on compoſing a great work in divinity: but I ſtayed not long enough in that ſtation to go through above the half of it. I entered upon the ſame deſign again, but in another method, during my ſtay at London, in the privacy that I then enjoyed, after I had finiſhed the hiſtory of our Reformation. Theſe were advantages which made this performance much the eaſier to me: and perhaps the late Archbiſhop might, from what he knew of the progreſs I had made in them, judge me the more proper for this undertaking. For after I have ſaid ſo much to juſtify my own engaging in ſuch a work, I think I ought to ſay all I can to juſtify, or at leaſt to excuſe, his making choice of me for it.

When

When I had reſolved to try what I could do in this method, of following the thread of our Articles, I conſidered, that as I was to explain the Articles of this Church, ſo I ought to examine the writings of the chief Divines that lived either at the time in which they were prepared, or ſoon after it. When I was about the hiſtory of our Reformation, I had laid out for all the books that had been writ within the time comprehended in that period: and I was confirmed in my having ſucceeded well in that collection, by a printed catalogue, that was put out by one Manſel, in the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, of all the books that had been printed from the time that printing-preſſes were firſt ſet up in England to that year. This I had from the preſent Lord Archbiſhop of York; and I ſaw by it, that very few books had eſcaped my ſearch. Thoſe that I had not fallen on, were not writ by men of name, nor upon important ſubjects. I reſolved, in order to this work, to bring my enquiry further down.

The firſt, and indeed the much beſt writer of Queen Elizabeth's time, was Biſhop Jewel; the laſting honour of the ſee in which the providence of God has put me, as well as of the age in which he lived; who had ſo great a ſhare in all that was done then, particularly in compiling the ſecond book of Homilies, that I had great reaſon to look on his works as a very ſure commentary on our Articles, as far as they led me. From him I carried down my ſearch through Reynolds, Humphreys, Whitaker, and the other great men of that time.

Our Divines were much diverted in the end of that reign from better enquiries, by the *diſciplinarian controverſies*; and though what Whitgift and Hooker writ on thoſe heads, was much better than all that came after them; yet they neither ſatisfied thoſe againſt whom they writ, nor ſtopped the writings of their own ſide. But as waters guſh in, when the banks are once broken, ſo the breach that

theſe

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theſe had made, proved fruitful. Parties were formed, ſecular intereſts were grafted upon them, and new quarrels followed thoſe that firſt began the diſpute. The conteſts in Holland concerning *predeſtination* drew on another ſcene of contention among us as well as them, which was managed with great heat. Here was matter for angry men to fight it out, till they themſelves and the whole nation grew weary of it. The queſtion about the morality of the Fourth Commandment, was an unhappy incident, that raiſed a new ſtrife. The controverſies with the Church of Rome were for a long while much laid down. The Archbiſhop of Spalata's works had appeared with great pomp in King James's time, and they drew the obſervation of the learned world much after them; though his unhappy relapſe, and fatal cataſtrophe, made them be leſs read afterwards, than they well deſerved to have been.

When the progreſs of the houſe of Auſtria began to give their neighbours great apprehenſions, ſo that the Proteſtant religion ſeemed to come under a very thick cloud, and upon that jealouſies began to ariſe at home, in King Charles's reign, this gave occaſion to two of the beſt books that we yet have: the one ſet out by Archbiſhop Laud, writ with great learning, judgment, and exactneſs: the other by Chillingworth, writ with ſo clear a thread of reaſon, and in ſo lively a ſtyle, that it was juſtly reckoned the beſt book that had been writ in our language. It was about the niceſt point in Popery, that by which they had made the moſt proſelytes, and that had once impoſed on himſelf, concerning the infallibility of the Church, and the motives of credibility.

Soon after that, we fell into the confuſions of *civil war*, in which our Divines ſuffered ſo much, that, while they were put on their own defence againſt thoſe that had broke the peace of the Church and State, few books were written, but on thoſe

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thoſe ſubjects that were then in debate among ourſelves, concerning the government of the Church, and our Liturgy and ceremonies. The diſputes about the decrees of God were again managed with a new heat. There were alſo great abſtractions ſet on foot in thoſe times concerning *juſtification by faith*, and theſe were both ſo ſubtile, and did ſeem to have ſuch a tendency not only to *antinomianiſm*, but to a *libertine* courſe of life, that many books were writ on thoſe ſubjects. That noble work of the Polyglot Bible, together with the collection of the critics, ſet our Divines much on the ſtudy of the Scriptures, and the oriental tongues, in which Dr. Pocock and Dr. Lightfoot were ſingularly eminent. In all Dr. Hammond's writings one ſees great learning, and ſolid judgment; a juſt temper in managing controverſies; and, above all, a ſpirit of true and primitive piety, with great application to the right underſtanding of the Scriptures, and the directing of all to practice. Biſhop Pearſon on the *Creed*, as far as it goes, is the perfecteſt work we have. His learning was profound and exact, his method good, and his ſtyle clear: he was equally happy both in the force of his arguments, and in the plainneſs of his expreſſions.

Upon the reſtoration of the Royal Family, and the Church, the firſt ſcene of writing was naturally laid in the late times, and with relation to conformity. But we quickly ſaw that Popery was a reſtleſs thing, and was the ſtanding enemy of our Church: ſo ſoon as that ſhewed itſelf, then our Divines returned to thoſe controverſies, in which no man bare a greater ſhare, and ſucceeded in it with more honour, than Biſhop Stillingfleet, both in his vindication of Archbiſhop Laud, and in the long-continued diſpute concerning the *idolatry* of the *Church of Rome*. When the dangers of Popery came nearer us, and became ſenſible to all perſons, then a great number of our Divines engaged in thoſe controverſies. They writ ſhort and plain, and yet brought together,

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together, in a great variety of ſmall tracts, the ſubſtance of all that was contained in the large volumes, writ both by our own Divines, and by foreigners. There was in theſe a ſolidity of argument, mixed with an agreeableneſs in the way of writing, that both pleaſed and edified the nation; and did very much confound, and at laſt ſilence, the few and weak writers that were of the Romiſh ſide. The inequality that was in this conteſt was too viſible to be denied; and therefore they, who ſet it firſt on foot, let it fall: for they had other methods to which they truſted more, than to that unſucceſsful one of writing. In thoſe treatiſes, the ſubſtance of all our former books is ſo fully contained, and ſo well delivered, that in them the doctrines of our Church, as to all controverted points, are both clearly and copiouſly ſet forth.

The peruſing of all this was a large field: and yet I thought it became me to examine all with a due meaſure of exactneſs. I have taken what pains I could to digeſt every thing in the cleareſt method, and in the ſhorteſt compaſs, into which I could poſſibly bring it. So that in what I have done, I am, as to the far greateſt part, rather an hiſtorian and a collector of what others have writ, than an author myſelf. This I have performed faithfully, and I hope with ſome meaſure of diligence and exactneſs: yet if, in ſuch a variety, ſome important matters are forgot, and if others are miſtaken, I am ſo far from reckoning it an injury to have thoſe diſcovered, that I will gladly receive any advices of that kind: I will conſider them carefully, and make the beſt uſe of them I can, for the undeceiving of others, as ſoon as I am convinced that I have miſled them.

If men ſeek for truth in the meekneſs of Chriſt, they will follow this method in thoſe private and brotherly practices recommended to us by our Saviour. But for thoſe that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, I ſhall very little regard any oppoſition

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poſition that may come from them. I had no other deſign in this work, but firſt to find out the truth myſelf, and then to help others to find it out. If I ſucceed to any degree in this deſign, I will bleſs God for it: and if I fail in it, I will bear it with the humility and patience that becomes me. But as ſoon as I ſee a better work of this kind, I ſhall be among the firſt of thoſe who ſhall recommend that, and diſparage this.

There is no part of this whole work, in which I have laboured with more care, and have writ in a more uncommon method, than concerning *predeſtination*. For, as my ſmall reading had carried me further in that controverſy than in any other whatſoever, both with relation to ancients and moderns, and to the moſt eſteemed books in all the different parties; ſo I weighed the Article with that impartial care that I thought became me; and have taken a method, which is, for aught I know, new, of ſtating the arguments of all ſides with ſo much fairneſs, that thoſe, who knew my own opinion in this point, have owned to me, that they could not diſcover it by any thing that I had written. They were inclined to think that I was of another mind than they took me to be, when they read my arguings of that ſide. I have not, in the explanation of that Article, told what my own opinion was; yet here I think it may be fitting to own, that I follow the doctrine of the Greek Church, from which St. Auſtin departed, and formed a new ſyſtem. After this declaration, I may now appeal both to St. Auſtin's diſciples, and to the Calviniſts, whether I have not ſtated both their opinions and arguments, not only with truth and candour, but with all poſſible advantages.

One reaſon, among others, that led me to follow the method I have purſued in this controverſy, is to offer at the beſt means I can for bringing men to a better underſtanding of one another, and to a mutual forbearance in theſe matters. This is at preſent

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preſent the chief point in difference between the Lutherans and the Calviniſts. Expedients for bringing them to an union in theſe heads, are projects that can never have any good effect: men whoſe opinions are ſo different, can never be brought to an agreement: and the ſettling on ſome equivocal formularies, will never lay the contention that has ariſen concerning them: the only poſſible way of a ſound and laſting reconciliation, is to poſſeſs both parties with a ſenſe of the force of the arguments that lie on the other ſide; that they may ſee they are no way contemptible; but are ſuch as may prevail on wiſe and good men. Here is a foundation laid for charity: and if to this, men would add a juſt ſenſe of the difficulties in their own ſide, and conſider, that the ill conſequences drawn from opinions, are not to be charged on all that hold them, unleſs they do likewiſe own thoſe conſequences; then it would be more eaſy to agree on ſome general propoſitions, by which thoſe ill conſequences might be condemned, and the doctrine in general ſettled; leaving it free to the men of the different ſyſtems to adhere to their own opinions; but withal obliging them to judge charitably and favourably of others, and to maintain communion with them, notwithſtanding that diverſity.

It is a good ſtep even to the bringing men over to an opinion, to perſuade them to think well of thoſe who hold it. This goes as it were half way; and if it is not poſſible to bring men quite to think as we do, yet a great deal is done both towards that, and towards the healing thoſe wounds in which the Church lies a bleeding, when they come to join in the ſame communion, and in ſuch acts of worſhip as do agree with their different perſuaſions. For as in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, both Lutherans and Calviniſts agreeing in the ſame devotions and acts of worſhip, a mere point of ſpeculation concerning the manner in which Chriſt is preſent, ought not to divide thoſe who agree in every thing elſe

elſe that relates to the ſacrament; every one may in that be left to the freedom of his own thoughts, ſince neither opinion has any influence on practice, or on any part either of public worſhip, or of ſecret devotion.

Upon the ſame account it may be alſo ſuggeſted, that when all parties acknowledge that God is the ſovereign Lord of the univerſe; that he governs it by a providence, from which nothing is hid, and to which nothing can reſiſt; and that he is likewiſe holy and juſt, true and faithful, merciful and gracious in all his ways; thoſe who agree about all this, ſhould not differ, though they cannot fall into the ſame methods of reconciling theſe together. And if they do all agree to bleſs God for all the good that they either do or receive, and to accuſe themſelves for all the ill that they either do or ſuffer: if they agree that they ought to be humble, and to miſtruſt their own ſtrength, to pray earneſtly to God for aſſiſtance, and to depend on him, to truſt to him, and likewiſe to employ their own faculties with all poſſible care and diligence, in the cleanſing their hearts, and governing their words and actions; here the great truths of both ſides are ſafe; every thing that has an influence on practice is agreed on; though neither ſide can meet in the ſame ways of joining all theſe together.

In the Church of Rome the difference is really the ſame between St. Auſtin's diſciples, and the followers of Molina: and yet, how much ſoever they may differ and diſpute in the ſchools, their worſhip being the ſame, they do all join in it. We of this Church are very happy in this reſpect; we have all along been much divided, and once almoſt broken to pieces, while we diſputed concerning theſe matters: but now we are much happier; for though we know one another's opinions, we live not only united in the ſame worſhip, but in great friendſhip and love with thoſe of other perſuaſions. And the boldneſs of ſome among us, who have reflected

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flected in ſermons, or otherwiſe, on thoſe who hold Calvin's ſyſtem, has been much blamed, and often cenſured by thoſe who, though they hold the ſame opinions with them, yet are both more charitable in their thoughts, and more diſcreet in their expreſſions.

But till the Lutherans abate of their rigidity in cenſuring the opinions of the Calviniſts, as charging God with all thoſe blaſphemous conſequences that they think follow the doctrine of abſolute decrees; and till the Calviniſts in Holland, Switzerland, and Geneva, abate alſo of theirs, in charging the others as enemies to the grace of God, and as guilty of thoſe conſequences that they think follow the doctrine of conditionate decrees, it is not poſſible to ſee that much wiſhed for agreement come to any good effect.

He who believes that an ill conſequence is juſtly drawn from any opinion, is in the right, when he is by that determined againſt it. But becauſe he thinks he ſees that the conſequence is clear, and cannot be avoided; he ought not for that to judge ſo ill of thoſe who hold the opinion, but declare at the ſame time, that they abhor the conſequence; that they prevaricate in that declaration; and that they both ſee the conſequence, and own it; though for decency's ſake they diſclaim it. He ought rather to think, that either they do not ſee the conſequence, but ſatisfy themſelves with ſome of thoſe diſtinctions, with which it is avoided; or, that though they do ſee it, yet they look on that only as an objection, which indeed they cannot well anſwer. They may think that a point of doctrine may be proved by ſuch convincing arguments, that they may be bound to believe it, though there lie objections againſt it which they cannot avoid, and conſequences ſeem to follow on it which they abhor, and are ſure cannot be true, though they cannot clear the matter ſo well as they wiſh they could do. In that caſe, when a man is inclined by ſtrong



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arguments to an opinion, againſt which he ſees difficulties which he cannot reſolve, he ought either to ſuſpend his aſſent; or, if he ſees a ſuperiority of argument of one ſide, he may be determined by that, though he cannot ſatisfy even himſelf in the objections that are againſt it: in that caſe he ought to reflect on the weakneſs and defects of his faculties, which cannot riſe up to full and comprehenſive ideas of things, eſpecially in that which relates to the attributes of God, and to his counſels or acts. If men can be brought once to apprehend this rightly, it may make propoſitions for peace and union hopeful and practicable; and till they are brought to this, all ſuch propoſitions may well be laid aſide; for men's minds are not yet prepared for that which can only reconcile this difference, and heal this breach.

I ſhall conclude this preface with a reply, that a very eminent Divine among the Lutherans in Germany made to me, when I was preſſing this matter of union with the Calviniſts upon him, with all the topics with which I could urge it, as neceſſary upon many accounts, and more particularly with relation to the preſent ſtate of affairs. He ſaid, he wondered much to ſee a Divine of the Church of England preſs that ſo much on him, when we, notwithſtanding the danger we were then in, (it was in the year 1686,) could not agree our differences. They differed about important matters, concerning the attributes of God, and his providence; concerning the guilt of ſin, whether it was to be charged on God, or on the ſinner; and whether men ought to make good uſe of their faculties, or if they ought to truſt entirely to an irreſiſtible grace? Theſe were matters of great moment: but, he ſaid, we in England differed only about forms of government and worſhip, and about things that were of their own nature indifferent; and yet we had been quarrelling about theſe for above an hundred years; and we were not yet grown wiſer by all the miſ-

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miſchief that this had done us, and by the imminent danger we were then in. He concluded, Let the Church of England heal her own breaches, and then all the reſt of the reformed Churches will with great reſpect admit of her mediation to heal theirs. I will not preſume to tell how I anſwered this: but I pray God to enlighten and direct all men, that they may conſider well how it ought to be anſwered.



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# ARTICULI RELIGIONIS.

## Anno 1562.

THE Articles of our Church were at the ſame time prepared both in Latin and Engliſh; ſo that both are equally authentical: it is therefore proper to give them here in Latin, ſince the Engliſh of them is only inſerted in the following work. This is the more neceſſary, becauſe many of the collations ſet down at the end of the introduction, relate to the Latin text.

*ARTICULI de quibus convenit inter Archiepiſcopos et Epiſcopos utriuſque Provinciæ, et Clerum Univerſum in Synodo, Londini, Anno 1562. ſecundum computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ad tollendam opinionum diſſentionem, et conſenſum in vera Religione firmandum. Editi Authoritate ſereniſſimæ Reginæ.* Londini, apud Johannem Day, 1571.

### I. *De fide in ſacro-ſanctam Trinitatem.*

UNUS eſt vivus, et verus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impaſſibilis, immenſæ potentiæ, ſapientiæ ac bonitatis, creator et conſervator omnium, tum viſibilium, tum inviſibilium. Et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ tres ſunt perſonæ, ejuſdem eſſentiæ, potentiæ ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus ſanctus.

### II. *De verbo, ſive Filio Dei, qui verus homo factus eſt.*

FILIUS, qui eſt verbum patris, ab æterno a patre genitus, verus et æternus Deus, ac patri conſubſtantialis, in utero beatæ virginis, ex illius ſubſtantia naturam humanam aſſumpſit: ita ut duæ naturæ, divina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate perſonæ fuerint inſeparabiliter conjunctæ, ex quibus eſt unus Chriſtus, verus Deus et verus homo, qui vere paſſus eſt, crucifixus, mortuus, et ſepultus, ut patrem nobis reconciliaret, eſſetque hoſtia, non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.



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III. *De descensu Christi ad Inferos.*

QUEMADMODUM Christus pro nobis mortuus est, et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad Inferos descendisse.

IV. *De resurrectione Christi.*

CHRISTUS vere a mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit: cum quibus in cœlum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad judicandos homines reversurus sit.

V. *De Spiritu sancto.*

SPIRITUS sanctus, a patre et filio procedens, ejusdem est cum patre et filio essentiæ, majestatis, et gloriæ, verus ac æternus Deus.

VI. *De divinis Scripturis, quod sufficiant ad salutem.*

SCRIPTURA sacra continet omnia, quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, neque inde probari potest, non sit a quoquam exigendum, ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur, aut ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.

Sacræ Scripturæ nomine, eos Canonicos libros veteris et novi Testamenti intelligimus, de quorum authoritate, in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.

*De nominibus et numero librorum sacræ Canonicæ Scripturæ veteris Testamenti.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Genesis. | Prior liber Paralipom. |
| Exodus. | Secundus liber Paralipom. |
| Leviticus. | Primus liber Esdræ. |
| Numeri. | Secundus liber Esdræ. |
| Deuteron. | Liber Hester. |
| Josuæ. | Liber Job. |
| Judicum. | Psalmi. |
| Ruth. | Proverbia. |
| Prior liber Samuelis. | Ecclesiastes vel Concionator. |
| Secundus liber Samuelis. | Cantica Solomonis. |
| Prior liber Regum. | IV Prophetæ Majores. |
| Secundus liber Regum. | XII Prophetæ Minores. |

*Alios autem libros (ut ait Hieronymus) legit quidem Ecclesia, ad exempla vitæ, et formandos mores: illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet, ut sunt*

| | |
|---|---|
| Tertius liber Esdræ. | Liber Tobiæ. |
| Quartus liber Esdræ. | Liber Judith. |

Reliquum

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| | |
|---|---|
| Reliquum libri Hester. | Historia Susannæ. |
| Liber Sapientiæ. | De Bel et Dracone. |
| Liber Jesu filii Sirach. | Oratio Manassis. |
| Baruch propheta. | Prior liber Machabeorum. |
| Canticum trium puerorum. | Secundus liber Machabeorum. |

Novi Testamenti omnes libros (ut vulgo recepti sunt) recipimus, et habemus pro Canonicis.

### VII. *De veteri Testamento.*

TESTAMENTUM vetus novo contrarium non est, quandoquidem tam in veteri, quam in novo, per Christum, qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, æterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare male sentiunt, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias speransse confingunt. Quanquam lex a Deo data per Mosen (quoad cæremonias et ritus) Christianos non astringat, neque civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua republica necessario recipi debeant, nihilominus tamen ab obedientia mandatorum (quæ moralia vocantur) nullus (quantumvis Christianus) est solutus.

### VIII. *De tribus Symbolis.*

SYMBOLA tria, Nicænum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolorum appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt, et credenda, *nam firmissimis* Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt.

### IX. *De peccato originali.*

PECCATUM originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium, et depravatio naturæ, cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati: qua fit, ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat, unde in unoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio. Qua fit, ut affectus carnis, Græce Φρόνημα σαρκὸς, (quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis interpretantur,) legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam, fatetur Apostolus.

### X. *De libero arbitrio.*

EA est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis viribus, et bonis operibus, ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac præparare non possit. Quare absque gratia Dei (quæ per Christum est) nos præveniente, ut velimus, et cooperante, dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sunt et accepta, nihil valemus.



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XI. *De hominis juſtificatione.*

TANTUM propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, per fidem, non propter opera, et merita noſtra, juſti coram Deo reputamur. Quare ſola fide nos juſtificari doctrina eſt ſaluberrima, ac conſolationis pleniſſima, ut in homilia de juſtificatione hominis fuſius explicatur.

XII. *De bonis operibus.*

BONA opera, quæ ſunt fructus fidei, et juſtificatos ſequuntur, quanquam peccata noſtra expiare, et divini judicii ſeveritatem ferre non poſſunt; Deo tamen grata ſunt, et accepta in Chriſto, atque ex vera et viva fide neceſſario profluunt, ut plane ex illis, æque fides viva cognoſci poſſit, atque arbor ex fructu judicari.

XIII. *De operibus ante juſtificationem.*

OPERA quæ fiunt ante gratiam Chriſti, et ſpiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide Jeſu Chriſti non prodeant, minime Deo grata ſunt, neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur. Immo cum non ſunt facta, ut Deus illa fieri voluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

XIV. *De operibus ſupererogationis.*

OPERA quæ ſupererogationis appellant, non poſſunt ſine arrogantia et impietate prædicari. Nam illis declarant homines, non tantum ſe Deo reddere, quæ tenentur, ſed plus in ejus gratiam facere, quam deberent, cum aperte Chriſtus dicat; Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta ſunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles ſumus.

XV. *De Chriſto, qui ſolus eſt ſine peccato.*

CHRISTUS in noſtræ naturæ veritate, per omnia ſimilis factus eſt nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorſus erat immunis, tum in carne, tum in ſpiritu. Venit ut agnus, abſque macula, qui mundi peccata per immolationem ſui ſemel factam tolleret, et peccatum (ut inquit Johannes) in eo non erat: ſed nos reliqui etiam baptizati, et in Chriſto regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes. Et ſi dixerimus, quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipſos ſeducimus, et veritas in nobis non eſt.

XVI. *De peccato poſt Baptiſmum.*

NON omne peccatum mortale poſt Baptiſmum voluntarie perpetratum, eſt peccatum in Spiritum ſanctum, et irremiſſibile. Proinde lapſis a Baptiſmo in peccata, locus pœnitentiæ non eſt negandus. Poſt acceptum Spiritum ſanctum poſſumus a gratia data recedere, atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam

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gratiam Dei resurgere, ac resipiscere; ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se, quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus veniæ locum denegant.

## XVII. *De prædestinatione, et electione.*

PRÆDESTINATIO ad vitam, est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit, eos quos in Christo elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque (ut vasa in honorem efficta) per Christum, ad æternam salutem adducere. Unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi spiritu ejus, opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur, vocationi per gratiam parent, justificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios Dei, unigeniti ejus Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus sancte ambulant, et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum prædestinationis et electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis, et his qui sentiunt in se vim spiritus Christi, facta carnis, et membra, quæ adhuc sunt super terram, mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia et superna rapientem; tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum *plurimum* stabilit atque confirmat, tum quia amorem *nostrum* in Deum vehementer accendit: ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit, vel in desperationem, vel in æque pernicioſam impuriſſimæ vitæ securitatem, deinde promissiones divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt, et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus, diserte revelatam.

## XVIII. *De speranda æterna salute tantum in nomine Christi.*

SUNT et illi anathematizandi, qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate vixerit, cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

## XIX. *De Ecclesia.*

ECCLESIA Christi visibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, et sacramenta, quoad ea quæ necessario exigantur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena; ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum

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lum quoad agenda, et cæremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quæ credenda ſunt.

### XX. *De Eccleſiæ authoritate.*

HABET Eccleſia ritus ſive cæremonias ſtatuendi jus, et in fidei controverſiis authoritatem; quamvis Eccleſiæ non licet quicquam inſtituere, quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur, nec unum ſcripturæ locum ſic exponere poteſt, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Eccleſia ſit divinorum librorum teſtis et conſervatrix, attamen ut adverſus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de neceſſitate ſalutis debet obtrudere.

### XXI. *De authoritate Conciliorum generalium.*

GENERALIA Concilia ſine juſſu et voluntate Principum congregari non poſſunt; et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus conſtant, qui non omnes ſpiritu et verbo Dei reguntur, et errare poſſunt, et interdum errarunt etiam in his quæ ad Deum pertinent: ideoque quæ ab illis conſtituuntur, ut ad ſalutem neceſſaria, neque robur habent, neque authoritatem, niſi oſtendi poſſint e ſacris literis eſſe deſumpta.

### XXII. *De Purgatorio.*

DOCTRINA Romanenſium de purgatorio, de indulgentiis, de veneratione, et adoratione, tum imaginum, tum reliquiarum, nec non de invocatione ſanctorum, res eſt futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum teſtimoniis innititur: immo verbo Dei contradicit.

### XXIII. *De miniſtrando in Eccleſia.*

NON licet cuiquam ſumere ſibi munus publice prædicandi, aut adminiſtrandi Sacramenta in Eccleſia, niſi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et miſſus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et miſſos exiſtimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus poteſtas vocandi miniſtros, atque mittendi in vineam Domini, publice conceſſa eſt in Eccleſia, cooptati fuerint, et adſciti in hoc opus.

### XXIV. *De loquendo in Eccleſia lingua quam populus intelligit.*

LINGUA populo non intellecta, publicas in Eccleſia preces peragere, aut Sacramenta adminiſtrare, verbo Dei, et primitivæ Eccleſiæ conſuetudini plane repugnat.

### XXV. *De Sacramentis.*

SACRAMENTA a Chriſto inſtituta, non tantum ſunt notæ profeſſionis Chriſtianorum, ſed certa quædam potius teſtimonia, et efficacia ſigna gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis

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tatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nos operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta: scilicet, Baptismus, et Cœna Domini.

Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta: scilicet, confirmatio, pœnitentia, ordo, matrimonium, et extrema unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ, partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitæ status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati: sed sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Cœna Domini rationem non habentes, ut quæ signum aliquod visibile, seu cæremoniam, a Deo institutam, non habeant.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur, aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur, et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt salutarem habent effectum: Qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

## XXVI. *De vi institutionum divinarum, quod eam non tollat malitia Ministrorum.*

QUAMVIS in Ecclesia visibili, bonis mali semper sunt admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et Sacramentorum administrationi præsint; tamen cum non suo, sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et authoritate ministrent, *illorum* ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in Sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrentur.

Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiratur, accusenturque ab his, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem justo convicti judicio deponantur.

## XXVII. *De Baptismo.*

BAPTISMUS non est tantum professionis signum, ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod, tanquam per instrumentum, recte baptismum suscipientes, Ecclesiæ inseruntur, promissiones de remissione peccatorum, atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinæ invocationis gratia augetur.

Baptismus parvulorum omnino in Ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.

XXVIII.

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## XXVIII. *De Cœna Domini.*

CŒNA Domini non eſt tantum ſignum mutuæ benevolentiæ Chriſtianorum inter ſeſe, verum potius eſt Sacramentum noſtræ per mortem Chriſti redemptionis.

Atque adeo, rite, digne, et cum fide ſumentibus, panis quem frangimus eſt communicatio corporis Chriſti: ſimiliter poculum benedictionis eſt communicatio ſanguinis Chriſti.

Panis et vini tranſubſtantiatio in Euchariſtia ex ſacris literis probari non poteſt. Sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adverſatur, Sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum ſuperſtitionum dedit occaſionem.

Corpus Chriſti datur, accipitur, et manducatur in Cœna, tantum cœleſti et ſpirituali ratione. Medium autem, quo corpus Chriſti accipitur et manducatur in Cœna, fides eſt.

Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ ex inſtitutione Chriſti non ſervabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

## XXIX. *De manducatione corporis Chriſti, et impios illud non manducare.*

IMPII, et fide viva deſtituti, licet carnaliter et viſibiliter (ut Auguſtinus loquitur) corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti Sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Chriſti participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tantæ rei Sacramentum, ſeu Symbolum, ad judicium ſibi manducant et bibunt.

## XXX. *De utraque ſpecie.*

CALIX Domini laicis non eſt denegandus, utraque enim pars Dominici Sacramenti, ex Chriſti inſtitutione et præcepto, omnibus Chriſtianis ex æquo adminiſtrari debet.

## XXXI. *De unica Chriſti oblatione in cruce perfecta.*

OBLATIO Chriſti ſemel facta, perfecta eſt redemptio, propitiatio, et ſatisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus, quam actualibus; neque præter illam unicam eſt ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio: unde miſſarum ſacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, ſacerdotem offerre Chriſtum in remiſſionem pœnæ, aut culpæ, pro vivis et defunctis, blaſphema figmenta ſunt, et pernicioſæ impoſturæ.

## XXXII. *De conjugio Sacerdotum.*

EPISCOPIS, preſbyteris, et diaconis nullo mandato divino præceptum eſt, ut aut cœlibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abſtineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut cæteris omnibus Chriſtianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere judicaverint, pro ſuo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.

XXXIII.

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## XXXIII. *De excommunicatis vitandis.*

QUI per publicam Ecclesiæ denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus est, et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine (donec per pœnitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio judicis competentis) habendus est tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.

## XXXIV. *De traditionibus Ecclesiasticis.*

TRADITIONES atque cæremonias easdem, non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles. Nam ut variæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum, et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituatur.

Traditiones, et cæremonias ecclesiasticas, quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt authoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens, et data opera, publice violaverit, is ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, quique lædit authoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quælibet Ecclesia particularis, sive nationalis, authoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi cæremonias, aut ritus ecclesiasticos, humana tantum authoritate institutos, modo omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

## XXXV. *De Homiliis.*

TOMUS secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic articulo subjunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam, et his temporibus necessariam, non minus quam prior Tomus Homiliarum, quæ editæ sunt tempore Edwardi sexti: Itaque eas in Ecclesiis per ministros diligenter, et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse judicavimus.

### *De nominibus Homiliarum.*

*Of the right Use of the Church.*
*Against peril of Idolatry.*
*Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.*
*Of good Works.*
*First, Of Fasting.*
*Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.*
*Against excess in Apparel.*
*Of Prayer.*
*Of the place and time of Prayer.*
*That common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known Tongue.*
*Of the reverent estimation of God's Word.*
*Of Alms-doing.*
*Of the Nativity of Christ.*
*Of the Passion of Christ.*
*Of the Resurrection of Christ.*
*Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.*
*Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

*Of*

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*Of the Rogation-Days.*
*Of the State of Matrimony.*
*Of Repentance.*
*Againſt Idleneſs.*
*Againſt Rebellion.*

## XXXVI. *De Epiſcoporum et Miniſtrorum conſecratione.*

LIBELLUS de conſecratione Archiepiſcoporum, et Epiſcoporum, et de ordinatione Preſbyterorum et Diaconorum, editus nuper temporibus Edwardi VI. et authoritate Parliamenti illis ipſis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad ejuſmodi conſecrationem et ordinationem neceſſaria continet, et nihil habet, quod ex ſe ſit, aut ſuperſtitioſum, aut impium: itaque quicunque juxta ritus illius libri conſecrati aut ordinati ſunt, ab anno ſecundo prædicti regis Edwardi, uſque ad hoc tempus, aut in poſterum juxta eoſdem ritus conſecrabuntur, aut ordinabuntur, rite atque ordine, atque legitime ſtatuimus eſſe, et fore conſecratos et ordinatos.

## XXXVII. *De civilibus Magiſtratibus.*

REGIA Majeſtas in hoc Angliæ regno, ac cæteris ejus dominiis, ſummam habet poteſtatem, ad quam omnium ſtatuum hujus regni, ſive illi eccleſiaſtici ſint, ſive civiles, in omnibus cauſis, ſuprema gubernatio pertinet, et nulli externæ juriſdictioni eſt ſubjecta, nec eſſe debet.

Cum Regiæ Majeſtati ſummam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi, non damus Regibus noſtris, aut verbi Dei, aut Sacramentorum adminiſtrationem, quod etiam Injunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina noſtra, nuper editæ, apertiſſime teſtantur: ſed eam tantum prærogativam, quam in ſacris Scripturis a Deo ipſo, omnibus piis Principibus, videmus ſemper fuiſſe attributam: hoc eſt, ut omnes ſtatus atque ordines fidei ſuæ a Deo commiſſos, ſive illi eccleſiaſtici ſint, ſive civiles, in officio contineant, et contumaces ac delinquentes gladio civili coerceant.

Romanus pontifex nullam habet juriſdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Leges regni poſſunt Chriſtianos propter capitalia, et gravia crimina, morte punire.

Chriſtianis licet, ex mandato magiſtratus, arma portare, et juſta bella adminiſtrare.

## XXXVIII. *De illicita bonorum communicatione.*

FACULTATES et bona Chriſtianorum non ſunt communia, quoad jus et poſſeſſionem, (ut quidam Anabaptiſtæ falſo jactant,) debet tamen quiſque de his quæ poſſidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemoſynas benigne diſtribuere.

XXXIX.

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## XXXIX. *De jurejurando.*

QUEMADMODUM juramentum vanum et temerarium a Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, et Apoſtolo ejus Jacobo, Chriſtianis hominibus interdictum eſſe fatemur: Ita Chriſtianorum Religionem minime prohibere cenſemus, quin jubente magiſtratu in cauſa fidei et charitatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in juſtitia, in judicio, et veritate.

## *Confirmatio Articulorum.*

HIC liber antedictorum Articulorum jam denuo approbatus eſt, per aſſenſum et conſenſum Sereniſſimæ Reginæ Elizabethæ Dominæ noſtræ, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Reginæ, defenſoris fidei, &c. retinendus, et per totum regnum Angliæ exequendus. Qui Articuli et lecti ſunt, et denuo confirmati ſubſcriptione D. Archiepiſcopi et Epiſcoporum ſuperioris domus, et totius Cleri inferioris domus, in Convocatione, Anno Domini 1571.

CONTENTS.

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# CONTENTS.


*INTRODUCTION*, Page 1
*Hereſies gave the riſe to larger Articles*, ibid.
*A form of doctrine ſettled by the Apoſtles*, 2
*Biſhops ſent round them a declaration of their faith*, 3
*Theſe were afterwards enlarged*, ibid.
*This done at the Council of* Nice, ibid.
*Many wild Sects at the beginning of the Reformation*, 5
*And many complying Papiſts put them on framing this collection*, 6
*The Articles ſet out at firſt by the King's Authority*, 7
*A queſtion whether they are only Articles of peace or doctrine*, ibid.
*They bind the conſciences of the Clergy*, 8
*The Laity only bound to peace by them*, ibid.
*The ſubſcription to them imports an aſſent to them, and not only an acquieſcing in them*, 10
*But the Articles may have different ſenſes; and if the words will bear them, there is no prevarication in ſubſcribing them ſo*, ibid.
*This illuſtrated in the third Article*, 11
*The various readings of the Articles collated with the MSS.* 12
*An account of thoſe various readings*, 20

ARTICLE I. 22

*That there is a God, proved by the conſent of mankind*, ibid.
Obj. 1. *Some nations do not believe a Deity. This is anſwered*, 23
Obj. 2. *It is not the ſame belief among them all. This is anſwered*, 24
*The viſible world proves a Deity*, ibid.
*Time nor number cannot be eternal nor infinite*, 25
*Moral arguments to prove that the world had a beginning*, 26
*Such a regular frame could not be fortuitous*, 27
*Objection from the production of inſects anſwered*, ibid.
*Argument from miracles well atteſted*, 28
*Argument from the idea of God examined*, 29
*God is eternal, and neceſſarily exiſts*, ibid.




Digitized by Google

*The Unity of the Deity,* 31
*God is without body,* 32
*Outward manifestations only to declare his presence and authority,* 33
*No successive acts in God,* 34
*Question concerning God's immanent acts,* ibid.
*God has no passions,* 35
*Phrases in Scripture of these explained,* ibid.
*Some thoughts concerning the power and wisdom of God,* 36
*True ideas of the goodness of God,* 37
*Of Creation and Annihilation,* 39
*Of the providence of God,* 41
*Objections against it answered,* ibid.
*Whether God does immediately produce all things,* 43
*Thought and liberty not proper to matter,* 44
*Whether beasts think, or are only machines,* ibid.
*How bodies and spirits are united,* 45
*The doctrine of the Trinity,* 47
*Whether revealed in the Old Testament, or not,* ibid.
*The doctrine stated,* 48
*Argument from the form of Baptism,* 50
*Other arguments for it,* ibid.
*This was received in the first ages of Christianity,* 52
*Some attempt to the stating true ideas of God,* 53

ARTICLE II. 56
*Christ, how the Son of God,* ibid.
*Argument from the beginning of St.* John's *Gospel,* 57
*Reflections on the state of the world at that time,* 58
*Arguments from the Epistle to the* Philippians, 59
*Other arguments complicated,* 61
*Argument from adoration due to him,* 62
*The silence of the* Jews *proves this was not then thought to be idolatry by them,* 64
*Argument from the Epistle to the* Hebrews, 65
*God and man in Christ made one Person,* 67
*An account of* Nestorius's *doctrine,* 68
*Christ was to us an expiatory sacrifice,* 69
*An account of expiatory sacrifices,* ibid.
*The agonies of Christ explained,* 71

ARTICLE III. 73
Ruffin *first published this in the Creed,* ibid.
*Several senses put on this Article,* 74
*A local descent into Hell,* 75
*What may be the true sense of the Article,* 76

ARTICLE

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE IV. 77
*The proof of Chriſt's Reſurrection,* ibid.
*The* Jews *in that time did not diſprove it,* 79
*Several proofs of the incredibility of a forgery in this matter,* ibid.
*The nature and proof of a miracle,* 81
*What muſt be aſcribed to good or evil ſpirits,* 82
*The Apoſtles could not be impoſed on,* 83
*Nor could they have impoſed on the world,* ibid.
*Of Chriſt's Aſcenſion,* 85
*Curioſity in theſe matters taxed,* ibid.
*The authority with which Chriſt is now veſted,* 87
ARTICLE V. 89
*The ſenſes of the word,* Holy Ghoſt, ibid.
*It ſtands oft for a Perſon,* 90
*Curioſities to be avoided about Proceſſion,* 91
*The Holy Ghoſt is truly God,* 92
ARTICLE VI. 94
*The controverſy about oral tradition,* 95
*That was ſoon corrupted,* 96
*Guarded againſt by Revelation,* 97
*Tradition corrupted among the* Jews, 98
*The Scripture appealed to by Chriſt and the Apoſtles,* 99
*What is well proved from Scripture,* 101
*Objections from the darkneſs of Scripture anſwered,* ibid.
*No ſure guard againſt error, nor againſt ſin,* 103
*The proof of the Canon of the Scripture,* 105
*Particularly of the New Teſtament,* ibid.
*Theſe books were early received,* 108
*The Canon of the Old Teſtament proved,* 109
*Concerning the* Pentateuch, 111
*Objections againſt the Old Teſtament anſwered,* 112
*Concerning the various readings,* 113
*The nature and degrees of inſpiration,* 114
*Concerning the hiſtorical parts of Scripture,* 116
*Concerning the reaſonings in Scripture,* 117
*Of the Apocryphal books,* 118
ARTICLE VII. 121
*No difference between the Old and New Teſtament,* ibid.
*Proofs in the Old Teſtament of the Meſſias,* 122
*In the Prophets; chiefly in* Daniel, 126
*The proofs all ſummed up,* 127
*Objections of the* Jews *anſwered,* ibid.



Digitized by Google

*The hopes of another life in the Old Teſtament,* 129
*Our Saviour proved the Reſurrection from the words to* Moſes, 131
*Expiation of ſin in the old diſpenſation,* 132
*Sins then expiated by the blood of Chriſt,* 133
*Of the rites and ceremonies among the* Jews, 134
*Of their judiciary laws,* 135
*Of the moral law,* 136
*The principles of morality,* 137
*Of idolatry,* ibid.
*Concerning the Sabbath,* 138
*Of the Second Table,* 140
*Of not coveting what is our neighbour's,* 141

ARTICLE VIII. 142
*Concerning the Creed of* Athanaſius, ibid.
*And the condemning clauſes in it,* ibid.
*Of the Apoſtles' Creed,* 144

ARTICLE IX. 146
*Different opinions concerning original ſin,* 147
*All men liable to death by it,* ibid.
*A corruption ſpread through the whole race of* Adam, 148
*Of the ſtate of innocence,* 150
*Of the effects of* Adam's *fall,* 151
*God's juſtice vindicated,* 152
*Of the imputation of* Adam's *ſin,* 153
*St.* Auſtin's *doctrine in this point.* 154
*This is oppoſed by many others,* 156
*Both ſides pretend their doctrines agree with the Article,* 158

ARTICLE X. 160
*The true notion of liberty,* ibid.
*The feebleneſs of our preſent ſtate,* 161
*Inward aſſiſtances promiſed in the New Covenant,* 163
*The effect that theſe have on men,* 164
*Concerning preventing-grace,* 165
*Of its being efficacious or univerſal,* 167

ARTICLE XI. 168
*Concerning Juſtification,* ibid.
*Concerning Faith,* 170
*The difference between the Church of* England *and the Church of* Rome *in this point,* 171
*The conditions upon which men are juſtified,* 174
*The uſe to be made of this doctrine,* 175

ARTICLE

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XII. 177
*The neceſſity of holineſs,* ibid.
*Concerning merit,* 179
*Of the defects of good works,* ibid.

ARTICLE XIII. 181
*Actions in themſelves good, yet may be ſins in him who does them,* ibid.
*Of the ſeventh chapter to the* Romans, 182
*This is not a total incapacity,* 183

ARTICLE XIV. 184
*Of the great extent of our duty,* ibid.
*No counſels of perfection,* 186
*Many duties which do not bind at all times,* ibid.
*It is not poſſible for man to ſupererogate,* 188
*Objections againſt this anſwered,* ibid.
*The ſteps by which that doctrine prevailed,* 189

ARTICLE XV. 191
*Chriſt's ſpotleſs holineſs,* ibid.
*Of the imperfections of the beſt of men,* 192

ARTICLE XVI. 194
*Concerning mortal and venial ſin,* ibid.
*Of the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt,* 195
*Of the pardon of ſin after Baptiſm,* 196
*That as God forgives, the Church ought alſo to forgive,* 197
*Concerning apoſtaſy, and ſin unto death,* 199

ARTICLE XVII. 201
*The ſtate of the queſtion,* 202
*The doctrine of the* Supralapſarians *and* Sublapſarians, 203
*The doctrine of the* Remonſtrants *and the* Socinians, ibid.
*This is a controverſy that ariſes out of natural religion,* 204
*The hiſtory of this controverſy both in ancient and modern times,* 205
*The arguments of the* Supralapſarians, 212
*The arguments of the* Sublapſarians, 221
*The arguments of the* Remonſtrants, 222
*They affirm a certain preſcience,* 226
*The* Socinians' *plea,* 230
*General reflections on the whole matter,* 231
*The advantages and diſadvantages of both ſides, and the faults of both,* 232
*In what both do agree,* 234



Digitized by Google

*The ſenſe of the Article,* 236
*The cautions added to it,* ibid.
*Paſſages in the Liturgy explained,* 237

ARTICLE XVIII. 239

*Philoſophers thought men might be ſaved in all religions,* ibid.
*So do the* Mahometans, ibid.
*None are ſaved but by Chriſt,* 240
*Whether ſome may not be ſaved by him, who never heard of him,* 241
*None are in covenant with God, but through the knowledge of Chriſt,* 242
*But for others, we cannot judge of the extent of the mercies of God,* 243
*Curioſity is to be reſtrained,* ibid.

ARTICLE XIX. 245

*We ought not to believe that any are infallible, without good authority,* ibid.
*Juſt prejudices againſt ſome who pretend to it,* 246
*No miracles brought to prove this,* 247
*Proofs brought from Scripture,* 248
*Things to be ſuppoſed previous to theſe,* ibid.
*A circle is not to be admitted,* 249
*The notes given of the true Church,* ibid.
*Theſe are examined,* 250
*And whether they do agree to the Church of* Rome, 251
*The truth of doctrine muſt be firſt ſettled,* ibid.
*A ſociety that has a true Baptiſm, is a true Church,* 252
*Sacraments are not annulled by every corruption,* 253
*We own the Baptiſm and Orders given in the Church of* Rome, 254
*And yet juſtify our ſeparating from them,* ibid.
*Objections againſt private judging,* 255
*Our reaſons are given us for that end,* ibid.
*Our minds are free as our wills are,* 256
*The Church is ſtill viſible, but not infallible,* 257
*Of the Pope's infallibility,* 259
*That was not pretended to in the firſt ages,* ibid.
*The dignity of Sees roſe from the cities,* ibid.
*Popes have fallen into hereſy,* 260
*Their ambition and forgeries,* ibid.
*Their cruelty,* 261
*The power of depoſing Princes claimed by them as given them by God,* 262

*This*

Digitized by Google

*This was not a corruption only of discipline, but of doctrine,* 263
*Arguments for the Pope's infallibility,* 264
*No foundation for it in the New Testament,* 265
*St.* Peter *never claimed it,* ibid.
*Christ's words to him explained,* 266
*Of the keys of the kingdom of heaven,* ibid.
*Of binding and loosing,* 267

ARTICLE XX. 269
*Of church-power in rituals,* ibid.
*The practice of the* Jewish *Church,* 270
*Changes in these sometimes necessary,* 271
*The practice of the Apostles,* 272
*Subjects must obey in lawful things,* 273
*But superiors must not impose too much,* ibid.
*The Church has authority, though not infallible,* 274
*Great respect due to her decisions,* 275
*But no absolute submission,* ibid.
*The Church is the depositary of the Scriptures,* 276
*The Church of* Rome *run in a circle,* 277

ARTICLE XXI. 278
*Councils cannot be called, but by the consent of princes,* ibid.
*The first were called by the* Roman *Emperors,* 279
*Afterwards the Popes called them,* ibid.
*Then some Councils thought on methods to fix their meeting,* ibid.
*What makes a Council to be general,* 280
*What numbers are necessary,* ibid.
*How must they be cited,* ibid.
*No rules given in Scripture concerning their constitution,* 281
Nazianzen's *complaints of Councils,* 282
*Councils have been contrary to one another,* ibid.
*Disorders and intrigues in Councils,* ibid.
*They judge not by inspiration,* 283
*The Churches may examine their proceedings, and judge of them,* ibid.
*Concerning the Pope's Bull confirming them,* ibid.
*They have an authority, but not absolute,* ibid.
*Nor do they need the Pope's Bulls,* ibid.
*The several Churches know their traditions best,* 284
*The Fathers do argue for the truth of the decisions, but not from their authority,* 285
*No prospect of another General Council,* ibid.
*Popes are jealous of them,* ibid.
*And the world expects little from them,* ibid.



Digitized by Google

*Concerning the words*, Tell the Church, 286
*How the Church is the pillar and ground of truth*, ibid.
*Chriſt's promiſe*, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world, 287
*Of that*, It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, ibid.
*Some General Councils have erred*, 288

ARTICLE XXII. 290
*The doctrine of purgatory*, ibid.
*Sins once pardoned are not puniſhed*, 291
*Unleſs with chaſtiſements in this life*, 292
*No ſtate of ſatisfaction after death*, 293
*No mention made of that in Scripture*, 294
*But it is plain to the contrary*, 295
*Different opinions among the ancients*, 296
*The original of purgatory*, 297
*A paſſage in* Maccabees *conſidered*, ibid.
*A paſſage in the Epiſtle to the* Corinthians *conſidered*, 299
*The progreſs of the belief of purgatory*, 300
*Prayers for the dead among the ancients*, ibid.
*Endowments for redeeming out of purgatory*, 302
*Whether theſe ought to be ſacred, or not*, 304
*The doctrine of pardons and indulgences*, 305
*It is only the excuſing from penance*, 306
*No foundation for it in Scripture*, 307
*General rules concerning idolatry*, 308
*Of the idolatry of Heathens*, ibid.
*Laws given to the* Jews *againſt it*, 309
*The expoſtulations of the Prophets*, 310
*Concerning the golden calf*, 311
*And the calves at* Dan *and* Bethel, ibid.
*The Apoſtles oppoſed all idolatry*, 312
*St.* Paul *at* Athens, *and to the* Romans, 313
*The ſenſe of the primitive Fathers upon it*, 314
*The firſt uſe of images among Chriſtians*, 315
*Pictures in Churches for inſtruction*, ibid.
*Were afterwards worſhipped*, 316
*Conteſts about that*, ibid.
*Images of the Deity and Trinity*, 317
*On what the worſhip of images terminates*, 318
*The due worſhip ſettled by the Council at* Trent, 319
*Images conſecrated, and how*, 320
*Arguments for worſhipping them anſwered*, ibid.
*Arguments againſt the uſe or worſhip of images*, 321
*The worſhip of relics*, 322
*A due regard to the bodies of martyrs*, 323
*The progreſs of ſuperſtition*, ibid.

*No*

Digitized by Google

*No warrant for this in Scripture,* 323
Hezekiah *broke the Brazen Serpent,* 324
*The memorable paſſage concerning the body of St.* Polycarp, ibid.
*Fables and forgeries prevailed,* 325
*The ſouls of the martyrs believed to hover about their tombs,* 326
*Nothing of this kind objected to the firſt Chriſtians,* 327
*Diſputes between* Vigilantius *and St.* Jerome, ibid.
*No invocation of Saints in the Old Teſtament,* 329
*The invocating Angels condemned in the New Teſtament,* 330
*No Saints invocated, Chriſt only,* 331
*No mention of this in the three firſt ages,* ibid.
*In the fourth, Martyrs were invocated,* 332
*The progreſs that this made,* 333
*Scandalous offices in the Church of* Rome, ibid.
*Arguments againſt this invocation,* 334
*An apology for thoſe who began it,* 335
*The ſcandal given by it,* 337
*Arguments for it anſwered,* 338
*Whether the Saints ſee all things in God,* ibid.
*This no part of the communion of Saints,* ibid.
*Prayers ought to be directed only to God,* 339
*Revealed religion deſigned to deliver the world from idolatry,* 340

ARTICLE XXIII. 341
*A ſucceſſion of paſtors ought to be in the Church,* ibid.
*This was ſettled by the Apoſtles,* 342
*And muſt continue to the end of the world,* ibid.
*It was ſettled in the firſt age of the Church,* 343
*The danger of men's taking to themſelves this authority without a due vocation,* 344
*The difference between means of ſalvation, and precepts for order's ſake,* 345
*What is lawful authority,* ibid.
*What may be done upon extraordinary occaſions,* 347
*Neceſſity is above rules of order,* ibid.
*The High Prieſts in our Saviour's time,* 348
*Baptiſm by women,* 349

ARTICLE XXIV. 350
*The chief end of worſhipping God,* ibid.
*The practice of the* Jews, 351
*Rules given by the Apoſtles,* 352
*The practice of the Church,* 353
*Arguments for worſhip in an unknown tongue anſwered,* 354

ARTICLE

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XXV. 356
*Difference between Sacraments and Rites,* 357
*Sacraments do not imprint a character,* ibid.
*But are not mere ceremonies,* 359
*What is neceſſary to conſtitute a Sacrament,* 360
*That applied to Baptiſm,* 361
*And to the Euchariſt,* ibid.
*No mention of ſeven Sacraments before* Peter Lombard, 362
*Confirmation no Sacrament,* ibid.
*How practiſed among us,* 363
*The uſe of Chriſm in it is new,* 364
*Oil early uſed in Chriſtian rituals,* ibid.
*Biſhops only conſecrated the Chriſm,* 365
*In the* Greek *Church Preſbyters applied it,* ibid.
*This uſed in the* Weſtern *Church, but condemned by the Popes,* ibid.
*Diſputes concerning Confirmation,* 366
*Concerning penance,* ibid.
*The true notion of repentance,* 367
*Confeſſion not the matter of a Sacrament,* 368
*The uſe of confeſſion,* ibid.
*The Prieſt's pardon miniſterial,* 369
*And reſtrained within bounds,* ibid.
*Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary,* 371
*Not commanded in the New Teſtament,* ibid.
*The beginnings of it in the Church,* 372
*Many canons about penance,* ibid.
*Confeſſion forbid at* Conſtantinople, 373
*The ancient diſcipline ſlackened,* 374
*Confeſſion may be adviſed, but not commanded,* 375
*The good and bad effects it may have,* ibid.
*Of contrition and attrition,* 377
*The ill effects of the doctrine of attrition,* ibid.
*Of doing the penance or ſatisfaction,* 378
*Concerning ſorrow for ſin,* 379
*Of the ill effects of haſty abſolution,* 380
*Of faſting and prayer,* ibid.
*Of the form,* I abſolve thee, 381
*Of Holy Orders,* 382
*Of the ancient form of Ordinations,* 383
*Of delivering the veſſel,* ibid.
*Orders no Sacrament,* 385
*Whether Biſhops and Prieſts are of the ſame order,* ibid.
*Of marriage,* 386
*It can be no Sacrament,* ibid.
*Intention not neceſſary,* 387

*How*

Digitized by Google

*How marriage is called a myſtery or ſacrament,* 388
*Marriage diſſolved by adultery,* 389
*The practice of the Church in this matter,* 390
*Of extreme unction,* ibid.
*St.* James's *words explained,* 391
*Oil much uſed in ancient rituals,* 393
*Pope* Innocent's *Epiſtle conſidered,* ibid.
*Anointing uſed in order to recovery,* 395
*Afterwards as the Sacrament of the dying,* ibid.
*The Sacraments are to be uſed,* 396
*And to be received worthily,* ibid.

ARTICLE XXVI. 398

*Sacraments are not effectual as prayers are,* ibid.
*Of the doctrine of intention,* 400
*The ill conſequences of it,* ibid.
*Of a juſt ſeverity in diſcipline,* 402
*Particularly towards the Clergy,* ibid.

ARTICLE XXVII. 403

*Concerning* St. John's *Baptiſm,* ibid.
*The* Jews *uſed Baptiſm,* ibid.
*The Chriſtian Baptiſm,* 404
*The difference between it and St.* John's, 405
*The neceſſity of Baptiſm,* 406
*It is a precept, but not a mean of ſalvation,* ibid.
*Baptiſm unites us to the Church,* 407
*It alſo ſaves us,* 408
*St.* Peter's *words explained,* 409
*St.* Auſtin's *doctrine of Baptiſm,* ibid.
*Baptiſm is a federal ſtipulation,* 410
*In what ſenſe it was of more value to preach than to baptize,* 411
*Of Infant Baptiſm,* ibid.
*It is grounded on the law of nature,* 412
*And the Law of* Moſes, *and warranted in the New Teſtament,* ibid.
*In what ſenſe children can be holy,* 413
*It is alſo very expedient,* 414

ARTICLE XXVIII. 415

*The change made in this Article in Queen* Elizabeth's *time,* 416
*The explanation of our doctrine.* 417
*Of the rituals in the Paſſover,* ibid.
*Of the words,* This is my body, 418

*And,*

Digitized by Google

*And*, This cup is the New Teſtament in my blood, 419
*Of the horror the* Jews *had at blood*, ibid.
*In what ſenſe only the Diſciples could underſtand our Saviour's words*, 420
*The diſcourſe* (John vi.) *explained*, ibid.
*It can only be underſtood ſpiritually*, 422
*Bold figures much underſtood in the* Eaſt, 423
*A plain thing needs no great proof*, 424
*Of unworthy receivers, and the effect of that ſin*, 425
*Of the effects of worthy receiving*, 426
*Of federal ſymbols*, 427
*Of the communion of the body and blood of Chriſt*, ibid.
*Of the like phraſes in Scripture*, 428
*Of our ſenſe of the phraſe*, Real Preſence, 429
*Tranſubſtantiation explained*, 430
*Of the words of conſecration*, 431
*Of the conſequences of Tranſubſtantiation*, 432
*The grounds upon which it was believed*, ibid.
*This is contrary to the teſtimony of all our faculties, both ſenſe and reaſon*, 433
*We can be ſure of nothing, if our ſenſes do deceive us*, 434
*The objection from believing myſteries, anſwered*, 435
*The end of all miracles conſidered*, 436
*Our doctrine of a myſtical preſence is confeſſed by thoſe of the Church of* Rome, 437
*St.* Auſtin's *rule about figures*, ibid.
*Preſumptions concerning the belief of the ancients in this matter*, 438
*They had not that philoſophy which this doctrine has forced on the Church of* Rome, 439
*This was not objected by Heathens*, 441
*No hereſies or diſputes aroſe upon this, as they did on all other points*, 442
*Many new rituals unknown to them, have ſprung out of this doctrine*, 443
*In particular, the adoring the Sacrament*, 444
*Prayers in the maſſes of the Saints inconſiſtent with it*, ibid.
*They believed the elements were bread and wine after conſecration*, ibid.
*Many authorities brought for this*, 445
Eutychians *ſaid, Chriſt's humanity was ſwallowed of his divinity*, 446
*The Fathers argue againſt this from the doctrine of the Euchariſt*, 447
*The force of that argument explained*, ibid.
*The Fathers ſay our bodies are nouriſhed by the Sacrament*, 449

*They*

Digitized by Google

*They call it the type, sign, and figure of the body and blood of Christ,* 449
*The prayer of consecration calls it so,* 452
*That compared with the prayer in the Missal,* ibid.
*The progress of the doctrine of the Corporal Presence,* 453
*Reflection on the ages in which it grew,* 454
*The occasion on which it was advanced in the* Eastern *Church,* 455
Paschase Radbert *taught it first,* 456
*But many wrote against him,* 457
*Afterwards* Berengarius *opposed it,* 458
*The Schoolmen descanted on it,* 459
*Philosophy was corrupted to support it,* ibid.
*Concerning Consubstantiation,* 460
*It is an opinion that may be borne with,* 461
*The adoration of the Eucharist is idolatry,* ibid.
*The plea against that considered,* ibid.
*Christ is not to be worshipped, though present,* 463
*Concerning reserving the Sacrament,* ibid.
*Concerning the elevation of it,* 464

ARTICLE XXIX. 466

*The wicked do not receive Christ,* ibid.
*The doctrine of the Fathers in this point,* 467
*More particularly* St. Austin's, ibid.

ARTICLE XXX. 469

*The chalice was given to all,* ibid.
*Not to the Disciples as Priests,* 470
*The* breaking of bread *explained,* ibid.
*Sacraments must be given according to the institution,* 471
*No arguments from ill consequences to be admitted, unless in cases of necessity,* ibid.
*Concomitance a new notion,* 472
*Universal practice for giving the chalice,* ibid.
*The case of the* Aquarii, 473
*The first beginning of taking away the cup,* ibid.
*The decree of the Council of* Constance, 475

ARTICLE XXXI. 477

*The term* Sacrifice *of a large signification,* ibid.
*The Primitive Christians denied that they had any sacrifices,* ibid.
*The Eucharist has no virtue, but as it is a Communion,* 479
*Strictly speaking there is only one Priest and one Sacrifice in the Christian religion,* ibid.

*The*

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*The Fathers did not think the Euchariſt was a propitiatory ſacrifice,* 481
*But call it a ſacrifice in a larger ſenſe,* ibid.
*Maſſes without a communion not known then,* 482
*None might be at maſs, who did not communicate,* 483
*The importance of the controverſies concerning the Euchariſt,* ibid.

ARTICLE XXXII. 485
*No divine law againſt a married Clergy,* ibid.
*Neither in the Old or New Teſtament, but the contrary,* 486
*The Church has not power to make a perpetual law againſt it,* 487
*The ill conſequences of ſuch a law,* ibid.
*No ſuch law in the firſt ages,* 488
*When the laws for the celibate began,* 489
*The practice of the Church not uniform in it,* ibid.
*The progreſs of theſe laws in* England, 490
*The good and the bad of celibate balanced,* 491
*It is not lawful to make vows in this matter,* 492
*Nor do they bind when made,* ibid.
*Oaths ill made are worſe to be kept,* 494

ARTICLE XXXIII. 495
*A temper to be obſerved in Church-diſcipline,* ibid.
*The neceſſity of keeping it up,* 496
*Extremes in this to be avoided,* 497
*Concerning the delivering any to Satan,* ibid.
*The importance of an Anathema,* 498
*Of the effect of Church-cenſures,* 499
*What it is when they are wrong applied,* ibid.
*The cauſeleſs jealouſy of Church-power,* 500
*How the Laity was once taken into the exerciſe of it,* ibid.
*The Paſtors of the Church have authority,* 501
*Defects in this no juſt cauſe of ſeparation,* 502
*All theſe brought in by Popery,* 503
*A correction of them intended at the Reformation,* ibid.

ARTICLE XXXIV. 504
*The obligation to obey Canons and Laws,* ibid.
*The great ſin of ſchiſm and diſobedience,* 505
*The true notion of ſcandal,* 506
*The fear of giving ſcandal, no warrant to break eſtabliſhed laws,* 507
*Human laws are not unalterable.* ibid.
*The reſpect due to ancient Canons,* 508
*The corruptions of the Canon Law,* 509

*Great*

Digitized by Google

*Great varieties in rituals,* 509
*Every Church is a complete body,* 510

ARTICLE XXXV. 511
*The occaſion of compiling the Homilies,* ibid.
*We are not bound to every thing in them,* 512
*But only to the doctrine,* ibid.
*This illuſtrated in the charge of idolatry,* ibid.
*What is meant by their being neceſſary for thoſe times,* 513

ARTICLE XXXVI. 514
*The occaſion of this Article,* ibid.
*An explanation of the words,* Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt, 515

ARTICLE XXXVII. 517
Queen Elizabeth's *injunction concerning the ſupremacy,* 518
*The Pope's univerſal juriſdiction not warranted by any of the laws of Chriſt,* ibid.
*Nor acknowledged in the firſt ages,* 519
*Begun on the occaſion of the* Arian *controverſy,* 520
*Conteſted in many places,* 521
*The progreſs that it made,* ibid.
*The Patriarchal authority founded on the diviſion of the* Roman empire, *ſunk with it,* 523
*The power exerciſed by the Kings of* Judah *in religious matters,* ibid.
*That is founded on Scriptures,* 524
*Practiſed in all ages,* 525
*And particularly in* England, ibid.
*Methods uſed by Popiſh princes to keep the eccleſiaſtical authority under the civil,* 526
*The temporal power is over all perſons,* 527
*And in all cauſes,* ibid.
*The importance of the term* Head, 529
*The neceſſity of capital puniſhments,* ibid.
*The meaſure of theſe,* 530
*The lawfulneſs of war,* 531
*Our Saviour's words explained,* ibid.
*In what caſes war is juſt,* 532
*Warranted by the laws of God,* 533
*How a ſubject may ſerve in an unlawful war,* ibid.

ARTICLE XXXVIII. 535
*Concerning property and charity,* ibid.
*The proportion of charity to the poor,* 536

ARTICLE

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XXXIX. 538
*The lawfulneſs of oaths proved,* ibid.
*From natural religion and the Scriptures,* 539
*The form of ſwearing among the* Jews, ibid.
*Our Saviour's words and St.* James's *againſt all ſwearing explained,* 541
*When oaths may be lawfully taken,* 542

AN

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AN

# EXPOSITION

OF THE

# ARTICLES

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

**Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces and the whole Clergie, in the Convocation holden at London in the Year of our Lorde GOD 1562. according to the Computation of the Church of Englande, for the avoyding of the Diverſities of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion. Put forth by the Queen's Authoritie.**

THE Title of theſe Articles leads me to conſider, 1ſt, The time, the occaſion, and the deſign of compiling them. 2dly, The authority that is ſtamped upon them both by Church and State, and the obligation that lies upon all of our communion to aſſent to them, and more particularly the importance of the ſubſcription to which the clergy are obliged. As to the 1ſt, it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange to ſee ſuch a collection of tenets made the ſtandard of the doctrine of a Church, that is deſervedly valued by reaſon of her moderation: this ſeems to be a departing from the ſimplicity of the firſt ages, which yet we pretend to ſet up for a pattern. Among them, the owning the belief of the Creeds then received was thought ſufficient: and when ſome hereſies had occaſioned a great enlargement to be made in the Creeds, the third General Council thought fit to ſet a bar againſt all



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further additions; and yet all thoſe Creeds, one of which goes far beyond the Epheſine ſtandard, make but one Article of the Thirty-nine of which this book conſiſts. Many of theſe do alſo relate to ſubtile and abſtruſe points, in which it is not eaſy to form a clear judgment; and much leſs can it be convenient to impoſe ſo great a collection of tenets upon a whole Church, to excommunicate ſuch as affirm any of them to be erroneous, and to reject thoſe from the ſervice of the Church, who cannot aſſent to every one of theſe. The negative Articles of No Infallibility, No Supremacy in the Pope, No Tranſubſtantiation, No Purgatory, and the like, give yet a farther colour to exceptions; ſince it may ſeem that it was enough, not to have mentioned theſe, which implies a tacit rejecting of them. It may therefore appear to be too rigorous, to require a poſitive condemning of thoſe points: for a very high degree of certainty is required, to affirm a negative propoſition.

In order to the explaining this matter, it is to be confeſſed, that in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, the declaration that was required even of a Biſhop's faith was conceived in very general terms. There was a form ſettled very early in moſt Churches: this St. Paul in one place calls, *the form of doctrine that was delivered*; in another place, *the form of ſound words*, which thoſe who were fixed by the Apoſtles in particular Churches had received from them. Theſe words of his do import a ſtandard, or *fixed formulary*, by which all doctrines were to be examined. Some have inferred from them, that the Apoſtles delivered that Creed which goes under their name, every where in the ſame form of words. But there is great reaſon to doubt of this, ſince the firſt apologiſts for Chriſtianity, when they deliver a ſhort abſtract of the Chriſtian faith, do all vary from one another, both as to the order and as to the words themſelves; which they would not have done, if the Churches had all received one ſettled form from the Apoſtles. They would all have uſed the ſame words, and neither more nor leſs. It is more probable, that in every Church there was a *form* ſettled, which was delivered to it by ſome Apoſtle, or companion of the Apoſtles, with ſome variation: of which at this diſtance of time, conſidering how defective the hiſtory of the firſt ages of Chriſtianity is, it is not poſſible, nor very neceſſary for us to be able to give a clear account. For inſtance; in the whole extent or neighbourhood of the Roman empire, it was at firſt of great uſe to have this in every Chriſtian's mouth, that our Saviour *ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*; becauſe

Rom. vi. 17.
1 Tim. iv. 6. vi. 3.
2 Tim. i. 13.

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becauſe this fixed the time, and carried in it an appeal to records and evidences, that might then have been ſearched for. But if this religion went at firſt far to the *eaſtward*, beyond all commerce with the Romans, there is not that reaſon to think that this ſhould have been a part of the ſhorteſt form of this doctrine; it being enough that it was related in the Goſpel. Theſe forms of the ſeveral Churches were preſerved with that ſacred reſpect that was due to them: this was eſteemed the *depoſitum* or truſt of a Church, which was chiefly committed to the keeping of the biſhop. In the firſt ages, in which the biſhops or clergy of the ſeveral Churches could not meet together in ſynods to examine the doctrine of every new biſhop, the method, upon which the circumſtances of thoſe ages put them, was this: the new biſhop ſent round him, and chiefly to the biſhops of the more eminent ſees, the profeſſion of his faith, according to the form that was fixed in his Church: and when the neighbouring biſhops were ſatisfied in this, they held communion with him, and not only owned him for a biſhop, but maintained ſuch a commerce with him, as the ſtate of that time did admit of.

But as ſome hereſies ſprung up, there were enlargements made in ſeveral Churches, for the condemning thoſe, and for excluding ſuch as held them, from their communion. The Council of Nice examined many of thoſe Creeds, and out of them they put their Creed in a fuller form. The addition made by the Council of Conſtantinople was put into the Creeds of ſome particular Churches, ſeveral years before that Council met. So that though it received its authority from that Council, yet they rather confirmed an Article which they found in the Creeds of ſome Churches, than made a new one. It had been an invaluable bleſſing, if the Chriſtian religion had been kept in its firſt ſimplicity. The Council of Epheſus took care that the Creed, by which men profeſs their Chriſtianity, ſhould receive no new additions, but be fixed according to the Conſtantinopolitan ſtandard; yet they made decrees in points of faith, and the following Councils went on in their ſteps, adding ſtill new decrees, with anathematiſms againſt the contrary doctrines; and declaring the aſſertors of them to be under an *anathema*, that is, under a very heavy curſe of being totally excluded from their communion, and even from the communion of Jeſus Chriſt. And whereas the new biſhops had formerly only declared their faith, they were then required, beſides that, to declare, that they received ſuch councils, and rejected ſuch doctrines, together with ſuch as favoured



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voured them; who were ſometimes mentioned by name. This increaſed daily. We have a full account of the ſpecial declaration that a biſhop was obliged to make, in the firſt Canon of that which paſſed for the fourth Council of Carthage. But while, by reaſon of new emergencies, this was ſwelling to a vaſt bulk, general and more implicit formularies came to be uſed, the biſhops declaring that they received and would obſerve all the decrees and traditions of holy Councils and Fathers. And the papacy coming afterwards to carry every thing before it, a formal oath, that had many looſe and indefinite words in it, which were very large and comprehenſive, was added to all the declarations that had been formerly eſtabliſhed. The enlargements of Creeds were at firſt occaſioned by the prevarications of heretics; who having put ſenſes favouring their opinions, to the ſimpler terms in which the firſt Creeds were propoſed, therefore it was thought neceſſary to add more expreſs words. And this was abſolutely neceſſary as to ſome points; for it being neceſſary to ſhew that the Chriſtian religion did not bring in that idolatry which it condemned in heathens, it was alſo neceſſary to ſtate this matter ſo, that it ſhould appear that they worſhipped no creature; but that the perſon to whom all agreed to pay divine adoration was truly God: and it being found that an equivocation was uſed in all other words except that of the *ſame ſubſtance*, they judged it neceſſary to fix on it, beſides ſome other words that they at firſt brought in, but which were afterwards corrupted by the gloſſes that were put on them. At all times it is very neceſſary to free the Chriſtian religion from the imputations of idolatry; but this was never ſo neceſſary, as when Chriſtianity was engaged in ſuch a ſtruggle with Paganiſm: and ſince the main article then in diſpute with the heathens was idolatry, and the lawfulneſs of worſhipping any beſides the great and eternal God, it was of the laſt importance to the Chriſtian cauſe, to take care that the heathens might have no reaſon to believe that they worſhipped a creature. There was therefore juſt reaſon given to ſecure this main point, and to put an end to equivocation, by eſtabliſhing a term, which by the confeſſion of all parties did not admit of any. It had been a great bleſſing to the Church, if a ſtop had been put here; and that thoſe nice deſcantings, that were afterwards ſo much purſued, had been more effectually diſcouraged than they were. But men ever were and ever will be men. Factions were formed, and intereſts were ſet up. Heretics had ſhewed ſo much diſſimulation when

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when they were low, and ſo much cruelty when they prevailed, that it was thought neceſſary to ſecure the Church from the diſturbances that they might give them: and thus it grew to be a rule to enlarge the doctrines and deciſions of the Church. So that in ſtating the doctrines of this Church ſo copiouſly, our reformers followed a method that had been uſed in a courſe of many ages.

There were, beſides this common practice, two particular circumſtances in that time, that made this ſeem to be the more neceſſary. One was, that at the breaking out of that light, there ſprang up with it many impious and extravagant ſects, which broke out into moſt violent exceſſes. This was no extraordinary thing, for we find the like happened upon the firſt ſpreading of the Goſpel; many deteſtable ſects grew up with it, which tended not a little to the defaming of Chriſtianity, and the obſtructing its progreſs. I ſhall not examine what influence evil ſpirits might have both in the one and the other: but one viſible occaſion of it was, that by the firſt preaching of the Goſpel, as alſo upon the opening the Reformation, an enquiry into the matters of religion being then the ſubject of men's ſtudies and diſcourſes, many men of warm and ill-governed imaginations, preſuming on their own talents, and being deſirous to ſignalize themſelves, and to have a name in the world, went beyond their depth in ſtudy, without the neceſſary degrees of knowledge, and the yet more neceſſary diſpoſitions of mind for arriving at a right underſtanding of divine matters. This happening ſoon after the Reformation was firſt ſet on foot, thoſe whoſe corruptions were ſtruck at by it, and who both hated and perſecuted it on that account, did not fail to lay hold of and to improve the advantage which theſe ſects gave them. They ſaid, that the ſectaries had only ſpoke out what the reſt thought; and at laſt they held to this, that all ſects were the natural conſequences of the Reformation, and of ſhaking off the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church. To ſtop thoſe calumnies, the Proteſtants in Germany prepared that Confeſſion of their Faith which they offered to the diet at Augſburgh, and which carries its name. And, after their example, all the other Churches, which ſeparated from the Roman communion, publiſhed the Confeſſions of their Faith, both to declare their doctrine for the inſtruction of their own members, and for covering them from the ſlanders of their adverſaries.

Another reaſon that the firſt reformers had for their deſcending into ſo many particulars, and for all theſe nega-



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tives that are in their Confeſſions, was this: they had ſmarted long under the tyranny of popery, and ſo they had reaſon to ſecure themſelves from it, and from all thoſe who were leavened with it. They here in England had ſeen how many had complied with every alteration both in King Henry and King Edward's reign, who not only declared themſelves to have been all the while papiſts, but became bloody perſecutors in Queen Mary's reign: therefore it was neceſſary to keep all ſuch out of their body, that they might not ſecretly undermine and betray it. Now ſince the Church of Rome owns all that is poſitive in our doctrine, there could be no diſcrimination made, but by condemning the moſt important of thoſe additions, that they have brought into the Chriſtian religion, in expreſs words: and though in matters of fact, or in theories of nature, it is not ſafe to affirm a negative, becauſe it is ſeldom poſſible to prove it; yet the fundamental article, upon which the whole Reformation and this our Church depends, is this, that the whole doctrines of the Chriſtian religion are contained in the Scripture, and that therefore we are to admit no article as a part of it till it is proved from Scripture. This being laid down, and well made out, it is not at all unreaſonable to affirm a negative upon an examination of all thoſe places of Scripture that are brought for any doctrine, and that ſeem to favour it, if they are found not at all to ſupport it, but to bear a different, and ſometimes a contrary ſenſe, to that which is offered to be proved by them. So there is no weight in this cavil, which looks plauſible to ſuch as cannot diſtinguiſh common matters from points of faith. This may ſerve in general to juſtify the largeneſs and the particularities of this Confeſſion of our Faith. There were ſome ſteps made to it in King Henry's time, in a large book that was then publiſhed under the title of *The Neceſſary Erudition*, that was a treatiſe ſet forth to inſtruct the nation. Many of the errors of popery were laid open and condemned in it: but none were obliged to aſſent to it, or to ſubſcribe it. After that, the worſhip was reformed, as being that which preſſed moſt; and in that a foundation was laid for the Articles that came quickly after it. How or by whom they were prepared, we do not certainly know; by the remains of that time it appears, that in the alterations that were made, there was great precaution uſed, ſuch as matters of that nature required, queſtions were framed relating to them, theſe were given about to many biſhops and divines, who gave in their ſeveral anſwers, that were collated and examined very maturely,

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turely, all ſides had a free and fair hearing before concluſions were made.

In the fermentation that was working over the whole nation at that time, it was not poſſible that a thing of that nature could have paſſed by the methods that are more neceſſary in regular times: and therefore they could not be offered at firſt to ſynods or convocations. The corruptions complained of were ſo beneficial to the whole body of the clergy, that it is juſtly to be wondered at, that ſo great a number was prevailed with, to concur in reforming them: but without a miracle they could not have been agreed to by the major part. They were prepared, as is moſt probable, by Cranmer and Ridley, and publiſhed by the regal authority. Not as if our kings had pretended to an authority to judge in points of faith, or to decide controverſies: but as every private man muſt chooſe for himſelf, and believe according to the convictions of his reaſon and conſcience (which is to be examined and proved in its proper place); ſo every prince or legiſlative power muſt give the public ſanction and authority according to his own perſuaſion; this makes indeed ſuch a ſanction to become a law, but does not alter the nature of things, nor oblige the conſciences of the ſubjects, unleſs they come under the ſame perſuaſions. Such laws have indeed the operation of all other laws; but the doctrines authorized by them have no more truth than they had before, without any ſuch publication. Thus the part that our princes had in the Reformation was only this, that they being ſatisfied with the grounds on which it went, received it themſelves, and enacted it for their people. And this is ſo plain and juſt a conſequence of that liberty which every man has of believing and acting according to his own convictions, that when this is well made out, there can be no colour to queſtion the other. It was alſo remarkable, that the law, which ſtood firſt in Juſtinian's Code, was an edict of Theodoſius's; who, finding the Roman empire under great diſtractions, by the diverſity of opinions in matter of religion, did appoint that doctrine to be held which was received by Damaſus biſhop of Rome, and Peter biſhop of Alexandria; ſuch an edict as that being put in ſo conſpicuous a part of the *law*, was a full and ſoon obſerved precedent for our princes to act according to it.

The next thing to be examined is the uſe of the Articles, and the importance of the ſubſcriptions of the clergy to them. Some have thought that they are only *Articles of Union and Peace*; that they are a ſtandard of *doctrine* not to be contradicted, or diſputed; that the ſons of the



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Church are only bound to acquieſce ſilently to them; and that the ſubſcription binds only to a general compromiſe upon thoſe Articles, that ſo there may be no diſputing nor wrangling about them. By this means they reckon, that though a man ſhould differ in his opinion from that which appears to be the clear ſenſe of any of the Articles; yet he may with a good conſcience ſubſcribe them, if the Article appears to him to be of ſuch a nature, that though he thinks it wrong, yet it ſeems not to be of that conſequence, but that it may be borne with, and not contradicted. I ſhall not now examine whether it were more fit for leaving men to the due freedom of their thoughts, that the ſubſcription did run no higher, it being in many caſes a great hardſhip to exclude ſome very deſerving perſons from the ſervice of the Church, by requiring a ſubſcription to ſo many particulars, concerning ſome of which they are not fully ſatisfied. I am only now to conſider what is the importance of the ſubſcriptions now required among us, and not what might be reaſonably wiſhed that it ſhould be.

As to the laity, and the whole body of the people, certainly to them theſe are only the Articles of Church-Communion; ſo that every perſon who does not think that there is ſome propoſition in them that is erroneous to ſo high a degree, that he cannot hold communion with ſuch as hold it, may and is obliged to continue in our communion: for certainly there may be many opinions held in matters of religion, which a man may believe to be falſe, and yet may eſteem them to be of ſo little importance to the chief deſign of religion, that he may well hold communion with thoſe whom he thinks to be ſo miſtaken. Here a neceſſary diſtinction is to be remembered between Articles of Faith and Articles of Doctrine: the one are held neceſſary to ſalvation, the other are only believed to be true; that is, to be revealed in the Scriptures, which is a ſufficient ground for eſteeming them true. *Articles of Faith* are doctrines that are ſo neceſſary to ſalvation, that without believing them there is not a fœderal right to the covenant of grace: theſe are not many, and in the eſtabliſhment of any doctrine for ſuch, it is neceſſary both to prove it from Scripture, and to prove its being neceſſary to ſalvation, as a mean ſettled by the covenant of grace in order to it. We ought not indeed to hold communion with ſuch as make doctrines, that we believe not to be true, to paſs for Articles of Faith; though we may hold communion with ſuch as do think them true, without ſtamping ſo high an authority upon

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upon them. To give one inſtance of this in an undeniable particular. In the days of the Apoſtles there were Judaiſers of two ſorts: ſome thought the Jewiſh nation was ſtill obliged to obſerve the Moſaical law; but others went further, and thought that ſuch an obſervation was indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſalvation: both theſe opinions were wrong, but the one was tolerable, and the other was intolerable; becauſe it pretended to make that a neceſſary condition of ſalvation, which God had not commanded. The Apoſtles complied with the Judaiſers of the firſt ſort, as *they became all things to all men, that ſo they might gain ſome* of every ſort of men: yet they declared openly againſt the other, and ſaid, that if men were *circumciſed*, or were willing to come under ſuch a yoke, *Chriſt profited them nothing*; and upon that ſuppoſition he had *died in vain*. From this plain precedent we ſee what a difference we ought to make between errors in doctrinal matters, and the impoſing them as Articles of Faith. We may live in communion with thoſe who hold errors of the one ſort, but muſt not with thoſe of the other. This alſo ſhews the tyranny of that Church, which has impoſed the belief of every one of her doctrines on the conſciences of her votaries, under the higheſt pains of anathema's, and as Articles of Faith. But whatever thoſe at Trent did, this Church very carefully avoided the laying that weight upon even thoſe doctrines which ſhe receives as true; and therefore though ſhe drew up a large form of doctrine; yet to all her lay-ſons this is only a ſtandard of what ſhe teaches, and they are no more to them than Articles of Church-Communion. The citations that are brought from thoſe two great primates, Laud and Bramhall, go no further than this: they do not ſeem to relate to the clergy that ſubſcribe them, but to the laity and body of the people. The people, who do only join in communion with us, may well continue to do ſo, though they may not be fully ſatisfied with every propoſition in them: unleſs they ſhould think that they ſtruck againſt any of the Articles, or foundations of Faith; and, as they truly obſerve, there is a great difference to be obſerved in this particular between the imperious ſpirit of the Church of Rome, and the modeſt freedom which ours allows. 1 Cor. ix. 19. to 23.

But I come in the next place to conſider what the clergy is bound to by their ſubſcriptions. The meaning of every ſubſcription is to be taken from the deſign of the impoſer, and from the words of the ſubſcription itſelf. The title of the Articles bears, that they were agreed

agreed upon in convocation, *for the avoiding of diverſities of Opinions, and for the ſtabliſhing conſent touching true Religion.* Where it is evident, that *a conſent in opinion* is deſigned. If we in the next place conſider the declaration that the Church has made in the Canons, we ſhall find, that though by the fifth Canon, which relates to the whole body of the people, ſuch are only declared to be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, who ſhall affirm any of the Articles to be *erroneous*, or ſuch as he may not with a good conſcience ſubſcribe to; yet the 36th Canon is expreſs for the clergy, requiring them to ſubſcribe *willingly*, and *ex animo*; and *acknowledge all and every Article to be agreeable to the word of God:* upon which Canon it is that the form of the ſubſcription runs in theſe words, which ſeem expreſsly to declare a man's own opinion, and not a bare conſent to an Article of Peace, or an engagement to ſilence and ſubmiſſion. The ſtatute of the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 12, which gives the legal authority to our requiring ſubſcriptions, in order to a man's being capable of a benefice, requires that every clergyman ſhould read the Articles in the Church, with a declaration of his *unfeigned aſſent to them.* Theſe things make it appear very plain, that the ſubſcriptions of the clergy muſt be conſidered as a declaration of their own opinion, and not as a bare obligation to ſilence. There aroſe in King James the Firſt's reign great and warm diſputes concerning the decrees of God, and thoſe other points that were ſettled in Holland by the ſynod of Dort againſt the Remonſtrants; divines of both ſides among us appealed to the Articles, and pretended they were favourable to them: for though the firſt appearance of them ſeems to favour the doctrine of abſolute decrees, and the irreſiſtibility of grace; yet there are many expreſſions that have another face, and ſo thoſe of the other perſuaſion pleaded for themſelves from theſe. Upon this a royal declaration was ſet forth, in which after mention is made of *thoſe* diſputes, *and that the men of all ſides did take the Articles to be for them; order is given for ſtopping thoſe diſputes for the future; and for ſhutting them in God's promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the* Church of England, *according to them; and that no man thereafter ſhould put his own ſenſe or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but ſhould take it in the literal and grammatical ſenſe.* In this there has been ſuch a general acquieſcing, that the fierceneſs of theſe diſputes has gone off, while men have been left to ſubſcribe the Articles according to their literal and grammatical ſenſe. From which two things

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things are to be inferred: the one is, that the ſubſcription does import an aſſent to the Article; and the other is, that an Article being conceived in ſuch general words, that it can admit of different literal and grammatical ſenſes, even when the ſenſes given are plainly contrary one to another, yet both may ſubſcribe the Article with a good conſcience, and without any equivocation. To make this more ſenſible, I ſhall give an inſtance of it in an Article concerning which there is no diſpute at preſent.

The third Article concerning Chriſt's *deſcent into hell* is capable of three different ſenſes, and all the three are both literal and grammatical. The firſt is, that Chriſt deſcended locally into hell, and preached to the *ſpirits there in priſon*; and this has one great advantage on its ſide, that thoſe who firſt prepared the Articles in King Edward's time were of this opinion; for they made it a part of it, by adding in the Article thoſe words of St. Peter as the proof or explanation of it. Now though that period was left out in Queen Elizabeth's time; yet no declaration was made againſt it; ſo that this ſenſe was once in poſſeſſion, and was never expreſsly rejected: beſides that, it has great ſupport from the authority of many Fathers, who underſtood the *deſcent into hell* according to this explanation. A ſecond ſenſe, of which that Article is capable, is, that by *hell* is meant the *grave*, according to the ſignification of the original word in the Hebrew; and this is ſupported by the words of *Chriſt's deſcending into the lower parts of the earth*; as alſo by this, that ſeveral Creeds, that have this Article, have not that of Chriſt's being buried; and ſome, that mention his burial, have not this of his *deſcent into hell*. A third ſenſe is, that by hell, according to the ſignification of the Greek word, is to be meant the place or region of ſpirits ſeparated from their bodies: ſo that by Chriſt's *deſcent into hell* is only to be meant, that his ſoul was really and entirely diſunited from his body, not lying dead in it as in an apoplectical fit, not hovering about it, but that it was tranſlated into the ſeats of departed ſouls. All theſe three ſenſes differ very much from one another, and yet they are all ſenſes that are literal and grammatical; ſo that in which of theſe ſoever a man conceives the Article, he may ſubſcribe it, and he does no way prevaricate in ſo doing. If men would therefore underſtand all the other Articles in the ſame largeneſs, and with the ſame equity, there would not be that occaſion given for unjuſt cenſure that there has been. Where then the Articles are conceived in large and general words, and have not more ſpecial and reſtrained terms in

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in them, we ought to take that for a ſure indication, that the Church does not intend to tie men up too ſeverely to particular opinions, but that ſhe leaves all to ſuch a liberty as is agreeable with the purity of the faith.

And this ſeems ſufficient to explain the title of the Articles, and the ſubſcriptions that are required of the clergy to them.

The laſt thing to be ſettled is the true reading of the Articles; for there being ſome ſmall diverſity between the printed editions and the manuſcripts that were ſigned by both houſes of Convocation; I have deſired the aſſiſtance both of Dr. Green, the preſent worthy maſter of Corpus Chriſti College in Cambridge, and of ſome of the learned fellows of that body; that they would give themſelves the trouble to collate the printed editions, and their manuſcripts, with ſuch a ſcrupulous exactneſs as becomes a matter of this importance: which they were pleaſed to do very minutely. I will ſet down both the collations as they were tranſmitted to me; beginning with that which I had from the fellows four years ago.

## ARTICLE III.

*Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.*

As Chriſt died for us, and was buried; ſo alſo it is to be believed, that he went down into Hell. ["For his Body lay "in the Grave till his Re"ſurrection; but his Soul "being ſeparate from his "Body, remained with the "Spirits which were de"tained in Priſon; that is "to ſay, in Hell, and there "preached unto them."]

*Theſe words, ſaid to be left out, are found in the original Articles, ſigned by the chief clergy of both provinces, now extant in the manuſcript libraries of C. C. C. C. in the book called* Synodalia: *but diſtinguiſhed from the reſt with lines of* minium; *which lines plainly appear to have been done afterwards, becauſe the leaves and lines of the original are exactly numbered at the end; which number without theſe lines were manifeſtly falſe.*

## ARTICLE VI.

The Old Teſtament is not to be rejected as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. For aſmuch as, &c.

*In the original theſe words only are found,* Teſtamentum vetus novo contrarium non eſt, quandoquidem, *&c.*

*The*

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ARTICLE IX.

*The Latin of the original is,* Et quanquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter Chriſtum eſt condemnatio.

And although there is no Condemnation to them that believe, and are baptized, &c.

ARTICLE X.

*Of Grace.*

*This Article is not found in the original.*

The Grace of Chriſt, or the Holy Ghoſt, which is given by him, doth, &c.

ARTICLE XVI.

*Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt.*

*This is not found.*

The Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt is then committed, when, &c.

ARTICLE XIX.

*This is not found.*

All men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law, although the Law given from God, &c.

ARTICLE XX.

*Of the Authority of the Church.*

*This Article agrees with the original; but theſe words,* The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith, *ſuppoſed to begin the Article, are not found in any part thereof.*

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Words written, &c.

*In*

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*In the fourteenth line of this Article, immediately after these words* (But yet have not like nature with Baptism and the Lord's Supper) *follows*, quomodo nec pœnitentia, *which being marked underneath with* minium, *is left out in the translation.*

ARTICLE XXVI.

*Of the Sacraments.*

Sacraments Ordained of Christ, &c.

*This Article agrees with the original, as far as these words,* (and hath given occasion to many Superstitions) *where follows*, Christus in cœlum ascendens, corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit, humanæ enim naturæ veritatem (juxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa vel omnia simul loca diffundi oportet; quum igitur Christus in cœlum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem sæculi sit permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit, ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, carnis et ejus et sanguinis realem, et corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri. *These words are marked and scrawled over with* minium, *and the words immediately following* (Corpus tamen Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, tantum cœlesti et spirituali ratione) *are inserted in a different hand just before them, in a line and a half left void; which plainly appears to be done afterwards, by reason the same hand has altered the first number of lines, and, for* viginti quatuor, *made* quatuordecim.

ARTICLE XXIX.

*Of the Lord's Supper.*

The Supper of the Lord is not only a Sign of, &c.

*The three last Articles*, viz. *the* 39*th, Of the Resurrection of the Dead; the* 40*th, that the Souls of Men do neither perish with their bodies* (neque otiosi dormiant *is added in the original*); *and the* 42*d, that all shall not be saved at last, are found in the original, distinguished only with a marginal line of* minium: *but the* 41*st, Of the* Millenarians, *is wholly left out.*

*The number of Articles does not exactly agree, by reason some are inserted, which are found only in King* Edward's *Articles, but none are wanting that are found in the original.*

Corpus

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Corpus Chriſti Col. *Feb. 4th*, 1695-6.

UPON examination we judge theſe to be all the material differences, that are unobſerved, between the original manuſcripts and the B. of Saliſbury's printed copy. *Witneſs our hands.*

*Jo. Jaggard,*
*Rob. Moſſe,*
*Will. Lunn,*
} Fellows of the ſaid College.

After I had procured this, I was deſirous likewiſe to have the printed editions collated with the ſecond publication of the Articles in the year 1571; in which the Convocation reviewed thoſe of 1562, and made ſome ſmall alterations: and theſe were very lately procured for me by my reverend friend, Dr. Green, which I will ſet down as he was pleaſed to communicate them to me.

[*Note*, MS. *ſtands for* Manuſcript, *and* Pr. *for* Print.]

*Art.* 1. *MS.* and true God, and he is everlaſting, without body.
Pr. *and true God, everlaſting, without body.*
*Art.* 2. *MS.* but alſo for all actual ſins of men.
Pr. *but alſo for actual ſins of men.*
*Art.* 3. *MS.* ſo alſo it is to be believed.
Pr. *ſo alſo is it to be believed.*
*Art.* 4. *MS.* Chriſt did truly ariſe again.
Pr. *Chriſt did truly riſe again.*
*MS.* until he return to judge all men at the laſt day.
Pr. *until he return to judge men at the laſt day.*
*Art.* 6. *MS.* to be believed as an Article of the Faith.
Pr. *to be believed as an Article of Faith.*
*MS.* requiſite as neceſſary to ſalvation.
Pr. *requiſite or neceſſary to ſalvation.*
*MS.* in the name of holy Scripture.
Pr. *in the name of the holy Scripture.*
*MS.* but yet doth it not apply.
Pr. *but yet doth not apply.*
*MS. Baruch.*
Pr. Baruch *the prophet.*
*MS.* and account them for canonical.
Pr. *and account them canonical.*
*Art.* 8. *MS.* by moſt certain warranties of holy Scripture.
Pr. *by moſt certain warrant of holy Scripture.*

*Art.*

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*Art.* 9. *MS.* but it is the fault.
Pr. *but is the fault.*
*MS.* whereby man is very far from his original righteouſneſs.
Pr. *whereby man is far gone from original righteouſneſs.*
*MS.* in them that be regenerated.
Pr. *in them that are regenerated.*

*Art. De Gratia, non habetur in MS.*

*Art.* 10. *MS.* a good will and working in us.
Pr. *a good will and working with us.*
*Art.* 14. *MS.* cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety.
Pr. *cannot be taught without arrogancy and iniquity.*
*MS.* we be unprofitable ſervants.
Pr. *we are unprofitable ſervants.*
*Art.* 15. *MS.* ſin only except.
Pr. *ſin only excepted.*
*MS.* to be the Lamb without ſpot.
Pr. *to be a Lamb without ſpot.*
*MS.* but we the reſt, although baptized, and born again in Chriſt, yet we all offend.
Pr. *but all we the reſt, although baptized, and if born in Chriſt, yet offend.*

*Art. De Blaſphemia in Sp. Sanct. non eſt in MS.*

*Art.* 16. *MS.* wherefore the place for penitence.
Pr. *wherefore the grant of repentance.*
*Art.* 17. *MS.* ſo excellent a benefit of God given unto them, be called according.
Pr. *ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according.*
*MS.* as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their love.
Pr. *as becauſe it doth frequently kindle their love.*

*Art. Omnes obligantur, &c. non eſt in MS.*

*Art.* 18. *MS.* to frame his life according to the law and the light of nature.
Pr. *to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature.*
*Art.* 19. *MS.* congregation of faithful men in the which the pure Word.

Pr.

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Pr. *congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word.*

*Art.* 20. *MS.* The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith. And yet.

*Theſe words are not in the original MS.*

*MS.* ought it not to enforce any thing.

Pr. *it ought not to enforce any thing.*

*Art.* 21. *MS.* *and when they be gathered together (foraſmuch.*

*Pr.* and when they be gathered (foraſmuch.

*Art.* 22. *MS.* is a fond thing vainly invented.

Pr. *is a fond thing vainly feigned.*

*Art.* 24. *MS.* in a tongue not underſtanded of the people.

Pr. *in a tongue not underſtood of the people.*

*Art.* 25. *MS.* and effectual ſigns of grace and God's good will towards us.

Pr. *and effectual ſigns of grace and God's will towards us.*

*MS.* and extream annoyling.

Pr. *and extream unction.*

*Art.* 26. *MS.* in their own name, but do miniſter by Chriſt's commiſſion and authority.

Pr. *in their own name, but in Chriſt's, and do miniſter by his commiſſion and authority.*

*MS.* and in the receiving of the Sacraments.

Pr. *and in the receiving the Sacraments.*

*MS.* and rightly receive the Sacraments.

Pr. *and rightly do receive the Sacraments.*

*Art.* 27. *MS.* from others that be not chriſtned, but is alſo a ſign.

Pr. *from others that be not chriſtned, but it is alſo a ſign.*

*MS.* forgiveneſs of ſin, and of our adoption.

Pr. *forgiveneſs of ſin, of our adoption.*

*Art.* 28. *MS.* to have amongſt themſelves.

Pr. *to have among themſelves.*

*MS.* the bread which we break is a communion of the body of Chriſt.

Pr. *the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Chriſt.*

*MS.* and likewiſe the cup of bleſſing is a communion of the blood of Chriſt.

Pr. *and likewiſe the cup of bleſſing is a partaking of the blood of Chriſt.*

*MS.* or the change of the ſubſtance of bread and wine into the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood cannot be proved by holy writ, but is repugnant.

Pr. *or the change of the ſubſtance of bread and wine in the ſupper of the Lord cannot be proved by holy writ, but it is repugnant.*

*MS.* but the mean whereby the body of Chriſt is received.

Pr. *and the mean whereby the body of Chriſt is received.*

*MS.* lifted up or worſhipped.

Pr. *lifted up and worſhipped.*

*Art.* 31. *MS.* is the perfect redemption.

Pr. *is that perfect redemption.*

*MS.* to have remiſſion of pain or guilt were forged fables.

Pr. *to have remiſſion of pain and guilt were blaſphemous fables.*

*Art.* 33. *MS.* that hath authority thereto.

Pr. *that hath authority thereunto.*

*Art.* 34. *MS.* diverſity of countries, times, and men's manners.

Pr. *diverſity of countries and men's manners.*

*MS.* and be ordained and appointed by common authority.

Pr. *and be ordained and approved by common authority.*

*MS.* the conſciences of the weak brethren.

Pr. *the conſciences of weak brethren.*

*Art.* 35. *MS.* of homilies, the titles whereof we have joined under this article, do contain.

Pr. *of homilies, the ſeveral titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain.*

*MS.* wholeſome doctrine, and neceſſary for this time, as doth the former book which was ſet forth.

Pr. *wholeſome doctrine, neceſſary for theſe times, as doth the former book of homilies which were ſet forth.*

*MS.* and therefore are to be read in our churches by the miniſters, diligently, plainly, and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtanded of the people.

Pr. *and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the people.*

*MS.*

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*MS.* miniſtred in a tongue known.
Pr. *miniſtred in a known tongue.*

*Art. De Libro Precationum, &c. non eſt in MS.*

*Art.* 36. *MS.* in the time of the moſt noble K. *Edward* the Sixth.
Pr. *in the time of* Edward *the Sixth.*
*MS.* ſuperſtitious or ungodly.
Pr. *ſuperſtitious and ungodly.*
*Art.* 37. *MS.* whether they be eccleſiaſtical or not.
Pr. *whether they be eccleſiaſtical or civil.*
*MS.* the minds of ſome ſlanderous folks to be offended.
Pr. *the minds of ſome dangerous folks to be offended.*
*MS.* we give not to our princes.
Pr. *we give not our princes.*
*MS.* or of ſacraments.
Pr. *or of the ſacraments.*
*MS.* the injunctions alſo lately ſet forth.
Pr. *the injunctions alſo ſet forth.*
*MS.* and ſerve in the wars.
Pr. *and ſerve in lawful wars.*
*Art.* 38. *MS.* every man oughteth of ſuch things.
Pr. *every man ought of ſuch things.*

*Art.* 39. *Edw.* VI. *& qui ſequuntur, non ſunt in MS.*

*WE th' Archbiſhops and Biſhops of either Province of this Realm of* England, *lawfully gathered together in this Provincial Synod holden at* London, *with Continuations and Prorogations of the ſame, do receive, profeſs and acknowledge the* xxxviii *Articles before written in* xix *Pages going before, to contain true and ſound Doctrine, and do approve and ratify the ſame by the ſubſcription of our Hands the* xi^th^ *Day of* May *in the Year of our Lord* 1571, *and in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady* Elizabeth *by the Grace of God of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defender of the Faith,* &c. *the thirteenth.*

Matthue Cantuar. N. Bangor.
Rob. Winton. Ri. Ciceſtren.
Jo. Heref. Thom. Lincoln.
Richarde Ely. Wilhelmus Exon.
Nic. Wigorn.
Jo. Sariſburien.
Edm. Roffen.



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From theſe diverſities a great difficulty will naturally ariſe about this whole matter. The manuſcripts of Corpus Chriſti are without doubt originals.

The hands of the ſubſcribers are well known; they belonged to Archbiſhop Parker, and were left by him to that college, and they are ſigned with a particular care; for at the end of them there is not only a ſum of the number of the pages, but of the lines in every page. And though this was the work only of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury; yet the Archbiſhop of York, with the Biſhops of Dureſme and Cheſter, ſubſcribed them likewiſe, and they were alſo ſubſcribed by the whole Lower Houſe. But we are not ſure that the like care was uſed in the Convocation, anno 1571; for the Articles are only ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ten Biſhops of his province; nor does the ſubſcription of the Lower Houſe appear. Theſe Articles were firſt printed in the year 1563, conform to the preſent impreſſions which are ſtill in uſe among us. So the alterations were then made while the thing was freſh and well known, therefore no fraud nor artifice is to be ſuſpected, ſince ſome objections would have been then made, eſpecially by the great party of the complying papiſts, who then continued in the Church: they would not have failed to have made much uſe of this, and to have taken great advantages from it, if there had been any occaſion or colour for it; and yet nothing of this kind was then done.

One alteration of more importance was made in the year 1571. Thoſe words of the 20th Article, *The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith*, were left out both in the manuſcripts, and in the printed editions, but were afterwards reſtored according to the Articles, printed anno 1563. I cannot find out in what year they were again put in the printed copies. They appear in two ſeveral impreſſions in Queen Elizabeth's time, which are in my hands: it paſſes commonly that it was done by Archbiſhop Laud; and his enemies laid this upon him among other things, that he had corrupted the doctrine of this Church by this addition: but he cleared himſelf of that, as well he might, and, in a ſpeech in the Star-Chamber, appealed to the original, and affirmed theſe words were in it.

The true account of this difficulty is this. When the Articles were firſt ſettled, they were ſubſcribed by both Houſes upon paper; but that being done, they were afterward ingroſſed in parchment, and made up in form to remain

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remain as records. Now in all ſuch bodies, many alterations are often made after a minute or firſt draught is agreed on, before the matter is brought to full perfection; ſo theſe alterations, as moſt of them are ſmall and inconſiderable, were made between the time that they were firſt ſubſcribed, and the laſt voting of them. But the original records, which if extant would have cleared the whole matter, having been burnt in the fire of London, it is not poſſible to appeal to them; yet what has been propoſed may ſerve, I hope, fully to clear the difficulty.

I now go to conſider the Articles themſelves,



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# ARTICLE I.

## Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

**There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without bodie, parts or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things both visible and invisible; and in the unity of this Godhead there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.**

THE natural order of things required, that the first of all Articles in Religion should be concerning the Being and Attributes of God: for all other doctrines arise out of this. But the title appropriates this to the Holy Trinity; because that is the only part of the Article which peculiarly belongs to the Christian Religion; since the rest is founded on the principles of natural Religion.

There are six heads to be treated of, in order to the full opening of all that is contained in this Article.

1. That there is a God.
2. That there is but one God.
3. Negatively, That this God hath neither body, parts, nor passions.
4. Positively, That he is of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness.
5. That he at first created, and does still preserve all things, not only what is material and visible, but also what is spiritual and invisible.
6. The Trinity is here asserted.

These being all points of the highest consequence, it is very necessary to state them as clearly, and to prove them as fully, as may be.

The first is, *That there is a God.* This is a proposition, which, in all ages, has been so universally received and believed, some very few instances being only assigned of such as either have denied or doubted of it, that the very consent of so many ages and nations, of such different tempers and languages, so vastly remote from one another, has been long esteemed a good argument, to prove that either there is somewhat in the nature of man, that by a secret sort of instinct does dictate this to him; or that all

all mankind has deſcended from one common ſtock; and that this belief has paſſed down from the firſt man to all his poſterity. If the more polite nations had only received this, ſome might ſuggeſt, that wiſe men had introduced it as a mean to govern human ſociety, and to keep it in order: or, if only the more barbarous had received this, it might be thought to be the effect of their fear, and their ignorance: but ſince all ſorts, as well as all ages of men have received it, this alone goes a great way to aſſure us of the being of a God. ART. I.

To this two things are objected, 1ſt, That ſome nations, ſuch as Soldania, Formoſa, and ſome in America, have been diſcovered in theſe laſt ages, that ſeem to acknowledge no Deity. But to this, two things are to be oppoſed: 1ſt, That thoſe who firſt diſcovered theſe countries, and have given that account of them, did not know them enough, nor underſtand their language ſo perfectly as was neceſſary to enable them to comprehend all their opinions: and this is the more probable, becauſe others, that have writ after them, aſſure us, that they are not without all ſenſe of religion, which the firſt diſcoverers had too haſtily affirmed: ſome prints of religion begin to be obſerved among thoſe of Soldania, though it is certainly one of the moſt degenerated of all nations. But a ſecond anſwer to this is, That thoſe nations, of whom theſe reports are given out, are ſo extremely ſunk from all that is wiſe or regular, great and good in human nature, ſo rude and untractable, and ſo incapable of arts and diſcipline, that if the reports concerning them are to be believed, and if that weakens the argument from the common conſent of mankind of the one hand, it ſtrengthens it on another, while it appears that human nature, when it wants this impreſſion, it wants with it all that is great or orderly in it; and ſhews a brutality almoſt as low and baſe as is that of beaſts. Some men are born without ſome of their ſenſes, and others without the uſe of reaſon and memory: and yet thoſe exceptions do not prove that the imperfections of ſuch perſons are not irregularities againſt the common courſe of things: the monſtrouſneſs as well as the miſeries of perſons ſo unhappily born, tend to recommend more effectually the perfection of human nature. So if theſe nations, which are ſuppoſed to be without the belief of a God, are ſuch a low and degenerated piece of human nature, that ſome have doubted whether they are a perfect race of men or not, this does not derogate from, but rather confirms the force of this argument, from the general conſent of all nations.

ART. I. A ſecond exception to this argument is, That men have not agreed in the ſame notions concerning the Deity: ſome believing two Gods, a good and a bad; that are in a perpetual conteſt together: others holding a vaſt number of Gods, either all equal or ſubaltern to one another: and ſome believing God to be a corporeal being, and that the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and a great many other beings, are Gods: ſince then, though all may acknowledge a Deity in general, they are yet ſubdivided into ſo many different conceits about it, no argument can be drawn from this ſuppoſed conſent; which is not ſo great in reality, as it ſeems to be. But, in anſwer to this, we muſt obſerve, that the conſtant ſenſe of mankind agreeing in this, that there is a ſuperior Being that governs the world, ſhews, that this fixed perſuaſion has a deep root: though the weakneſs of ſeveral nations being practiſed upon by deſigning men, they have in many things corrupted this notion of God. That might have ariſen from the tradition of ſome true doctrines vitiated in the conveyance. Spirits made by God to govern the world by the order and under the direction of the Supreme Mind, might eaſily come to be looked on as ſubordinate Deities: ſome evil and lapſed ſpirits might in a courſe of ſome ages paſs for evil Gods. The apparitions of the Deity under ſome figures might make theſe figures to be adored: and God being conſidered as the ſupreme Light, this might lead men to worſhip the ſun as his chief vehicle: and ſo by degrees he might paſs for the ſupreme God. Thus it is eaſy to trace up theſe miſtakes to what may juſtly be ſuppoſed to be their firſt ſource and riſe. But ſtill the foundation of them all was a firm belief of a ſuperior nature, that governed the world. Mankind agreeing in that, an occaſion was thereby given to bad and deſigning men to graft upon it ſuch other tenets as might feed ſuperſtition and idolatry, and furniſh the managers of thoſe impoſtures with advantages to raiſe their own authority. But how various ſoever the ſeveral ages and nations of the world may have been as to their more ſpecial opinions and rites; yet the general idea of a God remained ſtill unaltered, even amidſt all the changes that have happened in the particular forms and doctrines of religion.

Another argument for the being of God is taken from the viſible world, in which there is a vaſt variety of beings curiouſly framed, and that ſeem deſigned for great and noble ends. In theſe we ſee clear characters of God's eternal power and wiſdom. And that is thus to be made out. It is certain, that nothing could give being to itſelf; ſo

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ART. I.

ſo the things which we ſee, either had their being from all eternity, or were made in time: and either they were from all eternity in the ſame ſtate, and under the ſame revolutions of the heavens, as they are at preſent, or they fell into the order and method, in which they do now roll, by ſome happy chance; out of which all the beauty and uſefulneſs of the creation did ariſe. But if all theſe ſuppoſitions are manifeſtly falſe, then it will remain, that if things neither were from all eternity as they now are, nor fell into their preſent ſtate by chance, then there is a ſuperior Eſſence, that gave them being, and that moulded them as we ſee they now are. The firſt branch of this, that they were not as now they are from all eternity, is to be proved by two ſorts of arguments; the one intrinſecal, by demonſtrating this to be impoſſible; the other moral, by ſhewing that it is not at all credible. As to the firſt, it is to be conſidered, that a ſucceſſive duration made up of parts, which is called Time, and is meaſured by a ſucceſſive rotation of the heavens, cannot poſſibly be eternal. For if there were eternal revolutions of Saturn in his courſe of thirty years, and eternal revolutions of days as well as years, of minutes as well as hours, then the one muſt be as infinite as the other; ſo that the one muſt be equal to the other, both being infinite; and yet the latter are ſome millions of times more than the other; which is impoſſible. Further; of every paſt duration, as this is true, that once it was preſent; ſo this is true, that once it was to come; this being a neceſſary affection of every thing that exiſts in time: if then all paſt durations were all once future, or to be, then we cannot conceive ſuch a ſucceſſion of durations eternal, ſince once every one of them was to come. Nor can all this, or any part of it, be turned againſt us, who believe that ſome beings are immortal, and ſhall never ceaſe to be; for all thoſe future durations have never actually been, but are ſtill produced of new, and ſo continued in being. This argument may ſeem to be too ſubtile, and it will require ſome attention of mind to obſerve and diſcover the force of it; but after we have turned it over and over again, it will be found to be a true demonſtration. The chief objection that lies againſt it is, that in the opinion of thoſe who deny that there are any indiviſible points of matter, and that believe that matter is infinitely diviſible, it is not abſurd to ſay, that one infinite is more than another: for the ſmalleſt crum of matter is infinite, as well as the whole globe of the earth: and therefore the revolutions of Saturn may be infinite, as well as the revolutions of days, though the one

ART. I. one be vaſtly more numerous than the other. But there is this difference betwixt the ſucceſſion of time, and the compoſition of matter; that thoſe who deny indiviſibles, ſay, that no one point can be aſſigned: for if points could be aſſigned or numbered, it is certain that they could not be infinite; for an infinite number ſeems to be a contradiction: but if the ſeries of mankind were infinite, ſince this is viſibly divided into ſingle individuals, as the units in that ſeries, then here ariſes an infinite number compoſed of units or individuals, that can be aſſigned. The ſame is to be ſaid of minutes, hours, days, and years: nor can it be ſaid with equal reaſon, that every portion of time is diviſible to infinity, as well as every parcel of matter. It ſeems evident, that there is a preſent time; and that paſt, preſent, and to come, cannot be ſaid to be true of any thing all at once: therefore the objection againſt the aſſigning points in matter does not overthrow the truth of this argument. But if it is thought that this is rather a ſleight of metaphyſicks that intangles one, than a plain and full conviction, let us turn next to ſuch reaſonings as are more obvious, and that are more eaſily apprehended.

The other moral arguments are more ſenſible as well as they are of a more complicated nature; and proceed thus: The hiſtory of all nations, of all governments, arts, ſciences, and even inſtituted religions, the peopling of nations, the progreſs of commerce and of colonies, are plain indications of the novelty of the world; no ſort of trace remaining, by which we can believe it to be ancienter than the books of Moſes repreſent it to be. For though ſome nations, ſuch as the Egyptians and the Chineſes, have boaſted of a much greater antiquity; yet it is plain, we hear of no ſeries of hiſtory for all thoſe ages; ſo that what they had relating to them, if it is not wholly a fiction, might have been only in aſtronomical tables, which may be eaſily run backwards as well as forward. The very few eclipſes which Ptolemy could hear of is a remarkable inſtance of the novelty of hiſtory; ſince the obſerving ſuch an extraordinary accident in the heavens, in ſo pure an air, where the ſun was not only obſerved, but adored, muſt have been one of the firſt effects of learning or induſtry. All theſe characters of the novelty of the world have been ſo well conſidered by Lucretius, and other atheiſts, that they gave up the point, and thought it evident that this preſent frame of things had certainly a beginning.

The ſolution that thoſe men, who found themſelves driven from this of the world's being eternal, have given to this difficulty, by ſaying that all things have run by chance

chance into the combinations and channels in which we ſee nature run, is ſo abſurd, that it looks like men who are reſolved to believe any thing, how abſurd ſoever, rather than to acknowledge religion. For what a ſtrange conceit is it, to think that chance could ſettle on ſuch a regular and uſeful frame of things, and continue ſo fixed and ſtable in it; and that chance could do ſo much at once, and ſhould do nothing ever ſince? The conſtancy of the celeſtial motions; the obliquity of the zodiack, by which different ſeaſons are aſſigned to different climates; the diviſions of this globe into ſea and land, into hills and vales; the productions of the earth, whether latent, ſuch as mines, minerals, and other foſſils; or viſible, ſuch as graſs, grain, herbs, flowers, ſhrubs, and trees; the ſmall beginnings, and the curious compoſitions of them: the variety and curious ſtructure of inſects; the diſpoſition of the bodies of perfecter animals; and, above all, the fabrick of the body of man, eſpecially the curious diſcoveries that anatomy and microſcopes have given us; the ſtrange beginning and progreſs of thoſe; the wonders that occur in every organ of ſenſe, and the amazing ſtructure and uſe of the brain, are all ſuch things, ſo artificial, and yet ſo regular, and ſo exactly ſhaped and fitted for their ſeveral uſes, that he who can believe all this to be chance, ſeems to have brought his mind to digeſt any abſurdity. ART. I.

That all men ſhould reſemble one another in the main things, and yet that every man ſhould have a peculiar look, voice, and way of writing, is neceſſary to maintain order and diſtinction in ſociety: by theſe we know men, if we either ſee them, hear them ſpeak in the dark, or receive any writing from them at a diſtance; without theſe, the whole commerce of life would be one continued courſe of miſtake and confuſion. This, I ſay, is ſuch an indication of wiſdom, that it looks like a violence to nature to think it can be otherwiſe.

The only colour, that has ſupported this monſtrous conceit, that things ariſe out of chance, is, that it has long paſſed current in the world, that great varieties of inſects do ariſe out of corrupted matter. They argue, that if the ſun's ſhining on a dunghill can give life to ſuch ſwarms of curious creatures, it is but a little more extraordinary, to think that animals and men might have been formed out of well-diſpoſed matter, under a peculiar aſpect of the heavens. But the exacter obſervations, that have been made in this age by the help of glaſſes, have put an end to this anſwer, which is the beſt that Lucretius and other atheiſts found to reſt in. It is now fully made out, that the

ART. I. the production of all inſects whatſoever is in the way of generation: heat and corruption do only hatch thoſe eggs, that inſects leave to a prodigious quantity every where. So that this, which is the only ſpecious thing in the whole plea for atheiſm, is now given up by the univerſal conſent of all the enquirers into nature.

And now to bring the force of this long argument to a head: If this world was neither from all eternity in the ſtate in which it is at preſent, nor could fall into it by chance or accident, then it muſt follow, that it was put into the ſtate in which we now ſee it, by a Being of vaſt power and wiſdom. This is the great and ſolid argument on which Religion reſts; and it receives a vaſt acceſſion of ſtrength from this, that we plainly ſee matter has not motion in or of itſelf: every part of it is at quiet till it is put in motion, that is not natural to it; for many parts of matter fall into a ſtate of reſt and quiet; ſo that motion muſt be put in them by ſome impulſe or other. Matter, after it has paſſed through the higheſt refinings and rectifyings poſſible, becomes only more capable of motion than it was before; but ſtill it is a paſſive principle, and muſt be put in motion by ſome other being. This has appeared ſo neceſſary even to thoſe who have tried their utmoſt force to make God as little needful as poſſible in the ſtructure of the univerſe, that they have yet been forced to own, that there muſt have been once a vaſt motion given to matter by the Supreme Mind.

A third argument for the being of a God, is, that upon ſome great occaſions, and before a vaſt number of witneſſes, ſome perſons have wrought miracles: that is, they have put nature out of its courſe, by ſome words or ſigns, that of themſelves could not produce thoſe extraordinary effects: and therefore ſuch perſons were aſſiſted by a Power ſuperior to the courſe of nature; and by conſequence there is ſuch a Being, and that is God. To this the atheiſts do firſt ſay, that we do not know the ſecret virtues that are in nature: the loadſtone and opium produce wonderful effects: therefore, unleſs we knew the whole extent of nature, we cannot define what is ſupernatural and miraculous, and what is not ſo. But though we cannot tell how far nature may go, yet of ſome things we may, without heſitation, ſay, they are beyond natural powers. Such were the wonders that Moſes wrought in Egypt and in the wilderneſs, by the ſpeaking a few words, or the ſtretching out of a rod. We are ſure theſe could not by any natural efficiency produce thoſe wonders. And the like is to be ſaid of the miracles of Chriſt, particularly of his raiſing the dead

dead to life again, and of his own reſurrection. Theſe we are ſure did not ariſe out of natural cauſes. The next thing atheiſts ſay to this, is, to diſpute the truth of the facts: but of that I ſhall treat in another place, when the authority of revealed religion comes to be proved from thoſe facts. All that is neceſſary to be added here, is, that if facts, that are plainly ſupernatural, are proved to have been really done, then here is another clear and full argument, to prove a Being ſuperior to nature, that can diſpoſe of it at pleaſure: and that Being muſt either be God, or ſome other inviſible Being, that has a ſtrength ſuperior to the ſettled courſe of nature. And if inviſible Beings, ſuperior to nature, whether good or bad, are once acknowledged, a great ſtep is made to the proof of the Supreme Being. ART. I.

There is another famed argument taken from the idea of God; which is laid thus: that becauſe one frames a notion of infinite perfection, therefore there muſt be ſuch a Being, from whom that notion is conveyed to us. This argument is alſo managed by other methods, to give us a demonſtration of the being of a God. I am unwilling to ſay any thing to derogate from any argument that is brought to prove this concluſion; but when he, who inſiſts on this, lays all other arguments aſide, or at leaſt ſlights them as not ſtrong enough to prove the point, this naturally gives jealouſy, when all thoſe reaſons, that had for ſo many ages been conſidered as ſolid proofs, are neglected, as if this only could amount to a demonſtration. But, beſides, this is an argument that cannot be offered by any to another perſon, for his conviction; ſince if he denies that he has any ſuch idea, he is without the reach of the argument. And if a man will ſay that any ſuch idea, which he may raiſe in himſelf, is only an aggregate that he makes of all thoſe perfections, of which he can form a thought, which he lays together, ſeparating from them every imperfection that he obſerves to be often mixed with ſome of thoſe perfections: if, I ſay, a man will affirm this, I do not ſee that the inference from any ſuch thought that he has formed within himſelf, can have any great force to perſuade him that there is any ſuch Being. Upon the whole, it ſeems to be fully proved, that there is a Being that is ſuperior to matter, and that gave both being and order to it, and to all other things. This may ſerve to prove the being of a God: it is fit in the next place to conſider, with all humble modeſty, what thoughts we can, or ought to have of the Deity.

That Supreme Being muſt have its eſſence of itſelf neceſſarily and eternally; for it is impoſſible that any thing can

ART. I. can give itſelf being; ſo it muſt be eternal. And though eternity in a ſucceſſion of determinate durations was proved to be impoſſible, yet it is certain that ſomething muſt be eternal; either matter, or a Being ſuperior to it, that has not a duration defined by ſucceſſion, but is a ſimple eſſence, and eternally was, is, and ſhall be the ſame. There is nothing contradictory to itſelf in this notion: it is indeed above our capacity to form a clear thought of it; but it is plain it muſt be ſo, and that this is only a defect in our nature and capacity, that we cannot diſtinctly apprehend that which is ſo far above us. Such a Being muſt have alſo neceſſary exiſtence in its notion; for whatſoever is infinitely perfect, muſt neceſſarily exiſt; ſince we plainly perceive, that neceſſary exiſtence is a perfection, and that contingent exiſtence is an imperfection, which ſuppoſes a being that is produced by another, and that depends upon it: and as this ſuperior Being did exiſt from all eternity, ſo it is impoſſible it ſhould ceaſe to be; ſince nothing, that once has actually a being, can ever ceaſe to be, but by an act of a ſuperior Being annihilating it. But there being nothing ſuperior to the Deity, it is impoſſible that it ſhould ever ceaſe to be: what was ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity, muſt alſo be ſo to all eternity; and it is as impoſſible that a ſimple eſſence can annihilate itſelf, as that it can make itſelf.

So much concerning the firſt and capital article of all religion, the exiſtence and being of a God; which ought not to be proved by any authorities from Scripture, unleſs from the recitals that are given in it concerning miracles, as was already hinted at. But as to the authority of ſuch paſſages in Scripture, which affirm, that there is a God, it is to be conſidered, that before we can be bound to ſubmit to them, we muſt believe three propoſitions antecedent to that; 1. That there is a God. 2. That all his words are true. 3. That theſe are his words. What therefore muſt be believed before we acknowledge the Scriptures, cannot be proved out of them. It is then a ſtrange aſſertion, to ſay, that the being of a God cannot be proved by the light of nature, but muſt be proved by the Scriptures; ſince our being aſſured, that there is a God, is the firſt principle, upon which the authority of the Scriptures depends.

The ſecond propoſition in the Article is, That *there is but one God*. As to this, the common argument, by which it is proved, is the order of the world; from whence it is inferred, that there cannot be more Gods than one, ſince where there are more than one, there muſt happen diverſity and confuſion. This is by ſome thought to be no good reaſon;

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reaſon; for if there are more Gods, that is, more beings infinitely perfect, they will always think the ſame thing, and be knit together with an entire love. It is true, in things of a moral nature this muſt ſo happen: for beings infinitely perfect muſt ever agree. But in phyſical things, capable of no morality, as in creating the world ſooner or later, and the different ſyſtems of beings, with a thouſand other things that have no moral goodneſs in them, different beings infinitely perfect might have different thoughts. So this argument ſeems ſtill of great force to prove the unity of the Deity. The other argument from reaſon to prove the unity of God, is from the notion of a Being infinitely perfect. For a ſuperiority over all other beings comes ſo naturally into the idea of infinite perfection, that we cannot ſeparate it from it. A Being therefore, that has not all other beings inferior and ſubordinate to it, cannot be infinitely perfect; whence it is evident, that there is but one God. But beſides all this, the unity of God ſeems to be ſo frequently and ſo plainly aſſerted in the Scripture, that we ſee it was the chief deſign of the whole Old Teſtament, both of Moſes and the prophets, to eſtabliſh it, in oppoſition to the falſe opinions of the heathen, concerning a diverſity of Gods. This is often repeated in the moſt ſolemn words, as, *Hear O Iſrael, the Lord our God is one God.* It is the firſt of the Ten Commandments, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me.* And all things in heaven and earth are often ſaid to be made by this one God. Negative words are alſo often uſed, *There is none other God but one: beſides me there is none elſe, and I know no other*; the going after other Gods is reckoned the higheſt and the moſt unpardonable act of idolatry. The New Teſtament goes on in the ſame ſtrain. Chriſt ſpeaks of the only *true God*, and that he alone ought to be worſhipped and ſerved; all the Apoſtles do frequently affirm the ſame thing; they make the believing of one God, in oppoſition to the many Gods of the Heathens, the chief article of the Chriſtian religion; and they lay down this as the chief ground of our obligation to mutual love and union among ourſelves, That *there is one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm.* Now ſince we are ſure that there is but one Meſſias, and one doctrine delivered by him, it will clearly follow, that there muſt be but one God.

ART. I.

Deut. vi. 4.

Iſa. xliv. 6, 8.

John xvii. 3. Mat. iv. 10. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6.

So the unity of the divine Eſſence is clearly proved both from the order and government of the world, from the idea of infinite perfection, and from thoſe expreſs declarations that are made concerning it in the Scriptures; which

ART. I. which laſt is a full proof to all ſuch as own and ſubmit to them.

The third head in this Article is that which is negatively expreſſed, That *God is without Body, Parts,* or *Paſſions.* In general, all theſe are ſo plainly contrary to the ideas of infinite perfection, and they appear ſo evidently to be imperfections, that this part of the Article will need little explanation. We do plainly perceive that our bodies are clogs to our minds; and all the uſe, that even the pureſt ſort of body, in an eſtate conceived to be glorified, can be of to a mind, is to be an inſtrument of local motion, or to be a repoſitory of ideas for memory and imagination: but God, who is every where, and is one pure and ſimple act, can have no ſuch uſe for a body. A mind dwelling in a body is in many reſpects ſuperior to it; yet in ſome reſpects is under it. We who feel how an act of our mind can ſo direct the motions of our body, that a thought ſets our limbs and joints a going, can from thence conceive, how that the whole extent of matter ſhould receive ſuch motions as the acts of the Supreme Mind give it; but yet not as a body united to it, or that the Deity either needs ſuch a body, or can receive any trouble from it. Thus far the apprehenſion of the thing is very plainly made out to us. Our thoughts put ſome parts of our body in a preſent motion, when the organization is regular, and all the parts are exact, and when there is no obſtruction in thoſe veſſels or paſſages, through which that heat and thoſe ſpirits do paſs, that cauſe the motion. We do in this perceive, that a thought does command matter; but our minds are limited to our bodies, and theſe do not obey them, but as they are in an exact diſpoſition and a fitneſs to be ſo moved. Now theſe are plain imperfections; but removing them from God, we can from hence apprehend that all the matter in the univerſe may be ſo entirely ſubject to the divine Mind, that it ſhall move and be whatſoever and whereſoever he will have it to be. This is that which all men do agree in.

But many of the philoſophers thought that matter, though it was moved and moulded by God at his pleaſure, yet was not made by him, but was ſelf-exiſtent, and was a paſſive principle, but coexiſtent to the Deity, which they thought was the active principle: from whence ſome have thought, that the belief of two Gods, one good and another bad, did ſpring: though others imagine that the belief of a bad God did ariſe from the corruption of that tradition concerning fallen angels, as was before ſuggeſted.

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ART. I.

ſuggeſted. The philoſophers could not apprehend that things could be made out of nothing, and therefore they believed that matter was coeternal with God. But it is as hard to apprehend how a mind by its thought ſhould give motion to matter, as how it ſhould give it being. A being not made by God is not ſo eaſily conceivable to be under the acts of his mind, as that which is made by him. This conceit plainly deſtroys infinite perfection, which cannot be in God, if all beings are not from him, and under his authority; beſides that ſucceſſive duration has been already proved inconſiſtent with eternity. This opinion of the world's being a body to God, as the mind that dwells in it, and actuates it, is the foundation of atheiſm: for if it be once thought that God can do nothing without ſuch a body, then as this deſtroys the idea of infinite perfection, ſo it makes way to this conceit, that ſince matter is viſible, and God inviſible, there is no other God, but the vaſt extent of the univerſe. It is true, God has often ſhewed himſelf in viſible appearances; but that was only his putting a ſpecial quantity of matter into ſuch motions, as ſhould give a great and aſtoniſhing idea of his nature, from that appearance: which was both the effect of his power, and the ſymbol of his preſence. And thus what glorious repreſentations ſoever were made either on mount Sinai, or in the pillar of the cloud, and cloud of glory, thoſe were no indications of God's having a body; but were only manifeſtations, ſuited to beget ſuch thoughts in the minds of men, that dwelt in bodies, as might lay the principles and foundations of religion deep in them. The language of the Scriptures ſpeaks to the capacities of men, and even of rude men in dark times, in which moſt of the Scriptures were writ: but though God is ſpoke of as having a face, eyes, ears, a ſmelling, hands and feet, and as coming down to view things on earth, all this is expreſſed after the manner of men, and is to be underſtood in a way ſuitable to a pure Spirit. For the great care that was uſed, even under the moſt imperfect ſtate of Revelation, to keep men from framing any image or ſimilitude of the Deity, ſhewed that it was far from the meaning of thoſe expreſſions, that God had an organized body. Theſe do therefore ſignify only the ſeveral varieties of Providence. When God was pleaſed with a nation, his *face* was ſaid to *ſhine* upon it; for ſo a man looks towards thoſe whom he loves. The particular care he takes of them, and the anſwering their prayers, is expreſſed by figures borrowed from *eyes* and *ears*: the peculiar diſpenſations of rewards and puniſhments are ex-



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ART. I. preſſed by his *hands*; and the exactneſs of his juſtice and *wiſdom* is expreſſed by *coming down* to view the ſtate of human affairs. Thus it is clear that God has no body: nor has he *parts*, for we can apprehend no parts but of a body: ſo ſince it is certain that God has no body, he can have *no parts*: ſomething like parts does indeed belong to ſpirits, which are their thoughts diſtinct from their being, and they have a ſucceſſion of them, and do oft change them. But infinite perfection excludes this from the idea of God; ſucceſſive thoughts, as well as ſucceſſive duration, ſeem inconſiſtent both with eternity, and with infinite perfection. Therefore the eſſence of God is one perfect thought, in which he both views and wills all things: and though his tranſient acts that paſs out of the divine eſſence, ſuch as creation, providence, and miracles, are done in a ſucceſſion of time; yet his immanent acts, his knowledge and his decrees, are one with his eſſence. Diſtinct thoughts are plainly an imperfection, and argue a progreſs in knowledge, and a deliberation in council, which carry defect and infirmity in them. To conceive how this is in God, is far above our capacity: who, though we feel our imperfection in ſucceſſive acts, yet cannot apprehend how all things can be both ſeen and determined by one ſingle thought. But the Divine Eſſence being ſo infinitely above us, it is no wonder if we can frame no diſtinct act concerning its knowledge or will.

There is indeed a vaſt difficulty that ariſes here; for thoſe acts of God are ſuppoſed free; ſo that they might have been otherwiſe than we ſee they are: and then it is not eaſy to imagine how they ſhould be one with the Divine Eſſence; to which neceſſary exiſtence does certainly belong. It cannot be ſaid that thoſe acts are neceſſary, and could not be otherwiſe: for ſince all God's tranſient acts are the certain effects of his immanent ones, if the immanent ones are neceſſary, then the tranſient muſt be ſo likewiſe, and ſo every thing muſt be neceſſary: a chain of neceſſary fate muſt run through the whole order of things; and God himſelf then is no free being, but acts by a neceſſity of nature. This ſome have thought was no abſurdity: God is neceſſarily juſt, true, and good, not by any extrinſic neceſſity, for that would import an outward limitation, which deſtroys the idea of God; but by an intrinſic neceſſity, that ariſes from his own infinite perfection. Some have from hence thought that, ſince God acts by infinite wiſdom and goodneſs, things could not have been otherwiſe than they are: for what is infinitely wiſe

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wiſe or good cannot be altered, or made either better or worſe. But this ſeems on the other hand very hard to conceive: for it would follow from thence, that God could neither have made the world ſooner nor later, nor any other way than now it is: nor could he have done any one thing otherwiſe than as it is done. This ſeems to eſtabliſh fate, and to deſtroy induſtry and all prayers and endeavours. Thus there are ſuch great difficulties on all hands in this matter, that it is much the wiſeſt and ſafeſt courſe to adore what is above our apprehenſions, rather than to enquire too curiouſly, or determine too boldly in it. It is certain that God acts both freely and perfectly: nor is he a Being ſubject to change, or to new acts; but *he is what he is*, both infinite and incomprehenſible: we can neither apprehend how he made, nor how he executes his decrees. So we muſt leave this difficulty, without pretending that we can explain it, or anſwer the objections that ariſe againſt all the ſeveral ways by which divines have endeavoured to reſolve it. ART. I.

The third thing under the head I now conſider, is, God's being *without paſſions*. That will be ſoon explained. Paſſion is an agitation that ſuppoſes a ſucceſſion of thoughts, together with a trouble for what is paſt, and a fear of miſſing what is aimed at. It ariſes out of a heat of mind, and produces a vehemence of action. Now all theſe are ſuch manifeſt imperfections, that it does plainly appear they cannot conſiſt with infinite perfection. Yet after all this, there are ſeveral paſſions, ſuch as *anger*, *fury*, *jealouſy*, and *revenge*, *bowels of mercy*, *compaſſion* and *pity*, *joy* and *ſorrow*, that are aſcribed to God in the common forms of ſpeech, that occur often in Scripture, as was formerly obſerved, with relation to thoſe figures that are taken from the parts of a human body. Paſſion produces a vehemence of action: ſo when there is in the providences of God ſuch a vehemence as according to the manner of men would import a paſſion, then that paſſion is aſcribed to God: when he puniſhes men for ſin, he is ſaid to be *angry*: when he does that by ſevere and redoubled ſtrokes, he is ſaid to be full of *fury and revenge*: when he puniſhes for idolatry, or any diſhonour done himſelf, he is ſaid to be *jealous*: when he changes the courſe of his proceedings, he is ſaid to *repent*: when his diſpenſations of providence are very gentle, and his judgments come ſlowly from him, he is ſaid to have *bowels*. And thus all the varieties of Providence come to be expreſſed by all that variety of paſſions, which among men might give occaſion to ſuch a variety of proceeding.



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ART. I. The fourth head in this article is concerning the *power, wiſdom, and goodneſs* of God, that he is *infinite* in them. If he can give being to things that are not, and can alſo give all the poſſibilities of motion, ſize, and ſhape, to beings that do exiſt, here is power without bounds. A power of creating muſt be infinite, ſince nothing can reſiſt it. If ſome things are in their own nature impoſſible, that does not ariſe from the want of power in God, which extends to every thing that is poſſible. But that which is ſuppoſed to be impoſſible of its own nature, cannot actually be: otherwiſe a thing might both be and not be; and it is perceptible to every man that this is impoſſible. It is not want of power in God, that he cannot lie nor ſin: it is the infinite purity of the divine nature that makes this impoſſible, by reaſon of his infinite perfection. Nor is it a want of power in God, that the truth of propoſitions concerning things that are paſt, as that yeſterday once was, is unalterable. Among impoſſibilities, one is, to take from any being that which is eſſential to it. God can annihilate every being at his pleaſure; for as he gave being with a thought, ſo he can deſtroy it with another: and this does fully aſſert the infinite power of God. But if he has made beings with ſuch peculiar eſſences, as that matter muſt be extended and impenetrable, and that it is capable of peculiar ſurfaces and other modes, which are only its different ſizes and ſhapes, then matter cannot be and yet not be extended; nor can theſe modes ſubſiſt, if the matter of which they are the modes is withdrawn. The infinite power of God is fully believed by thoſe who acknowledge both his power of creating and annihilating; together with a power of diſpoſing of the whole creation, according to the poſſibilities of every part or individual of it; though they cannot conceive a poſſibility of ſeparating the eſſential properties of any being from itſelf; that is to ſay, that it may both be, and not be, at the ſame time; ſince an eſſential property is that which cannot be without that ſubſtance to which it belongs.

The wiſdom of God conſiſts firſt in his ſeeing all the poſſibilities of things, and then in his knowing all things that either are, or ever were, or ſhall be: the former is called the knowledge of ſimple *intelligence* or *apprehenſion*; the other is called the knowledge of *viſion*. The one ariſes from the perfection of the Divine Eſſence, by which he apprehends whatever is poſſible; the other ariſes from his own decrees, in which the whole order of things is fixed. But beſides theſe two ideas that we can frame of the knowledge of God, ſome have imagined a third knowledge,

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ledge, which, becauſe it is of a middle order betwixt *intelligence* and *viſion*, they have called a *middle knowledge*; which is the knowing certainly how, according to all the poſſibilities of circumſtances in which free agents might be put, they ſhould chooſe and act. Some have thought that this was a vain and needleſs conceit; and that it is impoſſible that ſuch knowledge ſhould be certain, or more than conjectural; and ſince conjecture implies doubt, it is an imperfect act, and ſo does not become a Being of infinite perfection. But others have thought that the infinite perfection of the Divine Mind muſt go ſo far as to foreſee certainly what free creatures are to do; ſince upon this foreſight only they imagine that the juſtice or goodneſs of God in his providence can be made out or defended. It ſeemed fit to mention this upon the preſent occaſion; but it will be then proper to enquire more carefully about it, when the article of *predeſtination* is explained. ART. I.

It is neceſſary to ſtate the idea of the goodneſs of God moſt carefully; for we naturally enough frame great and juſt ideas of power and wiſdom; but we eaſily fall into falſe conceits of goodneſs. This is that of all the divine perfections in which we are the moſt concerned, and ſo we ought to be the moſt careful to frame true ideas of it: it is alſo that, of all God's attributes, of which the Scriptures ſpeak moſt copiouſly. Infinite goodneſs is a tendency to communicate the divine perfections to all created beings, according to their ſeveral capacities. God is original goodneſs, all perfect and happy in himſelf, acting and ſeeing every thing in a perfect light; and he having made rational beings capable of ſome degrees of his light, purity, and perfection, the firſt and primary act of goodneſs is to propoſe to them ſuch means as may raiſe them to theſe, to furniſh them with them, to move them oft to them, to accept and to aſſiſt their ſincere endeavours after them. A ſecond act of goodneſs, which is but in order to the firſt, is to pity thoſe miſeries into which men fall, as long as there is any principle or poſſibility left in them of their becoming good; to pardon all ſuch ſins as men have committed, who turn to the purpoſes of becoming ſeriouſly good, and to paſs by all the frailties and errors of thoſe who are truly and upon the main good, though ſurpriſe and ſtrong temptations prove often too hard for them. Theſe two give us as full an idea as we can have of perfect goodneſs; whoſe firſt aim muſt be the making us good, and like to that original goodneſs; pity and pardon coming in but in a ſubſidiary way, to carry on the main deſign of making men truly good. Therefore the chief act and de-



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ART. I. ſign of goodneſs is the making us truly good; and when any perſon falls below that poſſibility, he is no more the object of pity or pardon, becauſe he is no more capable of becoming good. Pardon is offered on deſign to make us really good; ſo it is not to be ſought for, nor reſted in, but in order to a further end, which is the reforming our natures, and the making us partakers of the divine nature. We are not therefore to frame ideas of a feeble goodneſs in God, that yields to importunate cries, or that melts at a vaſt degree of miſery. Tenderneſs in human nature is a great ornament and perfection, neceſſary to diſpoſe us to much benignity and mercy: but in the common adminiſtration of juſtice, this tenderneſs muſt be reſtrained; otherwiſe it would ſlacken the rigour of puniſhment too much, which might diſſolve the order and peace of human ſocieties. But ſince we cannot ſee into the truth of men's hearts, a charitable diſpoſition and a compaſſionate temper are neceſſary, to make men ſociable and kind, gentle and humane. God, who ſees our hearts, and is ever aſſiſting all our endeavours to become truly good, needs not this tenderneſs, nor is he indeed capable of it; for after all its beauty with relation to the ſtate wherein we are now put, yet in itſelf it implies imperfection. Nor can the miſeries and howlings of wicked beings, after all the ſeeds and poſſibilities of goodneſs are utterly extinguiſhed in them, give any pity to the Divine Being. Theſe are no longer the object of the primary act of his goodneſs, and therefore they cannot come under its ſecondary acts. It is of ſuch great conſequence to ſettle this notion right in our minds, that it well deſerves to be ſo copiouſly opened; ſince we now ſee in what reſpects God's goodneſs is without bounds, and infinite; that is, it reaches to all men, after all ſins whatſoever, as long as they are capable of becoming good. It is not a limitation of the divine goodneſs to ſay, that ſome men and ſome ſtates are beyond it; no more than it is a limitation of his power to ſay, that he cannot ſin, or cannot do impoſſibilities: for a goodneſs towards perſons not capable of becoming good, is a goodneſs that does not agree with the infinite purity and holineſs of God. It is ſuch a goodneſs, that if it were propoſed to the world, it would encourage men to live in ſin, and to think that a few acts of homage offered to God, perhaps in our laſt extremities, could ſo far pleaſe him, as to bribe and corrupt him.

This is that which makes idolatry ſo great a ſin, ſo often forbid by God, and ſo ſeverely puniſhed, not only as it is injurious to the majeſty of God, but becauſe it corrupts

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rupts the ideas or notions of God. Thoſe ideas rightly formed are the baſis upon which all Religion is built. The ſeeds and principles of a new and godlike nature ſpring up in us as we form ourſelves upon the true ideas or notions of God. Therefore when God is propoſed to be adored by us under a viſible ſhape or image, all the acts of Religion offered to it are only ſo many pieces of pageantry, and end in the flatterings and the magnifyings of it with much pomp, cruelty, or laſciviouſneſs, according to the different genius of ſeveral nations. So the forming a falſe notion of the goodneſs of God, as a tenderneſs that is to be overcome with importunities and howlings, and other ſubmiſſions, and not to be gained only by becoming like him, is a capital and fundamental error in religion. ART. I.

The next branch of this article is, God's *creating and preſerving of all things*; and that both material ſubſtances, which are viſible, and immaterial and ſpiritual ſubſtances, which are inviſible. God's creating all things has been already made out. If matter could neither be eternal, nor give itſelf a being, then it muſt have its being from God. Creating does naturally import infinite power; for that power is clearly without bounds, that can make things out of nothing: a bounded power, which can only ſhape and mould matter, muſt ſuppoſe it to have a being, before it can work upon it. We cannot indeed form a diſtinct thought of creation, for we cannot apprehend what nothing is. The neareſt approach we can bring ourſelves to a true idea of this, is, the conſidering our own thoughts; eſpecially our ideas of mathematical proportions, and the other affections of bodies: thoſe ideas are the modes of a ſpiritual ſubſtance; and there is no likeneſs nor reſemblance between them and the modes of material ſubſtances, which are only the occaſions of our having thoſe ideas, and not in any wiſe the matter out of which they are formed. Here ſeems to be a ſort of beings brought out of nothing; but, after all, this is vaſtly below creation, and is only a faint reſemblance of it.

With the power of creating we muſt alſo join that of annihilating, which is equal to it, and muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to be in God, becauſe we plainly perceive it to be a perfection. The recalling into nothing a being brought out of nothing, is a neceſſary conſequence of infinite power, when it thinks fit ſo to exert itſelf. There is a common notion in the world, that things would fall back into nothing of themſelves, if they were not preſerved by the ſame infinite Power that made them: but without



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ART. I. queſtion it is an act of the ſame infinite Power to reduce a being to nothing, that it is to bring a being out of nothing: ſo whatever has once a being, muſt of its nature continue ſtill to be, without any new cauſality or influence. This muſt be acknowledged, unleſs it can be ſaid, that a tendency to annihilation is the conſequent of a created being. But as this would make the preſervation of the world to be a continued violence to a natural tendency that is in all things; ſo there is no more reaſon to imagine that beings have a tendency to annihilation, than that nothing had a tendency to creation. It is abſurd to think that any thing can have a tendency to that which is eſſentially oppoſite to itſelf, and is deſtructive of it.

The preſervation of things, is the keeping the frame of nature and the order of the univerſe in ſuch a ſtate as is ſuitable to the purpoſes of the Supreme Mind. It is true, natural agents muſt ever keep the courſe in which they are once put; and the great heavenly orbs, as well as all ſmaller motions, muſt ever have rolled on in one conſtant channel, when they were once put into it; ſo in this reſpect it may ſeem that conſervation by a ſpecial act is not neceſſary. But we perceive a freedom in our own natures, and a power that our minds have, not only to move our own bodies, but by them, and by the help of ſuch engines as we can invent, we make a vaſt change in this earth from what it would be, if it were left unwrought. In a courſe of ſome ages, the whole world, by the natural progreſs of things, would be a foreſt: both earth and air are very much different from what they would be, if men were not free agents, and did not cultivate the earth, and thereby purify the air. The working of mines, minerals, and other foſſils, makes alſo a great change in its bowels; it gives vent to ſome damps which might much affect the air, and it frees the earth from earthquakes. Thus the induſtry of man has in many reſpects changed both earth and air very ſenſibly from what it would have been, if the world had not thoſe inhabitants in it. Nor do we know what natural force other ſpirits inhabiting in or about it, or at leaſt uſing ſubtiller bodies, may have, or in what influences or operations they may exert that force on material ſubſtances. Upon all theſe accounts it is, that the world could not be preſerved in a conſtant and regular ſtate, if the Supreme Mind had not a direction both of men's wills and actions, and of the courſe of nature: for unleſs it is thought that man is really no free agent, but acts in a chain as certainly as other natural agents do, it muſt be acknowledged, that by the interpoſition of men's minds,

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minds, together with their power over matter, the courſe of the firſt motion that was given to the univerſe is ſo changed, that if there is not a conſtant providence, the frame of nature muſt go out of the channel into which God did at firſt put it. The order of things on this earth takes a great turn from the wind, both as to the fruitfulneſs of the earth, and to the operations on the ſea, and has likewiſe a great influence on the purity of the air, and, by conſequence, on men's good or ill health; and the wind, or the agitation of the air, turns ſo often and ſo quick, that it ſeems to be the great inſtrument of Providence, upon which an unconceivable variety of things does naturally depend. I do not deny, but that it may be ſaid, that all thoſe changes in the air ariſe from certain and mechanical, though to us unknown cauſes; which may be ſupported from this, that between the Tropics, where the influence of the heavenly bodies is ſtronger, the wind and weather are more regular; though even that admits of great exceptions: yet it has been the common ſenſe of mankind, that, beſides the natural cauſes of the alterations in the air, they are under a particular influence and direction of Providence: and it is in itſelf highly probable, to ſay no more of it. This may either be managed immediately by the acts of the Divine Mind, to which nature readily obeys, or by ſome ſubaltern mind, or angel, which may have as natural an efficiency over an extent of matter proportioned to its capacity, as a man has over his own body, and over that compaſs of matter that is within his reach. Which way ſoever God governs the world, and what influence ſoever he has over men's minds, we are ſure that the governing and preſerving his own workmanſhip is ſo plainly a perfection, that it muſt belong to a Being infinitely perfect: and there is ſuch a chain in things, thoſe of the greateſt conſequence ariſing often from ſmall and inconſiderable ones, that we cannot imagine a Providence, unleſs we believe every thing to be within its care and view. ART. I.

The only difficulty that has been made in apprehending this, has ariſen from the narrowneſs of men's minds, who have meaſured God rather by their own meaſure and capacity, than by that of infinite perfection, which, as ſoon as it is conſidered, will put an end to all further doubtings about it. When we perceive that a vaſt number of objects enter in at our eye by a very ſmall paſſage, and yet are ſo little jumbled in that crowd, that they open themſelves regularly, though there is no great ſpace for that neither; and that they give us a diſtinct apprehenſion

ART. I. ſion of many objects that lie before us, ſome even at a vaſt diſtance from us, both of their nature, colour, and ſize; and by a ſecret geometry, from the angles that they make in our eye, we judge of the diſtance of all objects both from us, and from one another. If to this we add the vaſt number of figures that we receive and retain long and with great order in our brains, which we eaſily fetch up either in our thoughts or in our diſcourſes; we ſhall find it leſs difficult to apprehend how an infinite mind ſhould have the univerſal view of all things ever preſent before it. It is true, we do not ſo eaſily conceive how free minds are under this Providence, as how natural agents ſhould always move at its direction. But we perceive that one mind can work upon another. A man raiſes a ſound of words, which carry ſuch ſigns of his inward thoughts, that by this motion in the air another man's ear is ſo ſtruck upon, that thereby an impreſſion is made upon his brain, by which he not only conceives what the other man's thought was, but is very powerfully inclined to conſent to it, and to concur with it. All this is a great way about, and could not be eaſily apprehended by us, if we had not a clear and conſtant perception of it. Now ſince all this is brought about by a motion upon our brains, according to the force with which we are more or leſs affected, it is very reaſonable for us to apprehend that the Supreme Mind can, beſides many other ways to us leſs known, put ſuch motions in our brain, as may give us all ſuch thoughts as it intends to impreſs upon us, in as ſtrong and effectual a manner as may fully anſwer all its purpoſes.

The great objection that lies againſt the power and the goodneſs of Providence, from all that evil that is in the world, which God is either not willing or not able to hinder, will be more properly conſidered in another place; at preſent it is enough in general to obſerve, that God's providence muſt carry on every thing according to its nature; and ſince he has made ſome free beings capable of thought, and of good and evil, we muſt believe, that as the courſe of nature is not oft put out of its channel, unleſs when ſome extraordinary thing is to be done, in order to ſome great end; ſo in the government of free agents, they muſt be generally left to their liberty, and not put too oft off their bias: this is a hint to reſolve that difficulty by, concerning all the moral evil, which is, generally ſpeaking, the occaſion of moſt of the phyſical evil that is in the world. A providence thus ſettled, that extends itſelf to all things both natural and free, is neceſſary

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ART. I.

neceſſary to preſerve religion, to engage us to prayers, praiſes, and to a dependence on it, and a ſubmiſſion to it. Some have thought it was neceſſary to carry this further, and ſo they make God to be the firſt and immediate cauſe of every action or motion. This ſome modern writers have taken from the ſchools, and have dreſſed it in new phraſes of general laws, particular wills, and occaſional cauſes; and ſo they expreſs or explain God's producing every motion that is in matter, and his raiſing every ſenſation, and, by the ſame parity of reaſon, every cogitation in minds: this they think ariſes out of the idea of infinite perfection, and fully anſwers theſe words of the Scriptures, that *in God we live, move, and have our being*. To others all this ſeems firſt unneceſſary; for if God has made matter capable of motion, and capable of receiving it from the ſtroke or impulſe that another piece of matter gives it; this comes as truly from God, as if he did immediately give every motion by an act of his own will. It ſeems more ſuitable to the beauty of his workmanſhip, to think that he has ſo framed things that they hold on in that courſe in which he has put them, than to make him perpetually produce every new motion. And the bringing God immediately into every thing, may, by an odd reverſe of effects, make the world think that every thing is done as much without him, as others are apt to imagine that every thing is done by him. And though it is true that we cannot diſtinctly apprehend how a motion in our brain ſhould raiſe ſuch a thought as anſwers to it in our minds; yet it ſeems more reaſonable to think that God has put us under ſuch an order of being from which that does naturally follow, than that he himſelf ſhould interpoſe in every thought. The difficulty of apprehending how a thing is done, can be no prejudice to the belief of it, when we have the infinite power of God in our thoughts, who may be as eaſily conceived to have once for all put us in a method of receiving ſuch ſenſations, by a general law or courſe of nature, as to give us new ones at every minute. But the greateſt difficulty againſt this is, that it makes God the firſt phyſical cauſe of all the evil that is in the world: which as it is contrary to his nature, ſo it abſolutely deſtroys all liberty; and this puts an end to all the diſtinctions between good and evil, and conſequently to all religion. And as for thoſe large expreſſions that are brought from Scripture, every word in Scripture is not to be ſtretched to the utmoſt phyſical ſenſe to which it can be carried: it is enough if a ſenſe is given to it, that agrees to the ſcope of it: which is fully anſwered

ART. I. anſwered by acknowledging, that the power and providence of God is over all things, and that it directs every thing to wiſe and good ends, from which nothing is hid, by which nothing is forgot, and to which nothing can reſiſt. This ſcheme of providence fully agrees with the notion of a Being infinitely perfect, and with all that the Scriptures affirm concerning it; and it lays down a firm foundation for all the acts and exerciſes of religion.

As to the power and providence of God with relation to inviſible beings, we plainly perceive that there is in us a principle capable of thought and liberty, of which, by all that appears to us, matter is not at all capable: after its utmoſt refinings by fires and furnaces, it is ſtill paſſive, and has no ſelf-motion, much leſs thought, in it. Thought ſeems plainly to ariſe from a ſingle principle, that has no parts, and is quite another thing than the motion of one ſubtle piece of matter upon another can be ſuppoſed to be. If thought is only motion, then no part of us thinks, but as it is in motion; ſo that only the moving particles, or rather their ſurfaces, that ſtrike upon one another, do think: but ſuch a motion muſt end quickly, in the diſſipation and evaporation of the whole thinking ſubſtance; nor can any of the quieſcent parts have any perception of ſuch thoughts, or any reflection upon them. And to ſay that matter may have other affections unknown to us beſides motion, by which it may think, is to affirm a thing without any ſort of reaſon: it is rather a flying from an argument, than an anſwering it: no man has any reaſon to affirm this, nor can he have any. And beſides, all our cogitations of immaterial things, proportions, and numbers, do plainly ſhew that we have a being in us diſtinct from matter, that riſes above it, and commands it: we perceive we have a freedom of moving and acting at pleaſure. All theſe things give us a clear perception of a being that is in us diſtinct from matter, of which we are not able to form a complete idea: we having only four perceptions of its nature and operations. 1. That it thinks. 2. That it has an inward power of choice. 3. That by its will it can move and command the body. And, 4. That it is in a cloſe and intire union with it, that it has a dependence on it, as to many of its acts, as well as an authority over it in many other things. Such a being that has no parts muſt be immortal in its nature, for every ſingle being is immortal. It is only the union of parts that is capable of being diſſolved; that which has no parts is indiſſoluble. To this two objections are made: one is, that beaſts ſeem to have both thought and freedom, though

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though in a lower order: if then matter can be capable of this in any degree how low ſoever, a higher rectification of matter may be capable of a higher degree of it. It is therefore certain, that either beaſts have no thought or liberty at all, and are only pieces of finely organized matter, capable of many ſubtile motions, that come to them from objects without them, but that they have no ſenſation nor thought at all about them; or, ſince how prettily ſoever ſome may have dreſſed up this notion, it is that which human nature cannot receive or bear; there being ſuch evident indications of even high degrees of reaſon among the beaſts; it is more reaſonable to imagine, that there may be ſpirits of a lower order in beaſts, that have in them a capacity of thinking and chooſing; but that ſo entirely under the impreſſions of matter, that they are not capable of that largeneſs, either of thought or liberty, that is neceſſary to make them capable of good or evil, of rewards and puniſhments; and that therefore they may be perpetually rolling about from one body to another. Another objection to the belief of an immaterial ſubſtance in us is, that we feel it depends ſo entirely on the fabric and ſtate of the brain, that a diſorder, a vapour, or humour in it, defaces all our thoughts, our memory, and imagination; and ſince we find that which we call *mind* ſinks ſo low upon a diſorder of the body, it may be reaſonable to believe, that it evaporates, and is quite diſſipated upon the diſſolution of our bodies: ſo that the ſoul is nothing but the livelier parts of the blood, called the animal ſpirits. In anſwer to this, we know that thoſe animal ſpirits are of ſuch an evanid and ſubtile nature, that they are in a perpetual waſte, new ones always ſucceeding as the former go off: but we perceive at the ſame time that our ſoul is a ſtable and permanent being, by the ſteadineſs of its acts and thoughts; we being for many years plainly the ſame beings, and therefore our ſouls cannot be ſuch a looſe and evaporating ſubſtance as thoſe ſpirits are. The ſpirits are indeed the inward organs of the mind, for memory, ſpeech, and bodily motion; and as theſe flatten or are waſted, the mind is leſs able to act: as when the eye or any other organ of ſenſe is weakened, the ſenſations grow feeble on that ſide: and as a man is leſs able to work, when all thoſe inſtruments he makes uſe of are blunted; ſo the mind may ſink upon a decay or diſorder in thoſe ſpirits, and yet be of a nature wholly different from them. How a mind ſhould work on matter, cannot, I confeſs, be clearly comprehended. It cannot be denied by any that is

ART. I.

ART. I. is not a direct atheiſt, that the thoughts of the Supreme Mind give impreſſions and motions to matter. So our thoughts may give a motion, or the determination of motion to matter, and yet riſe from ſubſtances wholly different from it. Nor is it inconceivable, that the Supreme Mind ſhould have put our minds likewiſe under ſuch a ſubordination to ſome material motions, that out of them peculiar thoughts ſhould ariſe in us. And though this union is that which we cannot diſtinctly conceive; yet there is no difficulty in it, equal to that of our imagining that matter can think or move itſelf. We perceive that we ourſelves and the reſt of mankind have thinking principles within us; ſo from thence it is eaſy enough to us to apprehend, that there may be other thinking beings, which either have no bodies at all, but act purely as intellectual ſubſtances; or if they have bodies, that they are ſo ſubtilized as to be capable of a vaſt quickneſs of motion, ſuch in proportion as we perceive to be in our animal ſpirits, which, in the minute that our minds command them, are raiſing motions in the remoteſt parts of our bodies. Such bodies may alſo be ſo thin as to be inviſible to us; and as among men ſome are good and ſome bad, and of the bad ſome ſeem to be determinedly, and, as to all appearance, incurably bad; ſo there may have been a time and ſtate of liberty, in which thoſe ſpirits were left to their choice, whether they would continue in their innocency, or fall from it; and ſuch as continued might be for ever fixed in that ſtate, or exalted to higher degrees in it: and ſuch as fell from it might fall irrecoverably into a ſtate of utter apoſtaſy from God, and of rebellion againſt him. There is nothing in this theory that is incredible: therefore if the Scriptures have told us any thing concerning it, we have no reaſon to be prejudiced againſt them upon that account: beſides that, there are innumerable hiſtories in many ſeveral countries and ages of the world, of extraordinary apparitions, and other unaccountable performances, that could only have been done by inviſible powers. Many of thoſe are ſo well atteſted, that it argues a ſtrange pitch of obſtinacy, to refuſe to believe a matter of fact when it is well vouched, and when there is nothing in reaſon to oppoſe it, but an unwillingneſs to believe inviſible beings. It is true, this is an argument in which a fabulous humour will go far, and in which ſome are ſo credulous as to ſwallow down every thing; therefore all wiſe men ought to ſuſpend their belief, and not to go too faſt: but when things are ſo undeniably atteſted, that there

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there is no reaſon to queſtion the exactneſs or the credit of the witneſſes, it argues a mind unreaſonably prepoſſeſſed to reject all ſuch evidence. ART. I.

All thoſe inviſible beings were created by God, and are not to be conſidered as emanations or rays of his eſſence, which was a groſs conceit of ſuch philoſophers as fancied that the Deity had parts. They are beings created by him, and are capable of paſſing through various ſcenes, in bodies more or leſs refined. In this life the ſtate of our minds receives vaſt alterations from the ſtate of our bodies, which ripen gradually: and after they are come to their full growth, they cannot hold in that condition long, but ſink down much faſter than they grew up; ſome humours or diſeaſes diſcompoſing the brain, which is the ſeat of the mind, ſo entirely, that it cannot ſerve it, at leaſt ſo far as to reflex acts. So in the next ſtate it is poſſible that we may at firſt be in a leſs perfect condition by reaſon of this, that we may have a leſs perfect body, to which we may be united between our death and the general reſurrection; and there may be a time, in which we may receive a vaſt addition and exaltation in that ſtate, by the raiſing up of our former bodies, and the reuniting us to them, which may give us a greater compaſs, and a higher elevation.

Theſe things are only propoſed as ſuppoſitions, that have no abſurdity in them: ſo that if they ſhould happen to be the parts of a revealed religion, there is no reaſon to doubt of it, or to reject it, on ſuch an account.

The laſt branch of this Article is, the aſſertion of that great doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion concerning the Trinity, or Three Perſons in one divine eſſence. It is a vain attempt to go about to prove this by reaſon: for it muſt be confeſſed, that we ſhould have had no cauſe to have thought of any ſuch thing, if the Scriptures had not revealed it to us. There are indeed prints of a very ancient tradition in the world, of three in the Deity; called the *Word*, or the *Wiſdom*, and the *Spirit*, or the *Love*, beſides the fountain of both theſe, God: this was believed by thoſe from whom the moſt ancient philoſophers had their doctrines. The author of the Book of Wiſdom, Philo, and the Chaldee paraphraſts, have many things that ſhew that they had received thoſe traditions from the former ages; but it is not ſo eaſy to determine what gave the firſt riſe to them.

It has been much argued, whether this was revealed in the Old Teſtament or not; ſome from the plural termination of *Elohim*, which is joined to ſingular verbs, and from that of the Lord raining fire from the Lord upon Sodom, (*Jehovah*

ART. I. (*Jehovah* from *Jehovah*); from the deſcription of the Wiſdom of God in the 8th of the Proverbs, as a perſon with God from all eternity; and from the mention that is often made of the Spirit, as well as the Word of God that came to the Prophets; they have, I ſay, from all theſe places, and ſome others, concluded, that this is contained in the Old Teſtament. Others have doubted of this, and have ſaid that the name *Elohim*, though of a plural termination, being often joined to a ſingular verb, makes it reaſonable to think it was a ſingular: which by ſomewhat peculiar to that language might be of a plural termination. Nor have they thought, that ſince angels carry the name of God, when they went on ſpecial deputations from him, the angels being called *Jehovah*, could be very confidently urged: that ſublime deſcription of the *Wiſdom* of God in the Proverbs ſeems not to them to be a full proof in this matter: for the Wiſdom there mentioned ſeems to be the Wiſdom of creation and providence, which is not perſonal, but belongs to the eſſence; nor do they think that thoſe places in the Old Teſtament, in which mention is made of the *Word*, or of the *Spirit* of God, can ſettle this point; for theſe may only ſignify God's revealing himſelf to his prophets. Therefore whatever ſecret tradition the Jews might have had among them concerning this, from whom perhaps the Greeks might have alſo had it; yet many do not pretend to prove this from paſſages in the Old Teſtament alone: though the expoſitions given to ſome of them in the New Teſtament prove to us, who acknowledge it, what was the true meaning of thoſe paſſages; yet take the Old Teſtament in itſelf without the New, and it muſt be confeſſed that it will not be eaſy to prove this Article from it.

But there are very full and clear proofs of it in the New Teſtament; and they had need be both full and clear, before a doctrine of this nature can be pretended to be proved by them. In order to the making this myſtery to be more diſtinctly intelligible, different methods have been taken. By *one Subſtance* many do underſtand a numerical or individual unity of ſubſtance; and by *Three Perſons* they underſtand three diſtinct Subſiſtences in that eſſence. It is not pretended by theſe, that we can give a diſtinct idea of *Perſon* or *Subſiſtence*, only they hold it imports a real diverſity in one from another, and even ſuch a diverſity from the ſubſtance of the Deity itſelf, that ſome things belong to the Perſon which do not belong to the Subſtance: for the Subſtance neither begets, nor is begotten; neither breathes, nor proceeds. If this carries in it ſomething

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thing that is not agreeable to our notions, nor like any thing that we can apprehend; to this it is ſaid, that if God has revealed that in the Scripture which is thus expreſſed, we are bound to believe it, though we can frame no clear apprehenſion about it. God's eternity, his being all one ſingle act, his creating and preſerving all things, and his being every where, are things that are abſolute riddles to us: we cannot bring our minds to conceive them, and yet we muſt believe that they are ſo; becauſe we ſee much greater abſurdities muſt follow upon our conceiving that they ſhould be otherwiſe. So if God has declared this inexplicable thing concerning himſelf to us, we are bound to believe it, though we cannot have any clear idea how it truly is. For there appear as ſtrange and unanſwerable difficulties in many other things, which yet we know to be true; ſo if we are once well aſſured, that God has revealed his doctrine to us, we muſt ſilence all objections againſt it, and believe it: reckoning that our not underſtanding it, as it is in itſelf, makes the difficulties ſeem to be much greater than otherwiſe they would appear to be, if we had light enough about it, or were capable of forming a more perfect idea of it while we are in this depreſſed ſtate. ART. I.

Others give another view of this matter, that is not indeed ſo hard to be apprehended: but that has an objection againſt it, that ſeems as great a prejudice againſt it, as the difficulty of apprehending the other way is againſt that: it is this; they do hold, that there are three Minds; that the firſt of theſe three, who is from that called the Father, did from all eternity by an emanation of eſſence beget the Son, and by another emanation that was from eternity likewiſe, and was as eſſential to him as the former, both the firſt and the ſecond, did jointly breathe forth the Spirit; and that theſe are three diſtinct Minds, every one being God, as much as the other: only the Father is the fountain, and is only ſelf-originated. All this is in a good degree intelligible: but it ſeems hard to reconcile it both with the idea of unity, which ſeems to belong to a Being of infinite perfection; and with the many expreſs declarations that are made in the Scriptures concerning the unity of God. Inſtead of going farther into explanations of that which is certainly very far beyond all our apprehenſions, and that ought therefore to be let alone, I ſhall now conſider what declarations are made in the Scriptures concerning this point.

The firſt and the chief is in that charge and commiſſion which our Saviour gave to his Apoſtles to go and make diſciples

ART. I.

ciples to him among all Nations, *baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.* By *name* is meant either an authority derived to them, in the virtue of which all nations were to be baptized: or that the perſons ſo baptized are dedicated to the *Father, Son,* and *Holy Ghoſt.* Either of theſe ſenſes, as it proves them all to be *Perſons*; ſo it ſets them in an equality, in a thing that can only belong to the *Divine Nature.* Baptiſm is the receiving men from a ſtate of ſin and wrath, into a ſtate of favour, and into the rights of the ſons of God, and the hopes of eternal happineſs, and a calling them by the name of God. Theſe are things that can only be offered and aſſured to men in the name of the great and eternal God; and therefore, ſince, without any diſtinction or note of inequality, they are all three ſet together as perſons in whoſe name this is to be done, they muſt be all three the true God; otherwiſe it looks like a juſt prejudice againſt our Saviour, and his whole Goſpel, that by his expreſs direction the firſt entrance to it, which gives the viſible and fœderal right to thoſe great bleſſings that are offered by it, or their initiation into it, ſhould be in the name of two created beings, (if the one can be called properly ſo much as a being, according to their hypotheſis,) and that even in an equality with the Supreme and increated Being. The plainneſs of this charge, and the great occaſion upon which it was given, makes this an argument of ſuch force and evidence, that it may juſtly determine the whole matter.

Mat. xxviii. 19.

A ſecond argument is taken from this, that we find St. Paul begins or ends moſt of his Epiſtles with a ſalutation in the form of a wiſh, which is indeed a prayer, or a benediction, in the name of thoſe who are ſo invocated; in which he wiſhes the churches *Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt* *; which is an invocation of Chriſt in conjunction with the Father, for the greateſt bleſſings of favour and mercy: that is a ſtrange ſtrain, if he was only a creature; which yet is delivered without any mitigation or ſoftening in the moſt remarkable parts of his Epiſtles. This is carried farther in the concluſion of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians; *The Grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Love of God, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you.* It is true, this is expreſſed as a wiſh, and not in the nature of a prayer, as the common ſalutations are: but here three great

2 Cor. xiii. 14.

* Rom. i. 7. Rom. xvi. 20, 24. 1 Cor. xvi. 23. 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 3. Gal. i. 3. Gal. vi. 18. Eph. i. 2. Eph. vi. 23. Phil. i. 2. Phil. iv. 23. Col. i. 2. 1 Theſſ. i. 1. 1 Theſſ. v. 28. 2 Theſſ. i. 2. 2 Theſſ. iii. 18. 1 Tim. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. Tit. i. 4. Philem. 3, 25. 2 John i. 3.

bleſſings

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blessings are wished to them as from three fountains, which imports that they are three different Persons, and yet equal: for though in order the Father is first, and is generally put first; yet here Christ is named, which seems to be a strange reversing of things, if they are not equal as to their essence or substance. It is true, the second is not named here, *The Father*, as elsewhere, but only *God*; yet since he is mentioned as distinct from Christ and the Holy Ghost, it must be understood of the *Father*; for when the *Father* is named with *Christ*, sometimes he is called *God* simply, and sometimes *God the Father*. ART. I.

This argument from the threefold salutation appears yet stronger in the words in which St. John addresses himself to the seven Churches in the beginning of the Revelations: *Grace and peace from him which is, which was, and which is to come; and from the seven Spirits which are before his throne: and from Jesus Christ.* By the *seven Spirits* must be meant one or more persons, since he wishes or declares *grace and peace* from them: now either this must be meant of angels, or of the Holy Ghost. There are no where prayers made, or blessings given, in the name of angels: this were indeed a worshipping them; against which there are express authorities, not only in the other books of the New Testament, but in this book in particular. Nor can it be imagined that angels could have been named before *Jesus Christ*: so then it remains, that *seven* being a number that imports both variety and perfection, and that was the sacred number among the Jews, this is a mystical expression; which is no extraordinary thing in a book that is all over mysterious: and it imports one person from whom all that variety of gifts, administrations, and operations that were then in the Church, did flow: and this is the *Holy Ghost*. But as to his being put in order before Christ, as upon the supposition of an equality, the going out of the common order is no great matter; so since there was to come after this a full period that concerned Christ, it might be a natural way of writing, to name him last. Against all this it is objected, that the designation that is given to the first of these in a circumlocution that imports eternity, shews that the great God, and not the person of the Father, is to be meant: but then how could St. John, writing to the churches, wish them grace and peace from the other two? A few verses after this, the same description of eternal duration is given to Christ, and is a strong proof of his eternity, and by consequence of his divinity: so what is brought so soon after as a character of the eternity of the Son, may be also here used to denote the eter- Rev. i. 4, 5.

ART. I. nal Father. These are the chief places in which the Trinity is mentioned all together.

1 John v. 7. I do not insist on that contested passage of St. John's Epistle: there are great doubtings made about it: the main ground of doubting being the silence of the Fathers, who never made use of it in the disputes with the Arians and Macedonians. There are very considerable things urged on the other hand, to support the authority of that passage; yet I think it is safer to build upon sure and indisputable grounds: so I leave it to be maintained by others who are more fully persuaded of its being authentical. There is no need of it. This matter is capable of a very full proof, whether that passage is believed to be a part of the canon, or not.

It is no small confirmation of the truth of this doctrine, that we are certain it was universally received over the whole Christian church long before there was either a Christian prince to support it by his authority, or a council to establish it by consent: and indeed the council of Nice did nothing but declare what was the faith of the Christian church, with the addition only of the word *consubstantial*: for if all the other words of the Creed settled at Nice are acknowledged to be true, that of the Three Persons being of one substance will follow from thence by a just consequence. We know, both by what Tertullian and Novatian writ, what was the faith both of the Roman and the African churches. From Irenæus we gather the faith both of the Gallican and the Asiatic churches. And the whole proceedings in the case of Samosatenus, that was the solemnest business that passed while the church was under oppression and persecution, give us the most convincing proof possible, not only of the faith of the Eastern churches at that time, but of their zeal likewise in watching against every breach that was made in so sacred a part of their trust and *depositum*.

These things have been fully opened and enlarged on by others, to whom the reader is referred: I shall only desire him to make this reflection on the state of Christianity at that time: the disputes that were then to be managed with the Heathens, against the deifying or worshipping of men, and those extravagant fables concerning the genealogies of their Heroes and Gods, must have obliged the Christians rather to have silenced and suppressed the doctrine of the Trinity, than to have owned and published it: so that nothing but their being assured that it was a necessary and fundamental article of their faith, could have led them to own it in so public a manner; since

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ART. I.

ſince the advantages, that the Heathen would have taken from it, muſt be too viſible not to be ſoon obſerved. The Heathens retorted upon them their doctrine of a man's being a God, and of God's having a Son: and every one who engaged in this controverſy framed ſuch anſwers to theſe objections, as he thought he could beſt maintain. This, as it gave the riſe to the errors which ſome brought into the church, ſo it furniſhes us with a copious proof of the common ſenſe of the Chriſtians of thoſe ages, who all agreed in general to the doctrine, though they had many different, and ſome very erroneous ways of explaining it among them.

I now come to the ſpecial proofs concerning each of the Three Perſons: but there being other articles relating to the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, the proofs of theſe two will belong more properly to the explanation of thoſe articles: therefore all that belongs to this article is to prove that the Father is truly God; but that needs not be much inſiſted on, for there is no diſpute about it: none deny that he is God; many think that he is ſo truly God, that there is no other that can be called God beſides him, unleſs it be in a larger ſenſe of the word: and therefore I will here conclude all that ſeems neceſſary to be ſaid on this firſt article; on which if I have dwelt the longer, it was becauſe the ſtating the idea of God right being the fundamental article of all religion, and the key into every part of it, this was to be done with all the fulneſs and clearneſs poſſible.

In a word, to recapitulate a little what has been ſaid: the livelieſt way of framing an idea of God, is to conſider our own ſouls, which are ſaid to be made after the *image of God*. An attentive reflection on what we perceive in ourſelves, will carry us further than any other thing whatſoever, to form juſt and true thoughts of God. We perceive what thought is, but with that we do alſo perceive the advantage of ſuch an eaſy thought as ariſes out of a ſenſation, ſuch as ſeeing or hearing, which gives us no trouble: we think without any trouble of many of the objects that we ſee all at once, or ſo near all at once, that the progreſſion from one object to another is ſcarce perceptible: but the labour of ſtudy and of purſuing conſequences wearies us; though the pleaſure or the vanity of having found them out compenſates for the pain they gave us, and ſets men on to new enquiries. We perceive in ourſelves a love of truth, and a vexation when we ſee we are in error, or are in the dark: and we feel that we act the moſt perfectly, when we act upon the cleareſt views of truth, and in the ſtricteſt purſuance of it; and the more



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ART. I. preſent and regular, the more calm and ſteady that our thoughts of all things are, that lie in our compaſs to know, preſent, paſt, or to come, we do plainly perceive that we do thereby become perfecter and happier beings. Now out of all this we can eaſily riſe up in our thoughts to an idea of a mind that ſees all things by a clear and full intuition, without the poſſibility of being miſtaken; and that ever acts in that light, upon the ſureſt proſpect, and with the perfecteſt reaſon; and that does therefore always rejoice in every thing it does, and has a conſtant perception of all truth ever preſent to it. This idea does ſo genuinely ariſe from what we perceive both of the perfections and the imperfections of our own minds, that a very little reflection will help us to form it to a very high degree.

The perception alſo that we have of goodneſs, of a deſire to make others good, and of the pleaſure of effecting it; of the joy of making any one wiſer or better, of making any one's life eaſy, and of raiſing his mind higher, will alſo help us in the forming of our ideas of God. But in this we meet with much difficulty and diſappointment. So this leads us to apprehend how diffuſive of itſelf infinite goodneſs muſt needs be; and what is the eternal joy that infinite love has, in bringing ſo many to that exalted ſtate of endleſs happineſs. We do alſo feel a power iſſuing from us by a thought, that ſets our bodies in motion: the varieties in our thoughts create a vaſt variety in the ſtate of our bodies; but with this, as that power is limited to our own bodies, ſo it is often checked by diſorders in them, and the ſoul ſuffers a great deal from thoſe painful ſenſations that its union with the body ſubjects it to. From hence we can eaſily apprehend how the Supreme Mind can by a thought ſet matter into what motions it will, all matter being conſtantly ſubject to ſuch impreſſions as the acts of the Divine Mind give it. This abſolute dominion over all matter makes it to move, and ſhapes it according to the acts of that Mind; and matter has no power, by any irregularity it falls into, to reſiſt thoſe impreſſions which do immediately command and govern it; nor can it throw any uneaſy ſenſations into that perfect Being.

This conduces alſo to give us a diſtinct idea of miracles. All matter is uniform: and it is only the variety of its motions and texture, that makes all the variety that is in the world. Now as the acts of the Eternal Mind gave matter its firſt motion, and put it into that courſe that we do now call the courſe of nature; ſo another act of the ſame

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ART. L

ſame Mind can either ſuſpend, ſtop, or change that courſe at pleaſure, as he who throws a bowl may ſtop it in its courſe, or throw it back if he will; this being only the altering that impulſe which himſelf gave: ſo if one act of the infinite Mind puts things in a regular courſe, another act interpoſed may change that at pleaſure. And thus with relation to God, miracles are no more difficult than any other act of Providence: they are only more amazing to us, becauſe they are leſs ordinary, and go out of the common and regular courſe of things. By all this it appears how far the obſervation of what we perceive concerning ourſelves may carry us to form livelier and clearer thoughts of God.

So much may ſuffice upon the firſt Article.



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## ARTICLE II.

### Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man.

**The Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father; the very and Eternal God, of one Substance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin of her Substance; so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person; never to be divided: wherein is one Christ, very God and very Man: who truly suffered, was dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice not only for Original Guilt, but also for actual Sins of Men.**

THERE are in this Article five heads to be explained:

I. That the Son or Word is of the same substance with the Father, begotten of him from all eternity.

II. That he took man's nature upon him in the womb of the blessed Virgin, and of her substance.

III. That the two natures of the Godhead and Manhood, both still perfect, were in him joined in one person never to be divided.

IV. That Christ truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried.

V. That he was our sacrifice to reconcile the Father to us, and that not only for original guilt, but for actual sins.

The first of these leads me to prosecute what was begun in the former Article: and to prove, that the *Son*, or *Word*, was from all eternity begotten of the same substance with the *Father*. It is here to be noted, that Christ is in two respects the *Son*, and *the only begotten Son of God*. The one is, as he was man; the miraculous overshadowing of the blessed Virgin by the Holy Ghost, having, without the ordinary course of nature, formed the first innings of Christ's human body in the womb of the Virgin.

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ART. II.

Virgin. Thus that miracle being inſtead of a natural begetting, he may in that reſpect be called the *begotten*, and *the only begotten Son of God*. The other ſenſe is, that the *Word*, or the divine Perſon, was in and of the ſubſtance of the Father, and ſo was truly God. It is alſo to be conſidered, that by the word *one Subſtance*, is to be underſtood that this ſecond Perſon is not a creature of a pure and excellent nature, like God, holy and perfect, as we are called to be; but is truly God as the *Father* is. *Begetting* is a term that naturally ſignifies the relation between the *Father* and the *Son*; but what it ſtrictly ſignifies here is not poſſible for us to underſtand till we comprehend this whole matter: nor can we be able to aſſign a reaſon why the emanation of the *Son*, and not that of the *Holy Ghoſt* likewiſe, is called *begetting*. In this we uſe the Scripture terms, but muſt confeſs we cannot frame a diſtinct apprehenſion of that which is ſo far above us. This *begetting* was from all Eternity: if it had been in time, the *Son* and *Holy Ghoſt* muſt have been creatures; but if they are truly God, they muſt be eternal, and not produced by having a being given them, but educed of a ſubſtance that was eternal, and from which they did eternally ſpring. All theſe are the natural conſequences of the main Article that is now to be proved; and when it is once proved clearly from Scripture, theſe do follow by a natural and neceſſary deduction.

The firſt and great proof of this is taken from the words with which St. John begins his Goſpel. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; the ſame was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* John i. 1, 2, 3. Here it is to be obſerved, that theſe words are ſet down here, before St. John comes to ſpeak of Chriſt's being made in our nature: this paſſage belongs to another precedent being that he had. The *beginning* alſo here is ſet to import, that it was before creation or time: now a duration before time is eternal. So this *beginning* can be no other than that duration which was before *all things that were made*. It is alſo plainly ſaid over and over again, that *all things were made* by this *Word*. A power to create muſt be infinite; for it is certain, that a power which can give being is without bounds. And although the word *make* may ſeem capable of a larger ſenſe, yet, as in other places of the New Teſtament, the ſtricter word *create* is uſed and applied to Chriſt, as the *Maker of all things in heaven and earth, viſible and inviſible*; ſo the word *make* is uſed through the Old Teſtament for *create*;

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ART. II.

*create*; ſo that God's *making the heaven and the earth* is the character frequently given of him to diſtinguiſh him from idols and falſe Gods. And of this *Word* it is likewiſe ſaid, that *he was with God*, and *was God*. Theſe words ſeem very plain, and the place where they are put by St. John, in the front of his Goſpel, as it were an inſcription upon it, or an introduction to it, makes it very evident, that he, who of all the writers of the New Teſtament has the greateſt plainneſs and ſimplicity of ſtyle, would not have put words here, ſuch as were not to be underſtood in a plain and literal ſignification, without any key to lead us to any other ſenſe of them. This had been to lay a ſtone of ſtumbling in the very threſhold; particularly to the Jews, who were apt to cavil at Chriſtianity; and were particularly jealous of every thing that ſavoured of idolatry, or of the plurality of Gods. And upon this occaſion I deſire one thing to be obſerved, with relation to all thoſe ſubtile expoſitions which thoſe who oppoſe this doctrine put upon many of thoſe places by which we prove it: that they repreſent the Apoſtles as magnifying Chriſt, in words that at firſt ſound ſeem to import his being the true God; and yet they hold that in all theſe they had another ſenſe, and a reſerve of ſome other interpretation, of which their words were capable. But can this be thought fair dealing? Does it look like honeſt men to write thus; not to ſay, men inſpired in what they preached and writ? and not rather like impoſtors, to uſe ſo many ſublime and lofty expreſſions concerning Chriſt as God, if all theſe muſt be taken down to ſo low a ſenſe, as to ſignify only that he was miraculouſly formed, and endued with an extraordinary power of miracles, and an authority to deliver a new religion to the world; and that he was, in conſideration of his exemplary death which he underwent ſo patiently, raiſed up from the grave, and had divine honours conferred upon him. In ſuch an hypotheſis as this, the world going in ſo naturally to the exceſſive magnifying, and even the deifying of wonderful men, it had been neceſſary to have prevented any ſuch miſtakes, and to have guarded againſt the belief of them; rather than to have uſed a continued ſtrain of expreſſions, that ſeem to carry men violently into them, and that can hardly, nay very hardly, be ſoftened by all the ſkill of critics, to bear any other ſenſe. It is to be conſidered further, that when St. John writ his Goſpel, there were three ſorts of men particularly to be conſidered. The Jews, who could bear nothing that ſavoured of idolatry; ſo no ſtumbling-block was to be laid in their way, to give

ART. II.

give them deeper prejudices againſt Chriſtianity. Next to theſe were the Gentiles; who, having worſhipped a variety of Gods, were not to be indulged in any thing that might ſeem to favour their polytheiſm. In fact, we find particular caution uſed in the New Teſtament, againſt the worſhipping angels or ſaints. How can it therefore be imagined, that words would have been uſed, that in the plain ſignification that did ariſe out of the firſt hearing of them, imported that a man was God, if this had not been ſtrictly true? The Apoſtles ought, and muſt have uſed a particular care to have avoided all ſuch expreſſions, if they had not been literally true.. The third ſort of men in St. John's time were thoſe of whom intimation is frequently given through all the Epiſtles, who were then endeavouring to corrupt the purity of the Chriſtian doctrine, and to accommodate it ſo, both to the Jew, and to the Gentile, as to avoid the croſs and perſecution upon the account of it. Church-hiſtory, and the earlieſt writers after St. John, aſſure us, that Ebion and Cerinthus denied the divinity of Chriſt, and aſſerted that he was a mere man. Controverſy naturally carries men to ſpeak exactly; and among human writers thoſe who let things fall more careleſsly from their pens, when they apprehend no danger or difficulty, are more correct both in their thoughts and in their expreſſions, when things are diſputed; therefore, if we ſhould have no other regard to St. John, but as an ordinary, cautious, and careful man, we muſt believe that he weighed all his words in that point, which was then the matter in queſtion; and to clear which, we have good ground to believe, both from the teſtimony of ancient writers, and from the method that he purſues quite through it all, that he writ his Goſpel; and that therefore every part of it, but this beginning of it more ſignally, was writ, and is to be underſtood in the ſenſe which the words naturally import: that the *Word which took fleſh*, and aſſumed the human nature, had a being *before the worlds were made*, and that this *Word was God*, and *made the world*.

Another eminent proof of this is in St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Philippians; in which, when he is exhorting Chriſtians to humility, he gives an argument for it from our Saviour's example. He begins with the dignity of his perſon, expreſſed thus; *that he was in the form of God, and that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God:* then his humiliation comes, that he *made himſelf of no reputation, but took on him the form of a ſervant* (the ſame word with that uſed in the former verſe): after which follows his

Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

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ART. II. his exaltation, and a *name* or authority *above every name* o authority is ſaid to be given him; ſo that *all in heaven earth, and under the earth*, (which ſeems to import angels men, and devils,) *ſhould bow at his name, and confeſs that J is the Lord*. Now in this progreſs that is made in thes words, it is plain, that the dignity of Chriſt's perſon is repreſented as antecedent both to his humiliation and to his exaltation. It was that which put the value on his humiliation, as his humiliation was rewarded by his exaltation. This dignity is expreſſed firſt, that he was in *the form of God*, before he humbled himſelf: he was certainly in the *form of a ſervant*, that is, really a ſervant, as other ſervants are: he was obedient to his parents, he was under the authority both of the Romans, of Herod, and of the Sanhedrim: therefore ſince his being really a ſervant is expreſſed by his being in *the form of a ſervant*, his being in the *form of God*, muſt alſo import that he was truly *God*. But the following words, that *he thought it not robbery to be equal*, or *be held equal*, (for ſo the word may be rendered,) *with God*, carry ſuch a natural ſignification of his being neither a made nor ſubordinate *God*, and that his divinity is neither precarious, nor by conceſſion, that fuller words cannot be deviſed for expreſſing an entire equality. Thoſe who deny this are aware of it, and therefore they have put another ſenſe on the words, *in the form of God*. They think, that they ſignify his appearing in the world, as one ſent in the name of God, repreſenting him, working miracles, and delivering a law in his name: and the words rendered, *he thought it no robbery*, they render, he did not *catch at*, or *vehemently deſire to be held in equal honour with God*. And ſome authorities are found in eloquent Greek authors, who uſe the words rendered, *he thought it not robbery*, in a figurative ſenſe, for the earneſtneſs of deſire, or the purſuing after a thing greedily, as robbers do for their prey. This rendering repreſents St. Paul, as treating ſo ſacred a point in the figures of a high and ſeldom uſed rhetoric, which one would think ought to have been expreſſed more exactly. But if even this ſenſe is allowed, it will make a ſtrange period, and a very odd ſort of an argument, to enforce humility upon us, becauſe Chriſt, though working miracles, did not deſire, or ſnatch at divine adorations, in an equality with God. The ſin of Lucifer, and the cauſe of his fall, is commonly believed to be his deſire to be equal to God; and yet this ſeems to be ſuch an extravagant piece of pride, that it is ſcarce poſſible to think, that even the ſublimeſt of created beings ſhould be capable of it.

To

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ART. II.

To be next to God, ſeems to be the utmoſt height, to which even the diabolical pride could aſpire: ſo that here, by the ſenſe which the Socinians put on thoſe words, they will import, that we are perſuaded to be humble from the example of Chriſt, who did not affect an equality with God: the bare repeating of this ſeems ſo fully to expoſe and overthrow it, that I think it is not neceſſary to ſay more upon this place.

The next head of proof is made up of more particulars. All the names, the operations, and even the attributes of God, are in full and plain words given to Chriſt. He is called God; his blood is ſaid to be *the blood of God*; *God is ſaid to have laid down his life for us*; Chriſt is called the *true God*, the *great God*, the *Lord of glory*, the *King of kings*, and *the Lord of lords*; and more particularly the name Jehovah is aſcribed to him in the ſame word in which the LXX Interpreters had tranſlated it throughout the whole Old Teſtament. So that this conſtant uniformity of ſtyle between the Greek of the New, and that tranſlation of the Old Teſtament which was then received, and was of great authority among the Jews, and was yet of more authority among the firſt Chriſtians, is an argument that carries ſuch a weight with it, that this alone may ſerve to determine the matter. The creating, the preſerving, and the governing of all things, is alſo aſcribed to Chriſt in a variety of places, but moſt remarkably, when it is ſaid, that *by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, viſible, and inviſible: whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him, and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things conſiſt.* He is ſaid to have *known what was in man, to have known men's ſecret thoughts,* and *to have known all things:* that *as the Father was known of none but of the Son; ſo none knew the Son but the Father.* He *pardons ſin, ſends the Spirit, gives grace and eternal life,* and *he ſhall raiſe the dead at the laſt day.* When all theſe things are laid together in that variety of expreſſions, in which they lie ſcattered in the New Teſtament, it is not poſſible to retain any reverence for thoſe books, if we imagine that they are writ in a ſtyle ſo full of approaches to the deifying of a mere man, that without a very critical ſtudying of languages and phraſes, it is not poſſible to underſtand them otherwiſe. Idolatry, and a plurality of Gods, ſeem to be the main things that the Scriptures warn us againſt; and yet here is a purſued thread of paſſages and diſcourſes, that do naturally lead a man to think that Chriſt is the *true God*, who yet, according

Acts xx. 28. 1 Joh. iii. 16. 1 Joh. v. 20. Tit. ii. 13. Jam. ii. 1. Rev. i. 8. Rev. xix. 16.

Col. i. 16, 17. John ii. 25. Matt. xi. 27. Matt. ix. 6. John xv. 26. John xiv. 13. Joh. v. 25, 26. Joh. vi. 39, 40.

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ART. II.

ing to theſe men, only acted in his name, and has now a high honour put on him by him.

This carries me to another argument to prove that the *Word* that was *made fleſh* was truly God. Nothing but the true God can be the proper object of adoration. This is one of thoſe truths that ſeems almoſt ſo evident, that it needs not to be proved. Adoration is the humble proſtration of ourſelves before God, in acts that own our dependance upon him, both for our being, and for all the bleſſings that we do either enjoy or hope for, and alſo in earneſt prayers to him for the continuance of theſe to us. This is teſtified by ſuch outward geſtures and actions as are moſt proper to expreſs our humility and ſubmiſſion to God: all this has ſo clear and ſo inſeparable a relation to the only true God, as its proper object, that it is ſcarce poſſible to apprehend how it ſhould be ſeparated from him, and given to any other. And as this ſeems evident from the nature of things, ſo it is not poſſible to imagine how any thing could have been prohibited in more expreſs and poſitive, and in more frequently-repeated words, and longer reaſonings, than the offering of divine worſhip, or any part of it, to creatures. The chief deſign of the Moſaical religion was to baniſh all idolatry and polytheiſm out of the minds of the Jews, and to poſſeſs them with the idea of one God, and of one object of worſhip. The reaſons upon which thoſe prohibitions are founded are univerſal; which are, the unity of God's eſſence, and his jealouſy in not giving his honour to another. It is not ſaid that they ſhould not worſhip any as God, till they had a precept or declaration for it. There is no reſerve for any ſuch time; but they are plainly forbid to worſhip any but the great God, becauſe he was one, and was jealous of his glory. The New Teſtament is writ in the ſame ſtrain: Chriſt, when tempted of the Devil, anſwered, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* The Apoſtles charged all idolaters *to forſake thoſe idols, and to ſerve the living God.* The Angel refuſed St. John's worſhip, commanding him to *worſhip God.* The Chriſtian faith does in every particular raiſe the ideas of God and of religion to a much greater purity and ſublimity, than the Moſaical diſpenſation had done; ſo it is not to be imagined, that in the chief deſign of revealed religion, which was the bringing men from idolatry to the worſhip of one God, it ſhould make ſuch a breach, and extend it to a creature. All this ſeems fully to prove the firſt propoſition of this argument, that God is the only proper object of adoration. The next is, that Chriſt is propoſed in the New Teſtament as the

Matt. iv. 10. Acts xiv. 15. Acts xvii. 29. 1 Theſſ. i. 9. Rev. xix. 10.

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the object of divine worſhip. I do not in proof of this urge the inſtances of thoſe who fell down at Chriſt's feet and worſhipped him, while he was on earth; for it may be well anſwered to that, that a prophet was worſhipped with the civil reſpect of falling down before him, among the Jews; as appears in the hiſtory of Elijah and Eliſha: nor does it appear that thoſe who worſhipped Chriſt, had any apprehenſion of his being God; they only conſidered him as the Meſſias, or as ſome eminent prophet. But the mention that St. Luke makes in his Goſpel, of the diſciples worſhipping Chriſt at his aſcenſion, comes more home to this matter. All thoſe ſalutations in the beginning and concluſion of the Epiſtles, in which *grace, mercy, and peace* are wiſhed *from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, are implied invocations of him. It is alſo plain, that it was to him that St. Paul *prayed*, when he was under the temptations of the Devil; as they are commonly underſtood; *Every knee muſt bow to him: the angels of God worſhip him: all the hoſts in heaven* are repreſented in St. John's viſions as falling down proſtrate before him, and worſhipping him *as they worſhip the Father*. He is propoſed as the object of our faith, hope, and love; as the perſon whom we are to obey, to pray to, and to praiſe; ſo that every act of worſhip, both external and internal, is directed to him as to its proper object. But the inſtance of all others that is the cleareſt in this point, is in the laſt words of St. Stephen, who was the firſt martyr, and whoſe martyrdom is ſo particularly related by St. Luke: he then in his laſt minutes ſaw Chriſt *at the right hand of God*; and in his laſt breath he worſhipped him in two ſhort prayers, that are upon the matter the ſame with thoſe in which our bleſſed Saviour worſhipped his Father on the Croſs; *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit: Lord, lay not this ſin to their charge.* From this it ſeems very evident, that if Chriſt was not the true God, and equal to the Father, then this Protomartyr died in two acts that ſeem not only idolatrous, but alſo blaſphemous; ſince he worſhipped Chriſt in the ſame acts in which Chriſt had worſhipped his Father. It is certain, from all this deduction of particulars, that his human nature cannot be worſhipped; therefore there muſt be another nature in him, to which divine worſhip is due, and on the account of which he is to be worſhipped.

ART. II.

Luke xxiv. 52.

2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. Phil. ii. 10. Heb. i. 5. Rev. v. 8. *to the end.*

Acts vii. 59, 60.

It is plain, that when this religion was firſt publiſhed, together with theſe duties in it as a part of it, the Jews, though implacably ſet againſt it, yet never accuſed it of idolatry; though that charge of all others had ſerved their purpoſes the beſt, who intended to blacken and blaſt it.

Nothing

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ART. II. Nothing would have been ſo well heard, and ſo eaſily apprehended, as a juſt prejudice againſt it, as this. The argument would have appeared as ſtrong as it was plain: and as the Jews could not be ignorant of the acts of the Chriſtian worſhip, when ſo many fell back to them from it, who were offended at other parts of it; ſo they had the books, in which it was contained, in their hands. Notwithſtanding all which, we have all poſſible reaſon to believe that this objection againſt it was never made by any of them, in the firſt age of Chriſtianity: upon all which, I ſay, it is not to be imagined that they could have been ſilent on this head, if a mere man had been thus propoſed among the Chriſtians as the object of divine worſhip. The ſilence of the Apoſtles, in not mentioning nor anſwering this, is ſuch a proof of the ſilence of the Jews, that it would indeed diſparage all their writings, if we could think, that, while they mentioned and anſwered the other prejudices of the Jews, which in compariſon to this are ſmall and inconſiderable matters, they ſhould have paſſed over this, which muſt have been the greateſt and the plauſibleſt of them all, if it was one at all. Therefore, as the ſilence of the Apoſtles is a clear proof that the Jews were ſilent alſo, and did not object this; and ſince their ſilence could neither flow from their ignorance, nor their undervaluing of this religion; it ſeems to be certain, that the firſt opening of the Chriſtian doctrine did not carry any thing in it that could be called the worſhipping of a creature. It follows from hence, that the Jews muſt have underſtood this part of our religion in ſuch a manner as agreed with their former ideas. So we muſt examine theſe: they had this ſettled among them, that God dwelt in the cloud of glory, and that, by virtue of that inhabitation, divine worſhip was paid to God as dwelling in the cloud; that it was called *God, God's Throne, his Holineſs, his Face, and the Light of his Countenance:* they went up to the Temple to worſhip God, as dwelling there *bodily*, that is ſubſtantially, ſo *bodily* ſometimes ſignifies, or in a corporeal appearance. This ſeems to have been a perſon that was truly God, and yet was diſtinct from that which appeared and ſpake to Moſes; for this ſeems to be the importance of theſe words: Exod. xxiii. 20. *Behold, I ſend an Angel before thee to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee to the place which I have prepared: beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your tranſgreſſions; for my name is in him.* Theſe words do plainly import a perſon to whom they belong; and yet they are a pitch far above the angelical dignity. So that Angel muſt here be underſtood in a large ſenſe, for one

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one ſent of God; and it can admit of no ſenſe ſo properly, as, that the eternal Word, which dwelt afterwards in the man Chriſt Jeſus, dwelt then in that cloud of glory. It was alſo one of the prophecies received by the Jews, *that the glory of the ſecond Temple was to exceed the glory of the firſt.* The chief character of the glory of the firſt was that inhabitation of the divine preſence among them; from hence it follows that ſuch an inhabitation of God in a creature, by which that creature was not only called God, but that adoration was due to it upon that account, was a notion that could not have ſcandalized the Jews, and was indeed the only notion that agreed with their former ideas, and that could have been received by them without difficulty or oppoſition. This is a ſtrong inducement to believe that this great article of our Religion was at that time delivered and underſtood in that ſenſe. ART. II. Hag. ii. 9.

If the *Son* or *Word* is truly God, he muſt be from all eternity, and muſt alſo be of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, otherwiſe he could not be God; ſince a God of another ſubſtance, or of another duration, is a contradiction.

The laſt argument that I ſhall offer is taken from the beginning of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews: to the apprehending the force of which, this muſt be premiſed, that all thoſe who acknowledge that Chriſt ought to be honoured and worſhipped as the Father, muſt ſay that this is due to him either becauſe he is truly God, or becauſe he is a perſon of ſuch a high and exalted dignity, that God has upon the conſideration of that appointed him to be ſo worſhipped. Now this ſecond notion may fall under another diſtinction; "that either he was of a very ſublime order by "nature, as ſome angelical being, that though he was cre-" Arian "ated, yet had this high privilege beſtowed upon him;" or "that he was a prophet illuminated and authorized in ſo" "particular a manner beyond all others, that, out of a re-" Socinian "gard to that, he was exalted to this honour of being to be" "worſhipped." One of theſe muſt be choſen by all who do not believe him to be truly God: and indeed one of theſe was the Arian, as the other is the Socinian hypotheſis. For how much ſoever the Arians might exalt him in words, yet if they believed him to be a creature made in time, ſo that once he was not; all that they ſaid of him can amount to no more, but that he was a creature of a ſpiritual nature; and this is plainly the notion which the Scripture gives us of angels. Artemon, Samoſatenus, Photinus, and the Socinians in our days, conſider our Saviour as a great prophet and lawgiver, and into this they reſolve his dignity. In oppoſition to both theſe, that



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ART. II. Epiſtle begins with expreſſions that are the more ſevere, becauſe they are negative, which are to be underſtood more ſtrictly than poſitive words. Chriſt is not only preferred to angels, but is ſet in oppoſition to them, as one of another order of beings. *Made ſo much better than angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels ſaid he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? When he bringeth in the firſt-begotten into the world, he ſaith, And let all the angels of God worſhip him. Of the angels he ſaith, Who maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire. But unto the Son he ſaith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever. And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning haſt laid the foundation of the earth: and the heavens are the works of thy hands. Thou art the ſame, and thy years ſhall not fail. But to which of the angels ſaid he at any time, Sit on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool? Are they not all miniſtering ſpirits, ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation?* This oppoſition is likewiſe carried on through the whole ſecond chapter; one paſſage in it being moſt expreſs to ſhew both that his nature had a ſubſiſtence before his incarnation, and that it was not of an angelical order of beings, ſince he *took not on him the nature of angels, but the ſeed of Abraham.* Thus in a great variety of expreſſions, the conceit of Chriſt's being of an angelical nature is very fully condemned. From that the writer goes next to the notion of his being to be honoured, becauſe he was an eminent prophet; on which he enters with a very ſolemn preface, inviting them to *conſider the Apoſtle and High-prieſt of our profeſſion:* then he compares Moſes to him, as to the point of being *faithful to him who had appointed him.* But how eminent ſoever Moſes was above all other prophets, and how harſhly ſoever it muſt have ſounded to the Jews to have ſtated the difference in terms ſo diſtant as that of a *ſervant* and a *ſon*, of *one who built the houſe, and of the houſe itſelf*; yet we ſee the Apoſtle does not only prefer Chriſt to Moſes, but puts him in another order and rank; which could not be done according to the Socinian hypotheſis. From all which this concluſion naturally follows, that if Chriſt is to be worſhipped, and that this honour belongs to him neither as an angel, nor as a prophet, that then it is due to him becauſe he is truly God.

Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14. Chap. ii. 16. Chap. iii. 1.

The ſecond branch of this Article is, that he *took man's nature upon him in the womb of the bleſſed Virgin, and of her ſubſtance.* This will not need any long or laboured proof, ſince the texts of Scripture are ſo expreſs, that nothing

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thing but wild extravagance can withſtand them. Chriſt was in all things like unto us, except his miraculous conception by the Virgin: he was the Son of Abraham and of David. But among the frantic humours that appeared at the Reformation, ſome, in oppoſition to the ſuperſtition of the Church of Rome, ſtudied to derogate as much from the bleſſed Virgin on the one hand, as ſhe had been over-exalted on the other: ſo they ſaid, that Chriſt had only gone through her. But this impiety ſunk ſo ſoon, that it is needleſs to ſay any thing more to refute it. ART. II.

The third branch of the Article is, that *theſe two natures were joined in one Perſon, never to be divided.* What a perſon is that reſults from a cloſe conjunction of two natures, we can only judge of by conſidering man, in whom there is a material and a ſpiritual nature joined together. They are two natures as different as any we can apprehend among all created beings; yet theſe make but one man. The matter of which the body is compoſed does not ſubſiſt by itſelf, is not under all thoſe laws of motion to which it would be ſubject, if it were mere inanimated matter; but by the indwelling and actuation of the ſoul, it has another ſpring within it, and has another courſe of operations. According to this then, to ſubſiſt by another, is when a being is acting according to its natural properties, but yet in a conſtant dependance upon another being; ſo our bodies ſubſiſt by the ſubſiſtence of our ſouls. This may help us to apprehend how that as the body is ſtill a body, and operates as a body, though it ſubſiſts by the indwelling and actuation of the ſoul; ſo in the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt the human nature was entire, and ſtill acted according to its own character; yet there was ſuch an union and inhabitation of the eternal Word in it, that there did ariſe out of that a communication of names and characters, as we find in the Scriptures. A man is called tall, fair, and healthy, from the ſtate of his body; and learned, wiſe, and good, from the qualities of his mind: ſo Chriſt is called holy, harmleſs, and undefiled; is ſaid to have died, riſen, and aſcended up into heaven, with relation to his human nature: he is alſo ſaid to be in *the form of God, to have created all things, to be the brightneſs of the Father's glory, and the expreſs image of his perſon*, with relation to his divine nature. The ideas that we have of what is material and what is ſpiritual, lead us to diſtinguiſh in a man thoſe deſcriptions that belong to his body, from thoſe that belong to his mind; ſo the different apprehenſions that we have of what is created and uncreated, muſt be our thread to guide us into

Phil. ii. 6. Col. i. 16. Heb. i. 3.



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ART. II. the reſolution of thoſe various expreſſions that occur in the Scriptures concerning Chriſt.

The deſign of the definition that was made by the Church concerning Chriſt's having one perſon, was chiefly to diſtinguiſh the nature of the *indwelling* of the Godhead in him, from all prophetical inſpirations. The Moſaical degree of prophecy was in many reſpects ſuperior to that of all the ſubſequent prophets: yet the difference is ſtated between Chriſt and Moſes, in terms that import things quite of another nature; the one being mentioned as a ſervant, the other as the Son that built the houſe. It is not ſaid that God appeared to Chriſt, or that he ſpoke to him; but God was ever with him, and in him; and
Joh. i. 14. while *the Word was made fleſh*, yet ſtill *his glory was as the glory of the only begotten Son of God*. The glory that Iſaiah ſaw, was called *his glory*; and on the other hand, God is ſaid to have purchaſed his Church with his own blood. If Neſtorius, in oppoſing this, meant only, as ſome think it appears by many citations out of him, that the bleſſed Virgin was not to be called ſimply *the Mother of God*, but *the Mother of him that was God*; and if that of making two perſons in Chriſt was only faſtened on him as a conſequence, we are not at all concerned in the matter of fact, whether Neſtorius was miſunderſtood and hardly uſed, or not; but the doctrine here aſſerted is plain in the Scriptures, that though the human nature in Chriſt acted ſtill according to its proper character, and had a peculiar will; yet there was ſuch a conſtant preſence, indwelling, and actuation on it from the eternal *Word*, as did conſtitute both human and divine nature one *Perſon*. As theſe are thus ſo entirely united, ſo they are never to be ſeparated. Chriſt is now exalted to the higheſt degrees of glory and honour; and the characters of *Bleſſing*, *Honour*, and *Glory*, are re-
Rev. v. 13. preſented in St. John's viſions, as offered *to the Lamb for ever and ever*. It is true, St. Paul ſpeaks as if Chriſt's mediatory office and kingdom were to ceaſe after the Day of Judgment, and that then he was to deliver up all to the Father. But though, when the full number of the elect ſhall be gathered, the full end of his death will be attained; and when theſe ſaints ſhall be glorified with him and by him, his office as Mediator will naturally come to an end; yet his own perſonal glory ſhall never ceaſe: and if every ſaint ſhall inherit an everlaſting kingdom, much more ſhall he who has merited all that to them, and has conferred it on them, be for ever poſſeſſed of his glory.

The fourth branch of the Article is concerning the truth of Chriſt's crucifixion, his death and burial. The matter of

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ART. II.

of fact concerning the death of Chriſt is denied by no Chriſtian; the Jews do all acknowledge it; the firſt enemies to Chriſtianity did all believe this, and reproached his followers with it. This was that which all Chriſtians gloried in and avowed; ſo that no queſtion was made of his death, except by a ſmall number called *Docetæ*, who were not eſteemed Chriſtians, till Mahomet denied it in his Alcoran, who pretends that he was withdrawn, and that a Jew was crucified in his ſtead. But this corruption of the hiſtory of the Goſpel came too late afterwards, to have any ſhadow of credit due to it; nor was there any ſort of proof offered to ſupport it. So this doctrine concerning the death of Chriſt is to be received as an unqueſtionable truth. There is no part of the Goſpel writ with ſo copious a particularity, as the hiſtory of his ſufferings and death; as there was indeed no part of the Goſpel ſo important as this is.

The fifth branch of the Article is, That he was a *true ſacrifice to reconcile the Father to us, and that not only for original, but for actual ſins.* The notion of an expiatory ſacrifice, which was then, when the New Teſtament was writ, well underſtood all the world over, both by Jew and Gentile, was this, that the ſin of one perſon was tranſferred on a man or beaſt, who was upon that devoted and offered up to God, and ſuffered in the room of the offending perſon; and by this oblation the puniſhment of the ſin being laid on the ſacrifice, an expiation was made for ſin, and the ſinner was believed to be reconciled to God. This, as appears through the whole book of Leviticus, was the deſign and effect of the *ſin* and *treſpaſs-offerings* among the Jews, and more particularly of the goat that was offered up for the ſins of the whole people on the day of atonement. This was a piece of religion well known both to Jew and Gentile, that had a great many phraſes belonging to it, ſuch as the ſacrifices being offered *for*, or *inſtead* of, *ſin*, *and in the name*, or on the account, of the ſinner; *its bearing of* ſin, and *becoming* ſin, or the *ſin-offering*; its being the *reconciliation*, the *atonement*, and the *redemption* of the ſinner, by which the ſin was no more *imputed*, but *forgiven*, and for which the ſinner was *accepted*. When therefore this whole ſet of phraſes, in its utmoſt extent, is very often, and in a great variety, applied to the death of Chriſt, it is not poſſible for us to preſerve any reverence for the New Teſtament, or the writers of it, ſo far as to think them even honeſt men, not to ſay inſpired men, if we can imagine, that in ſo ſacred and important a matter they could exceed ſo much as to repreſent that to be our



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ART. II.

sacrifice which is not truly so: this is a point which will not bear figures and amplifications; it must be treated of strictly, and with a just exactness of expression. Christ is called the *Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world*; he is said *to have borne our sins on his own body*; *to have been made sin for us*; it is said, that *he gave his life a ransom for many*; that *he was the propitiation for the sins of the whole world*; and that *we have redemption through his blood, even the remission of our sins.* It is said, that *he hath reconciled us to his Father in his cross, and in the body of his flesh through death:* that he by *his own blood entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us:* that *once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin, by the sacrifice of himself:* that *he was once offered to bear the sins of many:* that *we are sanctified by the offering of the body of Christ once for all:* and that, *after he had offered one sacrifice for sin, he sat down for ever on the right hand of God.* It is said, that *we enter into the holiest by the blood of Christ, that is the blood of the new covenant, by which we are sanctified:* that *he hath sanctified the people with his own blood:* and *was the great shepherd of his people, through the blood of the everlasting covenant:* that *we are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot*; and, that *Christ suffered once for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God.* In these and in a great many more passages that lie spread in all the parts of the New Testament, it is as plain as words can make any thing, that the death of Christ is proposed to us as our sacrifice and reconciliation, our atonement and redemption. So it is not possible for any man that considers all this, to imagine, that Christ's death was only a confirmation of his Gospel, a pattern of a holy and patient suffering of death, and a necessary preparation to his resurrection; by which he gave us a clear proof of a resurrection, and by consequence of eternal life, as by his doctrine he had shewed us the way to it. By this all the high commendations of his death amount only to this, that he by dying has given a vast credit and authority to his Gospel, which was the powerfullest mean possible to redeem us from sin, and to reconcile us to God: but this is so contrary to the whole design of the New Testament, and to the true importance of that great variety of phrases, in which this matter is set out, that, at this rate of expounding Scripture, we can never know what we may build upon, especially when the great importance of this thing, and of our having right notions concerning it, is well considered. St. Paul does, in his Epistle to the Romans,

1 John i. 29.
2 1 Pet. ii. 24.
3 2 Cor. v. 21.
4 Matth. xx. 28.
5 Rom. iii. 25.
6 1 John ii. 2.
7 Eph. i. 7.
8 Col. i. 14, 20, 21, 22.
9 Heb. ix. 11, 12, 13, 14, 26, 28.
10 Heb. x. 10, 12, 14, 19, 29.
11 Heb. xiii. 12, 20.
12 1 Pet. i. 19. 1 Pet. ii. 24.
13 1 Pet. iii. 18.

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mans, ſtate an oppoſition between the death of Chriſt, and the ſin of Adam; the ill effects of the one being removed by the other: but he plainly carries the death of Chriſt much further, than that it had only healed the wound that was given by Adam's ſin; *for as the judgment was of one (ſin) to condemnation, the free gift is of many offences to juſtification.* But in the other places of the New Teſtament, Chriſt's death is ſet forth ſo fully, as a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world, that it is a very falſe way of arguing to infer, that becauſe in one place that is ſet in oppoſition to Adam's ſin, that therefore the virtue of it was to go no farther, than to take away that ſin. It has indeed removed that, but it has done a great deal more beſides. ART. II. Rom. v. 12. to the end.

Thus it is plain, that Chriſt's death was our ſacrifice: the meaning of which is this, that God, intending to reconcile the world to himſelf, and to encourage ſinners to repent and turn to him, thought fit to offer the pardon of ſin, together with the other bleſſings of his Goſpel, in ſuch a way as ſhould demonſtrate both the guilt of ſin, and his hatred of it; and yet with that, his love of ſinners, and his compaſſions towards them. A free pardon without a ſacrifice had not been ſo agreeable neither to the majeſty of the great Governor of the world, nor the authority of his laws, nor ſo proper a method to oblige men to that ſtrictneſs and holineſs of life that he deſigned to bring them to: and therefore he thought fit to offer his pardon, and thoſe other bleſſings, through a Mediator, who was to deliver to the world this new and holy rule of life, and to confirm it by his own unblemiſhed life: and in concluſion, when the rage of wicked men, who hated him for the holineſs both of his life and of his doctrine, did work them up into ſuch a fury as to purſue him to a moſt violent and ignominious death, he, in compliance with the ſecret deſign of his Father, did not only go through that diſmal ſeries of ſufferings, with the moſt entire reſignation to his Father's will, and with the higheſt charity poſſible towards thoſe who were his moſt unjuſt and malicious murderers; but he at the ſame time underwent great agonies in his mind; which ſtruck him with ſuch an amazement and ſorrow even to the death, that upon it he did ſweat great drops of blood, and on the croſs he felt a withdrawing of thoſe comforts, that till then had ever ſupported him, when he cried out, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* It is not eaſy for us to apprehend in what that agony conſiſted: for we underſtand only the agonies of pain, or of conſcience, which laſt ariſe out of the horror of guilt,

ART. II. or the apprehenſion of the wrath of God. It is indeed certain, that he who had no ſin could have no ſuch horror in him; and yet it is as certain, that he could not be put into ſuch an agony only through the apprehenſion and fear of that violent death, which he was to ſuffer next day: therefore we ought to conclude, that there was an inward ſuffering in his mind, as well as an outward viſible one in his body. We cannot diſtinctly apprehend what that was, ſince he was ſure both of his own ſpotleſs innocence, and of his Father's unchangeable love to him. We can only imagine a vaſt ſenſe of the heinouſneſs of ſin, and a deep indignation at the diſhonour done to God by it, a melting apprehenſion of the corruption and miſeries of mankind by reaſon of ſin, together with a never-before-felt withdrawing of thoſe conſolations that had always filled his ſoul. But what might be further in his agony, and in his laſt dereliction, we cannot diſtinctly apprehend; only this we perceive, that our minds are capable of great pain as well as our bodies are. Deep horror, with an inconſolable ſharpneſs of thought, is a very intolerable thing. Notwithſtanding the bodily or ſubſtantial indwelling of the fulneſs of the Godhead in him; yet he was capable of feeling vaſt pain in his *body*: ſo that he might become a complete ſacrifice, and that we might have from his ſufferings a very full and amazing apprehenſion of the guilt of ſin; all thoſe emanations of joy, with which the indwelling of the *eternal Word* had ever till then filled his ſoul, might then when he needed them moſt be quite withdrawn, and he be left merely to the firmneſs of his faith, to his patient reſignation to the will of his heavenly Father, and to his willing readineſs of drinking up that cup which his Father had put in his hand to drink.

There remains but one thing to be remembered here, though it will come to be more ſpecially explained, when other Articles are to be opened; which is, that this reconciliation, which is made by the death of Chriſt, between God and man, is not abſolute and without conditions. He has eſtabliſhed the covenant, and has performed all that was incumbent on him, as both the prieſt and the ſacrifice, to do and to ſuffer; and he offers this to the world, that it may be cloſed with by them, on the terms on which it is propoſed; and if they do not accept of it upon theſe conditions, and perform what is enjoined them, they can have no ſhare in it.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE III.

### Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.

**As Chriſt died for us and was buried, ſo alſo is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell.**

THIS was much fuller when the Articles were at firſt prepared and publiſhed in King Edward's reign: for theſe words were added to it, *that the body of Chriſt lay in the grave until his reſurrection; but his ſpirit, which he gave up, was with the ſpirits which were detained in priſon, or in hell, and preached to them, as the place in St.* Peter *teſtifieth.* Thus a determined ſenſe was put upon this Article, which is now left more at large, and is conceived in words of a more general ſignification. In order to the explaining this, it is to be premiſed, that the Article in the Creed, of Chriſt's *deſcent into Hell,* is mentioned by no writer before Ruffin, who in the beginning of the fifth century does indeed ſpeak of it: but he tells us, that it was neither in the ſymbol of the Roman, nor of the Oriental Churches; and that he found it in the ſymbol of his own Church at Aquileia. But as there was no other Article in that ſymbol that related to Chriſt's burial; ſo the words which he gives us, *deſcendit ad inferna, he deſcended to the lower parts,* do very naturally ſignify *burial,* according to theſe words of St. Paul, *he aſcended; what is it, but that he alſo deſcended firſt to the lower parts of the earth?* And Ruffin himſelf underſtood theſe words in that ſenſe. Eph. iv. 9.

None of the fathers in the firſt ages, neither Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens, nor Origen, in the ſhort abſtracts that they give us of the Chriſtian faith, mention any thing like this: and in all that great variety of Creeds that was propoſed by the many councils that met in the fourth century, this is not in any one of them, except in that which was agreed to at Arimini, and was pretended, though falſely, to have been made at Sirmium: in that it is ſet down in a Greek word that does exactly anſwer Ruffin's *Inferna,* Καταχθόνια: and it ſtood there inſtead of **buried.** When it was put in the Creed that carries Athanaſius's name, though made in the ſixth or ſeventh century, the word was changed to Ἅδης, or **Hell**: but yet it ſeems to have been underſtood to ſignify Chriſt's burial, there being no other word put for it in that Creed. Afterwards it

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ART. III. was put into the ſymbol of the Weſtern Church: that was done at firſt in the words in which Ruffin had expreſſed it, as appears by ſome ancient copies of Creeds which were publiſhed by the great primate Uſher. We are next to conſider, what the importance of theſe words in themſelves is; for it is plain that the uſe of them in the Creed is not very ancient nor univerſal. We have a moſt unqueſtionable authority for this, that our Saviour's *ſoul was in Hell*. In the Acts of the Apoſtles, St. Peter, in the firſt ſermon that was preached after the wonderful effuſion of the Spirit at Pentecoſt, applies theſe words of David concerning *God's not leaving his ſoul in Hell, nor ſuffering his Holy One to ſee corruption*, to the reſurrection of Chriſt. Now ſince, in the compoſition of a man, there is a body and a ſpirit, and ſince it is plain that the raiſing of Chriſt on the third day was before that his body in the courſe of nature was corrupted; the other branch ſeems to relate to his *ſoul*; though it is not to be denied, but that in the Old Teſtament *ſoul* in ſome places ſtands for a *dead body*. But if that were the ſenſe of the word, there would be no oppoſition in the two parts of this period; the one will be only a redundant repetition of the other: therefore it is much more natural to think, that this other branch concerning Chriſt's ſoul being left in *Hell*, muſt relate to that which we commonly underſtand by ſoul. If then his *ſoul was not to be left in Hell*, then from thence it plainly follows, that once it was in *Hell*, and by conſequence that Chriſt's ſoul deſcended into *Hell*.

Some very modern writers have thought, that this is to be underſtood figuratively of the wrath of God due for ſin, which Chriſt bore in his ſoul, beſides the torments that he ſuffered in his body: and they think, that theſe are here mentioned by themſelves, after the enumeration of the ſeveral ſteps of his bodily ſufferings: and this being equal to the torments of *Hell*, as it is that which delivers us from them, might in a large way of expreſſion be called *a deſcending into Hell*. But as neither the word *deſcend*, nor *Hell*, are to be found in any other place of Scripture in this ſenſe, nor in any of the ancients, among whom the ſignification of this phraſe is more likely to be found, than among moderns; ſo this being put after *buried*, it plainly ſhews that it belongs to a period ſubſequent to his burial: there is therefore no regard to be had to this notion.

Others have thought, that by Chriſt's *deſcent into Hell*, is to be underſtood his continuing in the ſtate of the dead for ſome time: but there is no ground for this conceit neither,

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neither, these words being to be found in no author in that signification. ART. III.

Many of the fathers thought, that Christ's soul went locally into *Hell*, and preached to some of the *spirits* there in *prison*; that there he *triumphed over Satan, and spoiled him*, and carried some souls with him into glory. 1 Pet. iii. 19. But the account, that the Scriptures give us of the exaltation of Christ, begins it always at his resurrection: nor can it be imagined, that so memorable a transaction as this would have been passed over by the three first Evangelists, and least of all by St. John, who coming after the rest, and designing to supply what was wanting in them, and intending particularly to magnify the glory of Christ, could not have passed over so wonderful an instance of it. We have no reason to think, that such a matter would have been only insinuated in general words, and not have been plainly related. The triumph of Christ over principalities and powers is ascribed by St. Paul to his Cross, and was the effect and result of his death. The place of St. Peter seems to relate to the preaching to the *Gentile* world, by virtue of that inspiration that was derived from Christ; which was therefore called *his Spirit*; and the *spirits in prison* were the *Gentiles*, who were shut up in idolatry as *in prison*, and so were under the power of the *Prince of the power of the air*, who is called the *God of this world*; that is, of the *Gentile* world: it being one of the ends for which Christ was anointed of his Father, *to open the prisons to them that were bound*. Eph. ii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 4. Is. lxi. 1. So then, though there is no harm in this opinion, yet it not being founded on any part of the history of the Gospel, and it being supported only by passages that may well bear another sense, we may lay it aside, notwithstanding the reverence we bear to those that asserted it; and that the rather, because the first fathers that were next the source say nothing of it.

Another conceit has had a great course among some of the latest fathers and the schoolmen: they have fancied that there was a place to which they have given a peculiar name, *Limbus Patrum*, a sort of a partition in Hell, where all the good men of the old dispensation, that had died before Christ, were detained; and they hold that our Saviour went thither, and emptied that place, carrying all the souls that were in it with him into Heaven. Of this the Scriptures say nothing; not a word either of the patriarchs going thither, or of Christ's delivering them out of it: and though there are not in the Old Testament express declarations and promises made concerning a future state, *Christ having brought life and immortality to light through*

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ART. III.

*through his Goſpel*; yet all the hints given of it ſhew that they looked for an immediate admiſſion to bleſſedneſs after death. So David, *thou wilt ſhew me the path of life: in thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at thy right hand are pleaſures for evermore. Thou ſhalt guide me here by thy counſel, and afterwards receive me to glory.* Iſaiah ſays, that *the righteous when they die enter into peace.* In the New Teſtament there is not a hint given of this; for though ſome paſſages may ſeem to favour Chriſt's delivering ſome ſouls out of *Hell*, yet there is nothing that by any management can be brought to look this way.

Pſal. xvi. 11. Acts ii. 31. Pſal. lxxiii. 24. Iſ. lvii. 2.

See Biſhop Pearſon on the Creed.

There is another ſenſe of which theſe words [*deſcended into Hell*] are capable: by *Hell* may be meant the inviſible place to which departed ſouls are carried after death: for though the Greek word ſo rendered does now commonly ſtand for the place of the damned, and for many ages has been ſo underſtood; yet at the time of writing the New Teſtament it was among Greek authors uſed indifferently for the place of all departed ſouls, whether good or bad; and by it were meant the inviſible regions where thoſe ſpirits were lodged: ſo if theſe words are taken in this large ſenſe, we have in them a clear and literal account of our Saviour's *ſoul* deſcending into *Hell*; it imports that he was not only dead in a more common acceptation, as it is uſual to ſay a man is dead, when there appear no ſigns of life in him; and that he was not as in a deep ecſtaſy or fit that ſeemed death, but that he was truly dead; that his ſoul was neither in his body, nor hovering about it, aſcending and deſcending upon it, as ſome of the Jews fancied ſouls did for ſome time after death; but that his ſoul was really moved out of his body, and carried to thoſe unſeen regions of departed ſpirits, among whom it continued till his reſurrection. That the regions of the bleſſed were known then to the Jews by the name of *Paradiſe*, as Hell was known by the name of *Gehenna*, is very clear from Chriſt's laſt words, *To-day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe*; and, *Into thy hands do I commend my ſpirit.* This is a plain and full account of a good ſenſe that may be well put on the words; though, after all, it is ſtill to be remembered, that in the firſt Creeds that have this Article, that of Chriſt's burial not being mentioned in them, it follows from thence, as well as from Ruffin's own ſenſe of it, that they underſtood this only of Chriſt's burial.

Luke xxiii. 43, 46.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE IV.

### Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.

**Chriſt did truly riſe again from Death, and took again his Body, with Fleſh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the Laſt Day.**

THERE are four branches of this Article: the firſt is concerning the truth of Chriſt's Reſurrection. The ſecond concerning the completeneſs of it: that he took to him again his whole body. The third is concerning his Aſcenſion and continuance in heaven. And the fourth is concerning his returning to judge all men at the laſt day. Theſe things are all ſo expreſsly affirmed, and that in ſo particular a manner, in the New Teſtament, that if the authority of that book is once well proved, little doubting will remain concerning them.

It is punctually told in it, that the body of Chriſt was laid in the ſepulchre: that a ſtone was laid to the mouth of it: that it was rolled away, and upon that Chriſt aroſe and left the death-clothes behind him: that thoſe, who viewed the ſepulchre, ſaw no body there: that in the ſame body Chriſt ſhewed himſelf to his diſciples, ſo that they all knew him; he talked with them, and they did eat and drink with him, and he made Thomas feel to the print of the nails and ſpear. It is as plainly told, that the Apoſtles looked on, and ſaw him aſcend up to heaven, and that a cloud received him out of their ſight. It is alſo ſaid very plainly, that he ſhall come again at the laſt day, and judge all men both the quick and the dead. So that if the truth of the Goſpel is once fully proved, it will not be neceſſary to inſiſt long upon the ſpecial proof of theſe particulars: ſomewhat will only be neceſſary to be ſaid in explanation of them.

The Goſpel was firſt preached, and ſoon after put in writing; in which theſe particulars are not only delivered, but are ſet forth with many circumſtances relating to them. The credit of the whole is put on that iſſue concerning the truth of Chriſt's reſurrection; ſo that the overthrowing the truth of that, was the overturning the whole

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ART. IV. whole Goſpel, and ſtruck at the credit of it all. This was tranſacted as well as firſt publiſhed at Jeruſalem, where the enemies of it had all poſſible advantages in their hands; their intereſt was deeply concerned, as well as their malice was much kindled at it. They had both power and wealth in their hands, as well as credit and authority among the people. The Romans left them at full liberty, as they did the other nations whom they conquered, to order their own concerns as they pleaſed. And even the Romans themſelves began quickly to hate and perſecute the Chriſtians: they became the objects of popular fury, as Tacitus tells us. The Romans looked upon Chriſt as one that ſet on the Jews to thoſe tumults that were then ſo common among them, as Suetonius affirms: which ſhews both how ignorant they were of the doctrine of Chriſt, and how much they were prejudiced againſt it. Yet this Goſpel did ſpread itſelf, and was believed by great multitudes both at Jeruſalem and in all Judea; and from thence it was propagated in a very few years to a great many remote countries.

Among all Chriſtians the article of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt was always looked on as the capital one upon which all the reſt depended. This was atteſted by a conſiderable number of men, againſt whoſe credit no objection was made; who affirmed, that they all had ſeen him, and converſed frequently with him after his reſurrection; that they ſaw him aſcend up into heaven; and that, according to a promiſe he had made them, they had received extraordinary powers from him to work miracles in his name, and to ſpeak in divers languages. This laſt was a moſt amazing character of a ſupernatural power lodged with them; and was a thing of ſuch a nature, that it muſt have been evident to every man whether it was true or falſe: ſo that the Apoſtles relating this ſo poſitively, and making ſuch frequent appeals to it, that way of proceeding carries a ſtrong and undeniable evidence of truth in it. Theſe wonders were gathered together in a book, and publiſhed in the very time in which they were tranſacted: the *Acts of the Apoſtles* were writ two years after St. Paul was carried priſoner to Rome; and St. Luke begins that book with the mention of the Goſpel that he had formerly writ, as that Goſpel begins with the mention of ſome other Goſpels that were writ before it. Almoſt all the Epiſtles ſpeak of the Temple of Jeruſalem as yet in being; of the Jews as then in peace and proſperity, hating and perſecuting the Chriſtians every where: they do alſo frequently intimate the aſſurance they

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ART. IV.

they had of a great deliverance that was to happen quickly to the Chriſtians, and of terrible judgments that were to be poured out on the Jews; which was ſoon after that accompliſhed in the moſt ſignal manner of any thing that is recorded in hiſtory.

Theſe things do clearly prove, that all the writings of the New Teſtament were both compoſed and publiſhed in the age in which that matter was tranſacted. The Jews, who from all the places of their diſperſion went frequently to Jeruſalem, to keep the great feſtivities of their religion there, had occaſion often to examine upon the place, the truth of the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt, and of the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt: yet even in that infancy of Chriſtianity, in which it had ſo little viſible ſtrength, no proof was ſo much as ever pretended in oppoſition to thoſe great and eſſential points; which being matters of fact, and related with a great variety of circumſtances, had been eaſily confuted, if there had been any ground for it. The great darkneſs at the time of Chriſt's death, the rending the vail of the Temple in two, as well as what was more public, the renting of the rocks at his death: his being laid in a new ſepulchre, and a watch being ſet about it; and the watchmen reporting, that while they ſlept, the body of Chriſt was carried away: the Apoſtles breaking out all of the ſudden into that variety of tongues on Pentecoſt; the miracles that they wrought, and the proceedings of the Sanhedrim with them; were all things ſo publicly done, that as the diſcovery of falſehood in any one of theſe was in the power of the Jews, if any ſuch was; ſo that alone had moſt effectually deſtroyed the credit of this religion, and ſtopped its progreſs.

The writings of the New Teſtament were at that time no ſecrets, they were in all men's hands, and were copied out freely by every one that deſired it. We find within an hundred years after that time, both by the Epiſtle of the church of Smyrna, by Juſtin, and Irenæus, not to mention Clemens of Rome, who lived in that time, or Ignatius and Polycarp, who lived very near it, that the authority of theſe writings was early received and ſubmitted to; that they were much read, and well known; and that they began very ſoon to be read at the meetings of the Chriſtians for worſhip; and were eſteemed by the ſeveral churches as the great truſt and *depoſitum* that was lodged with them. So that though, by the negligence of copiers, ſome ſmall variations might happen among ſome of the copies; yet as they do all agree in the main, and moſt ſignally

ART. IV. ſignally in thoſe particulars that are mentioned in this Article; ſo it was not poſſible for any that ſhould have had the wickedneſs to ſet about it, to have corrupted the New Teſtament by any additions or alterations; it being ſo early ſpread into ſo many hands, and that in ſo many different places.

When all this matter is laid together, it appears to have as full an evidence to ſupport it, as any matter of fact can poſſibly have. The narration gave great ſcope to a variety of enquiries; it raiſed much diſputing, oppoſition, and perſecution; and yet nothing was ever pretended to be proved that could ſubvert its credit: great multitudes received this doctrine, and died for it in the age in which the matters of fact, upon which its credit was built, were well atteſted, and in which the truth or falſehood of them might have been eaſily known; which it is reaſonable to believe that all men would carefully examine, before they embraced and aſſented to that which was like to draw on them ſufferings that would probably end in death. Thoſe who did ſpread this doctrine, as well as thoſe who firſt received it, had no intereſt beſide that of truth to engage them to it. They could expect neither wealth nor greatneſs from it: they were obliged to travel much, and to labour hard; to wreſtle through great difficulties, and to endure many indignities. They ſaw others die on the account of it, and had reaſon to look for the like uſage themſelves.

The doctrine that they preached related either to the facts concerning the perſon of Chriſt, or to the rules of life which they delivered. Theſe were all pure, juſt, and good; they tended to ſettle the world upon the foundations of truth and ſincerity, and that ſublime pitch of righteouſneſs, of doing as they would be done by; they tended to make men ſober and temperate, chaſte and modeſt, meek and humble, merciful and charitable; ſo that from thence there was no colour given for ſuſpecting any fraud or deſign in it. The worſhip of God in this religion was pure and ſimple, free from coſt or pomp, from theatrical ſhews, as well as idolatrous rites, and had in it all poſſible characters becoming the purity of the Supreme Mind. When therefore ſo much concurs to give credit to a religion, there ought to be evident proofs brought to the contrary, before it can be diſbelieved or rejected. So many men forſaking the religion in which they were born and bred, which has always a ſtrong influence even upon the greateſt minds; and there being ſo many particular prejudices both upon Jews and Gentiles, by the opinions in which

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which they had been bred, and the impreſſions which had gone deep in them, it could be no ſlight matter that could overcome all that. ART. IV.

The Jews expected a conqueror for their Meſſias, who ſhould have raiſed both the honour of their law and their nation, and ſo were much poſſeſſed againſt one of a mean appearance; and when they ſaw that their law was to be ſuperſeded, and that the Gentiles were to be brought into equal privileges with themſelves, they could not but be deeply prejudiced both againſt the perſon and doctrine of Chriſt.

The Philoſophers deſpiſed divine inſpiration, and ſecret aſſiſtances, and had an ill opinion of miracles: and the herd among the Gentiles were ſo accuſtomed to pomp and ſhew in their religious performances, that they muſt have nauſeated the Chriſtian ſimplicity, and the corruption of their morals muſt have made them uneaſy at a religion of ſo much ſtrictneſs. All ſorts of men lay under very ſtrong prejudices againſt this religion; nor was there any one article or branch of it, that flattered any of the intereſts, appetites, paſſions, or vanities of men, but all was very much to the contrary. They were warned to prepare for trials and croſſes, and, in particular, for a ſevere and fiery trial that was ſpeedily to come upon them.

There was nothing of the way or manner of impoſtors that appeared in the methods in which the Goſpel was propagated. When the Apoſtles ſaw that ſome were endeavouring to leſſen them and their authority, they took no fawning ways: they neither flattered nor ſpared thoſe Churches that were under their care: they charged them home with their faults, and aſſerted their own character in a ſtrain that ſhewed they were afraid of no diſcoveries. They appealed to the miracles that they had wrought, and to thoſe gifts and divine virtues of which they were not only poſſeſſed themſelves, but which were by their miniſtry conferred on others. The *demonſtration of the Spirit*, or inſpiration that was in them, appeared in the *power*, that is, in the miracles which accompanied it, and thoſe they wrought openly in the ſight of many witneſſes. An uncontеſted miracle is the fulleſt evidence that can be given of a divine commiſſion. 1 Cor. ii. 4.

A miracle is a work that exceeds all the known powers of nature, and that carries in it plain characters of a power ſuperior to any human power. We cannot indeed fix the bounds of the powers of nature; but yet we can plainly apprehend what muſt be beyond them. For inſtance, we do not know what ſecret virtues there may be in plants



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ART. IV.

and minerals: but we do know that bare words can have no natural virtue in them to cure diſeaſes, much leſs to raiſe the dead: we know not what force imagination or credulity may have in critical diſeaſes; but we know that a dead man has no imagination: we know alſo, that blindneſs, deafneſs, and an inveterate palſy, cannot be cured by conceit: therefore ſuch miracles as the giving ſight to a man born blind, ſpeech to the deaf and dumb, and ſtrength to the paralytic; but moſt of all, the giving life to the dead, and that not only to perſons laid out as dead, but to one that was carried out to be buried, and to another that had been four days dead, and in his grave; all this was done with a bare word, without any ſort of external application: this, I ſay, as it is clearly above the force of imagination, ſo it is beyond the powers of nature.

Theſe things were not done in the dark, nor in the preſence of a few, in whom a particular confidence was put; but in full day-light, and in the ſight of great numbers, enemies as well as friends, and ſome of thoſe enemies were both the moſt enraged, and the moſt capable of making all poſſible exceptions to what was done. Such were the rulers of the ſynagogues, and the phariſees in our Saviour's time: and yet they could neither deny the facts, nor pretend that there was any deceit or jugglery in them. We have in this all poſſible reaſon to conclude, that both the things were truly done as they are related, and that no juſt exception was or could be made to them.

If it is pretended, that thoſe wonderful things were done by the power of an evil ſpirit, that does both acknowledge the truth of the relation, and alſo its being ſupernatural. This anſwer taken from the power of evil ſpirits, is ſometimes to be made uſe of, when extraordinary things are well atteſted, and urged in proof of that which upon other reaſons we are aſſured is falſe. It is certain, that as we have a great power over vaſt quantities of groſs and heavy matter, which by the motion of a very ſubtile body, our animal ſpirits, we can maſter and manage: ſo angels, good or bad, may, by virtue of ſubtile bodies, in which they may dwell, or which upon occaſion they may aſſume, do many things vaſtly above either our force to do, or our imagination to apprehend how it is done by them. Therefore an action, that exceeds all the known powers in nature, may yet be done by an evil ſpirit that is in rebellion againſt its Maker, and that deſigns to impoſe upon us by ſuch a mighty performance. But then the meaſure, by which we muſt judge of this, is by conſider-

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ing what is the end or design driven at in such a wonderful work: if it is a good one, if it tends to reform the manners of men, and to bring them off from magic, idolatry, and superstition, to the worship of one pure and eternal Mind: and if it tends to reform their actions, as well as their speculations and their worship; to turn them from immorality, falsehood, and malice, to a pure, a sincere, and a mild temper; if it tends to regulate society, as well as to perfect the nature and faculties of every single man; then we may well conclude, that no evil spirit can so far depart from its own nature, as to join its forces, and cooperate in such a design: for then *the kingdom of Satan could not stand, if he were thus divided against himself*; according to what our Saviour said, when this was objected against the miracles that he wrought. ART. IV. Matt. xii. 25, 26.

These are all the general considerations that concur to prove the truth of the history of the Gospel, of which the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ are the two main articles; for they being well proved, give authority to all the rest. As to the Resurrection in particular, it is certain the Apostles could not be deceived in that matter: they saw Christ frequently after he rose from the dead; they met him once with a great company of five hundred with them: they heard him talk and argue with them; he opened the Scriptures to them with so peculiar an energy, that they felt their hearts set on fire, even when they did not yet perceive that it was he himself: they did not at first either look for his resurrection, nor believe those who reported him risen: they made all due enquiry, and some of them went beyond all reasonable bounds in their doubting: so far were they from an easy and soon-imposed-on credulity. His sufferings and their own fears had so amazed them, that they were contriving how to separate and disperse themselves, when he at first appeared to them. Men so full of fear, and so far from all hope, are not apt to be easy in believing. So it must be concluded, that either the account which the Apostles gave the world of Christ's resurrection is true, or they were gross impostors; since it is clear, that the circumstances and numbers mentioned in that history shew there could be no deception in it. And it is as little possible to conceive, that there could be any imposture in it: for not to repeat again, what has been already said, that they were under no temptations to set about any such deceit, but very much to the contrary; and that there is no reason to think they were either bad enough to enter upon such a design, or capable and skilful enough to manage it; they being many of them illiterate



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ART. IV.

fiſhermen of Galilee, who had no acquaintance at Jeruſalem, to furniſh them with that which might be neceſſary for executing ſuch a contrivance: the circumſtances of that tranſaction are to be well examined, and then it will appear, that no number of bold and dexterous men, furniſhed with all advantages whatſoever, could have effected this matter.

Great numbers had been engaged in the procuring our Saviour to be crucified: the whole Sanhedrim, beſides multitudes of the people, who upon all occaſions are eaſily drawn in to engage in tumultuary commotions: all theſe were concerned to examine the event of this matter. He was buried in a new ſepulchre lately hewed out of a rock, ſo that there was no coming at it by any ſecret ways: a watch was ſet; and all this at a time, in which the full-moon gave a great light all the night long: and Jeruſalem being very full of people, who were then there in great numbers to keep the Paſſover, that being the ſecond night of ſo vaſt a rendezvous, it is reaſonable to think, that great numbers were walking in the fields, or at leaſt might be ſo, ſome later, and ſome earlier. Now if an impoſture was to be ſet about, the guard was to be frighted or maſtered, which could not be done without giving the alarm, and that muſt have quickly brought a multitude upon them. Chriſt's body muſt have been diſpoſed of: ſome other tomb was to be looked for to lodge it in: the wounds that were in it would have made it to be ſoon known if found.

Here a bold attempt was to be undertaken, by a company of poor irreſolute men, who muſt truſt one another entirely, otherways they knew all might be ſoon diſcovered. One of their number had betrayed Chriſt a few days before; another had forſworn him, and all had forſaken him: and yet theſe men are ſuppoſed all of the ſudden ſo firm in themſelves, and ſo ſure of one another, as to venture on the moſt daring thing that was ever undertaken by men, when not a circumſtance could ever be found out to fix upon them the leaſt ſuſpicion. The Prieſts and the Phariſees muſt be thought a ſtrange ſtupid ſort of creatures, if they did not examine where the Apoſtles were all that night: beſides many other particulars, which might have been a thread to lead them into ſtrict enquiries, unleſs it was becauſe they believed the report that the watch had brought them of Chriſt's riſing again. When they had this certain reaſon to believe it, and yet reſolved to oppoſe it, the only thing they could do, was to ſeem to neglect the matter, and only to decry it in general

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ral as an impoſture, without going into particulars; which certainly they would not have done, if they themſelves had not been but too ſure of the truth of it. ART. IV.

When all this is laid together, it is the moſt unreaſonable thing imaginable, to think that there was an impoſture in this matter, when no colour nor ſhadow of it ever appeared, and when all the circumſtances, and not only probabilities, but even moral poſſibilities, are ſo full to the contrary.

The Aſcenſion of Chriſt has not indeed ſo full a proof: nor is it capable of it, neither does it need it; for the reſurrection well proved, makes that very credible. For this we have only the teſtimony of the Apoſtles, who did all atteſt that they ſaw it, being all together in an open field: when Chriſt was walking and diſcourſing with them, and when he was bleſſing them, he was parted from them: they ſaw him aſcend, till a cloud received him, and took him out of their ſight. And then two angels appeared to them, and aſſured them, that *he ſhould come again in like manner as they had ſeen him aſcend.* Here is a very particular relation, with many circumſtances in it, in which it was not poſſible for the Apoſtles to be miſtaken; ſo that there being no reaſon to ſuſpect their credit, this reſts upon that authority. But ten days after, it received a much clearer proof; when the Holy Ghoſt was poured out on them in ſo viſible a manner, and with moſt remarkable effects. Immediately upon it they ſpoke with divers tongues, and wrought many miracles, and all in the name of Chriſt. They did often and ſolemnly diſclaim their doing any of thoſe wonderful things by any power of their own: they owned that all they had or did was derived to them from Jeſus of Nazareth, of whoſe reſurrection and aſcenſion they were appointed to be the witneſſes. Acts i. 11. Acts iii. 12, 16.

Chriſt's coming again to judge the world at the laſt day is ſo often affirmed by himſelf in the Goſpel, and is ſo frequently mentioned in the writings of his Apoſtles, that this is a main part of his doctrine: ſo that his Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, together with the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, having in general proved his miſſion, and his whole doctrine, this is alſo proved by them. Enough ſeems to be ſaid in proof of all the parts of this article; it remains only that ſomewhat ſhould be added in explanation of them.

As to the Reſurrection, it is to little purpoſe to enquire, whether our Saviour's body was kept all the while in a complete organization, that ſo by this miracle it might be



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ART. IV.

preſerved in a natural ſtate for his ſoul to re-enter it: or whether by the courſe of nature the vaſt number of the inward conveyances that were in the body were ſtopped; and if all of a ſudden, when the time of the reſurrection came, all was again put in a vital ſtate, fit to be animated by his ſoul. There muſt have been a miracle either way: ſo it is to little purpoſe to enquire into it. The former, though a continued miracle, yet ſeems to agree more fully to theſe words, *Thou wilt not ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee corruption.* It is to as little purpoſe to enquire how our Saviour's new body was ſupplied with blood, ſince he had loſt the greateſt part of it on the Croſs: whether that was again by the power of God brought back into his veins; or whether, as he himſelf had formerly ſaid, that *man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God*, blood was ſupplied by miracle: or whether his body, that was then of the nature of a glorified body, though yet on earth, needed the ſupplies of blood to furniſh new ſpirits, for ſerving the natural functions; he eating and drinking ſo ſeldom, that we may well believe it was done rather to ſatisfy his Apoſtles, than to anſwer the neceſſities of nature: theſe are curioſities that ſignify ſo little, if we could certainly reſolve them, that it is to no purpoſe to enquire about them, ſince we cannot know what to determine in them. This in general is certain, that the ſame ſoul returned back to the ſame body; ſo that the ſame man who died, roſe again; and that is our faith. We need not trouble ourſelves with enquiring how to make out the three days of Chriſt's being in a grave; days ſtand, in the common acceptation, for a portion of a day. We know the Jews were very exact to the reſt on the Sabbath, ſo the body was without queſtion laid in the grave before the ſunſet on Friday; ſo that was the firſt day: the Sabbath was a complete one; and a good part of the third day, that is, the night, with which the Jews began to count the day, was over before he was raiſed up.

As for his ſtay on earth forty days, we cannot pretend to give an account of it; whether his body was paſſing through a ſlow and phyſical purification, to be meet for aſcending; or whether he intended to keep a proportion between his Goſpel and the law of Moſes; that as he ſuffered at the time of their killing the Paſſover, ſo the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt was fixed for Pentecoſt, and that therefore he would ſtay on earth till that time was near, not to put his Apoſtles upon too long an expectation without his preſence; which might be neceſſary to animate

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mate them, till they ſhould be endued with power from on high. As to the manner of his aſcenſion, it is alſo queſtioned whether the body of Chriſt, as it aſcended, was ſo wonderfully changed, as to put on the ſubtilty and purity of an ethereal body; or whether it retains ſtill the ſame form in heaven that it had on earth; or if it put on a new one: it is more probable that it did; and that the wonderful glory, that appeared in his countenance and whole perſon at his transfiguration, was a manifeſtation of that more permanent glory, to which it was to be afterwards exalted. It ſeems probable from what St. Paul ſays, (*that fleſh and blood ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God*, which relates to our glorified bodies, when *we ſhall bear the image of the ſecond* and *the heavenly Adam*,) that Chriſt's body has no more the modifications of fleſh and blood in it; and that the glory of the celeſtial body is of another nature and texture than that of the terreſtrial. It is eaſily imagined how this may be, and yet the body to be numerically the ſame: for all matter being uniform, and capable of all ſort of motion, and by conſequence of being either much groſſer or much purer, the ſame portion of matter that made a thick and heavy body here on earth, may be put into that purity and fineneſs as to be no longer a fit inhabitant of this earth, or to breathe this air, but to be meet to be tranſplanted into ethereal regions.

ART. IV.

1 Cor. xv. 50.

Ver. 40.

Chriſt as he went up into heaven, ſo he had the whole government of this world put into his hands, and the whole miniſtry of Angels put under his command, even in his human nature. So that *all things are now in ſubjection to him*. All power and authority is derived from him, and he does whatſoever he pleaſes both in heaven and earth. *In him all fulneſs dwells*. And as the Moſaical tabernacle being filled with glory, the emanations of it did by the *Urim* and *Thummim* enlighten and direct that people; ſo out of that fulneſs, that dwelt bodily in Chriſt, there is a conſtant emanation of his grace and ſpirit deſcending on his Church. He does alſo intercede for us at his Father's right-hand, where he is preparing a place for us. The meaning of all which is this, that as he is veſted with an unconceivably high degree of glory, even as man, ſo the merit of his death is ſtill freſh and entire; and in the virtue of that, the ſins of all that come to God through him, claiming to his death as to their ſacrifice, and obeying his Goſpel, are pardoned, and they are *ſealed by his Spirit until the day of redemption*. In concluſion, when all God's deſign with this world is accompliſhed, it ſhall be ſet on fire, and all the great parts of

1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.



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ART. IV.

which it is compoſed, as of elements, ſhall be melted and burnt down; and then when by that fire probably the portions of matter, which was in the bodies of all who have lived upon earth, ſhall be ſo far refined and fixed, as to become both incorruptible and immortal, then they ſhall be made meet for the ſouls that formerly animated them, to re-enter every one into his own body, which ſhall be then ſo moulded as to be a habitation fit to give it everlaſting joy or everlaſting torment.

Then ſhall Chriſt appear viſibly in ſome very conſpicuous place in the clouds of heaven, where every eye
Luke ix. 26. ſhall ſee him: he ſhall appear in his *own glory*, that is, in his human glorified body: he ſhall appear in the *glory of his Angels*, having vaſt numbers of theſe about him, attending on him: but, which is above all, he ſhall appear in *his Father's glory*; that is, there ſhall be then a moſt wonderful manifeſtation of the eternal Godhead dwelling in him; and then ſhall he paſs a final ſentence upon all that ever lived upon earth, according to all that they have done in the body, whether it be good or bad. The righteous ſhall aſcend as he did, and ſhall meet him in the clouds, and be for ever with him; and the wicked ſhall ſink into a ſtate of darkneſs and miſery, of unſpeakable horror of mind, and everlaſting pain and torment.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE V.

### Of the Holy Ghoſt.

**The Holy Ghoſt proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Subſtance, Majeſty, and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.**

IN order to the explaining this Article, we muſt conſider, firſt, the importance of the term *Spirit*, or *Holy Spirit*: ſecondly, his *Proceſſion* from the *Father* and the *Son*: and, thirdly, that he is truly God, of the ſame *ſubſtance* with the *Father* and the *Son*. Spirit ſignifies wind or breath, and in the Old Teſtament it ſtands frequently in that ſenſe: the Spirit of God, or Wind of God, ſtands ſometimes for a high and ſtrong wind; but more frequently it ſignifies a ſecret impreſſion made by God on the mind of a prophet: ſo that the *Spirit of God*, and *the Spirit of Prophecy*, are ſet in oppoſition to the vain imaginations, the falſe pretences, or the diabolical illuſions, of thoſe who aſſumed to themſelves the name and the authority of a prophet, without a true miſſion from God. But when God made repreſentations either in a dream, or in an ecſtaſy, to any perſon, or imprinted a ſenſe of his will on their minds, together with ſuch neceſſary characters as gave it proof and authority, this was an illapſe from God, as a breathing from him on the ſoul of the prophet.

In the New Teſtament this word *Holy Ghoſt* ſtands moſt commonly for that wonderful effuſion of thoſe miraculous virtues that was poured out at *Pentecoſt* on the Apoſtles; by which their ſpirits were not only exalted with extraordinary degrees of zeal and courage, of authority and utterance, but they were furniſhed with the gifts of tongues and of miracles. And beſides that firſt and great effuſion, ſeveral Chriſtians received particular talents and inſpirations, which are moſt commonly expreſſed by the word *Spirit* or *Inſpiration*. Thoſe inward aſſiſtances, by which the frame and temper of men's minds are changed and renewed, are likewiſe called *the Spirit*, or *the Holy Spirit*, or *Holy Ghoſt*. So Chriſt ſaid to Nicodemus, that *except a man was born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God*; and that *his heavenly Father would give the Holy Spirit to every one that aſked* John iii. 3, 5, 6. Luke xi. 13.

ART. V.

*asked him.* By these it is plain, that extraordinary or miraculous inspirations are not meant, for these are not every Christian's portion; there is no question made of all this.

The main question is, whether by *Spirit*, or *Holy Spirit*, we are to understand one person, that is the fountain of all those gifts and operations; or whether by *one Spirit* is only to be meant the power of God flowing out and shewing itself in many wonderful operations. The adversaries of the Trinity will have the *Spirit*, or *Holy Spirit*, to signify no person, but only the divine gifts or operations. But in opposition to this it is plain, that in our Saviour's last and long discourse to his disciples, in which he promised to send them his Spirit, he calls him *another Comforter*, to be sent in his stead, or to supply his absence; and the whole tenor of the discourse runs on him as a *Person: He shall abide with you: he shall guide you into all truth; and shew you things to come. He shall bring all things into your remembrance: he shall convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment.* In all these places he is so plainly spoken of, not as a quality or operation, but as a Person; and that without any key or rule to understand the words otherwise, that this alone may serve to determine the matter now in dispute. Christ's commission to *preach* and *baptize* in the name of *the Father, the Son*, and *the Holy Ghost*, does plainly make him a Person, since it cannot be said that we are to be called by the name of a virtue or operation. St. Paul does also, in a long discourse upon the diversity of gifts, administrations, and operations, ascribe them all to *one Spirit*, as their author and fountain; of whom he speaks as of a Person, distributing these in order to several ends, and in different measures. He speaks of the Spirit's *searching all things*, of *his interceding for us*, of our *grieving the Spirit, by which we are sealed.* This is the language used concerning a Person, not a quality. *All these*, says he, *worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.* Now it is not to be conceived, how that both our Saviour and his Apostles should use the phrase of a Person so constantly in speaking of the *Spirit*, and should so critically and in the way of argument pursue that strain, if he is not a Person: they not only insist on it, and repeat it frequently, but they draw an argument from it for union and love, and for mutual condescension and sympathy. Upon all these grounds it is evident, that the *Holy Spirit* is in the Scripture proposed to us as a Person, under whose œconomy all the various gifts,

Joh. xiv. 16, 26.

Joh. xvi. 8, 13.

1 Cor. xii. 4, 8, 9, 11, 13.

1 Cor. ii. 10.

Rom. viii. 26.

Eph. iv. 30.

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gifts, adminiſtrations, and operations that are in the Church, are put. ART. V.

The ſecond particular relating to this Article is, the *Proceſſion* of this *Spirit* from the *Father* and the *Son*. The word *Proceſſion*, or, as the ſchoolmen term it, *Spiration*, is only made uſe of in order to the naming this relation of the *Spirit* to the *Father* and *Son*, in ſuch a manner as may beſt anſwer the ſenſe of the word *Spirit*: for it muſt be confeſſed that we can frame no explicit idea of this matter: and therefore we muſt ſpeak of it either ſtrictly in Scripture-words, or in ſuch words as ariſe out of them, and that have the ſame ſignification with them. It is therefore a vain attempt of the ſchoolmen, to undertake to give a reaſon why the ſecond perſon is ſaid to be *generated*, and ſo is called *Son*, and the third to *proceed*, and ſo is called *Spirit*. All theſe ſubtilties can have no foundation, and ſignify nothing towards the clearing this matter, which is rather darkened than cleared by a pretended illuſtration. In a word, as we ſhould never have believed this myſtery, if the Scripture had not revealed it to us, ſo we underſtand nothing concerning it, beſides what is contained in the Scriptures: and therefore, if in any thing, we muſt think ſoberly upon thoſe ſubjects. The Scriptures call the ſecond, *Son*, and the third, *Spirit*; ſo generation and proceſſion are words that may well be uſed, but they are words concerning which we can form no diſtinct conception. We only uſe them becauſe they belong to the words *Son* and *Spirit*. The *Spirit*, in things that we do underſtand, is ſomewhat that proceeds, and the Son is a perſon begotten; we therefore, believing that the Holy Ghoſt is a *Perſon*, apply the word *Proceſſion* to the manner of his emanation from the Father; though at the ſame time we muſt acknowledge that we have no diſtinct thought concerning it. So much in general concerning *Proceſſion*. It has been much controverted whether the *Holy Spirit* proceeds from the *Father* only, or from the *Father* and the *Son*.

In the firſt diſputes concerning the divinity of the *Holy Ghoſt* with the Macedonians, who denied it, there was no other conteſt, but whether he was truly God, or not. When that was ſettled by the council of Conſtantinople, it was made a part of the Creed; but it was only ſaid that he *proceeded* from the *Father*: and the council of Epheſus ſoon after that fixed on that Creed, decreeing that no additions ſhould be made to it: yet about the end of the ſixth century, in the Weſtern Church an addition was made to the Article, by which the Holy Ghoſt

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ART. V. Ghoſt was affirmed to *proceed from the Son*, as well as from the Father. And when the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches in the ninth century fell into an humour of quarrelling upon the account of juriſdiction, after ſome time of anger, in which they ſeem to be ſearching for matter to reproach one another with, they found out this difference: the Greeks reproached the Latins for thus adding to the faith, and corrupting the ancient ſymbol, and that contrary to the decree of a general council. The Latins, on the other hand, charged them for detracting from the dignity of the *Son*: and this became the chief point in controverſy between them.

Here was certainly a very unhappy diſpute; inconſiderable in its original, but fatal in its conſequences. We of this Church, though we abhor the cruelty of condemning the Eaſtern Churches for ſuch a difference, yet do receive the Creed according to the uſage of the Weſtern Churches: and therefore, though we do not pretend to explain what *Proceſſion* is, we believe according to the Article, that the *Holy Ghoſt proceeds* both from the *Father* and the *Son*: becauſe in that diſcourſe of our Saviour's that contains the promiſe of the *Spirit*, and that long deſcription of him as a *Perſon*, Chriſt not only ſays, that *the Father will ſend the Spirit in his name*, but adds, that *he will ſend the Spirit*; and though he ſays next, *who proceedeth from the Father*, yet ſince he ſends him, and that he was to ſupply his room, and to act in his name, this implies a relation, and a ſort of ſubordination in the *Spirit* to the *Son*. This may ſerve to juſtify our adhering to the Creeds, as they had been for many ages received in the Weſtern Church: but we are far from thinking that this proof is ſo full and explicit, as to juſtify our ſeparating from any Church, or condemning it, that ſhould ſtick exactly to the firſt Creeds, and reject this addition.

Joh. xiv. 26. Joh. xv. 26.

The third branch of the Article is, that this Holy Ghoſt or Perſon, thus proceeding, is truly God, of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father and the Son. That he is God, was formerly proved by thoſe paſſages in which the whole Trinity in all the three Perſons is affirmed: but beſides that, *the lying to the Holy Ghoſt* by Ananias and Sapphira, is ſaid to be *a lying not unto men, but to God: his being called another Comforter*; *his teaching all things*; *his guiding into all truth*; *his telling things to come*; *his ſearching all things, even the deep things of God*; *his being* called *the Spirit of the Lord*, in oppoſition to *the Spirit of a man*; *his making interceſſion for us*; *his changing us into the ſame image with Chriſt*, are all ſuch plain characters of his

Acts v. 34.

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his being *God*, that thoſe who deny that, are well aware of this, that if it is once proved that he is a Perſon, it will follow that he muſt be God; therefore all that was ſaid to prove him a *Perſon*, is here to be remembered as a proof that he is truly God. So that though there is not ſuch a variety of proofs for this, as there was for the Divinity of the *Son*, yet the proof of it is plain and clear. And from what was ſaid upon the firſt Article concerning the Unity of *God*, it is alſo certain, that if he is *God*, he muſt be *of one Subſtance, Majeſty, and Glory, with the Father and the Son.* ART. V.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE VI.

### Of the Sufficiency of Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

**Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of Faith, or to be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose Authority was never any doubt in the Church.**

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Genesis* | The First Book of *Chronicles* |
| *Exodus* | The Second Book of *Chronicles* |
| *Leviticus* | The First Book of *Esdras* |
| *Numbers* | The Second Book of *Esdras* |
| *Deuteronomy* | The Book of *Esther* |
| *Joshua* | The Book of *Job* |
| *Judges* | The *Psalms* |
| *Ruth* | The *Proverbs* |
| The First Book of *Samuel* | *Ecclesiastes* or Preacher |
| The Second Book of *Samuel* | *Cantica* or Song of *Solomon* |
| The First Book of *Kings* | Four Prophets the greater |
| The Second Book of *Kings* | Twelve Prophets the less. |

**And the other Books (as Hierom saith) the Church doth read for Example of Life, and Instruction of Manners; but yet it doth not apply them to establish any Doctrine. Such are these following:**

| | |
|---|---|
| The Third Book of *Esdras* | *Baruch* the Prophet |
| The Fourth Book of *Esdras* | The Song of the Three Children |
| The Book of *Tobias* | The History of *Susanna* |
| The Book of *Judith* | Of *Bell* and the *Dragon* |
| The rest of the Book of *Esther* | The Prayer of *Manasses* |
| The Book of *Wisdom* | The First Book of *Maccabees* |
| *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach* | The Second Book of *Maccabees*. |

**All the Books of the New Testament as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.**

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ART VI.

IN this Article there are two important heads, and to each of them a proper conſequence does belong. The firſt is, that the holy Scriptures do contain all things neceſſary to ſalvation: the negative conſequence that ariſeth out of that is, that no article that is not either read in it, or that may not be proved by it, is to be required to be believed as an article of faith, or to be thought neceſſary to ſalvation. The ſecond is, the ſettling the canon of the Scripture both of the Old and New Teſtament; and the conſequence that ariſes out of that is, the rejecting the books commonly called *Apocrypha*, which though they may be read by the Church *for example of life, and inſtruction of manners*; yet are no part of the canon, nor is any doctrine to be eſtabliſhed by them.

After the main foundations of religion in general, in the belief of a God, or more ſpecially of the Chriſtian religion in the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of Chriſt, are laid down; the next point to be ſettled is, what is *the rule of this faith*, where is it to be found, and with whom is it lodged? The Church of Rome and we do both agree, that the Scriptures are of divine inſpiration: thoſe of that communion acknowledge, that every thing which is contained in Scripture is true, and comes from God; but they add to this, that the books of the New Teſtament were occaſionally written, and not with the deſign of making them the full rule of faith, but many things were delivered orally by the Apoſtles, which, if they are faithfully tranſmitted to us, are to be received by us with the ſame ſubmiſſion and reſpect that we pay to their writings: and they alſo believe, that theſe traditions are conveyed down infallibly to us, and that to diſtinguiſh betwixt true and falſe doctrines and traditions, there muſt be an infallible authority lodged by Chriſt with his Church. We on the contrary affirm, that the Scriptures are a complete *rule of faith*, and that the whole Chriſtian religion is contained in them, and no where elſe; and although we make great uſe of tradition, eſpecially that which is moſt ancient and neareſt the ſource, to help us to a clear underſtanding of the Scriptures; yet as to matters of faith we reject all oral tradition, as an incompetent mean of conveying down doctrines to us, and we refuſe to receive any doctrine, that is not either expreſsly contained in Scripture, or clearly proved from it.

In order to the opening and proving of this, it is to be conſidered, what God's deſign, in firſt ordering Moſes, and

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ART. VI. and after him all inſpired perſons, to put things in writing, could be: it could be no other than to free the world from the uncertainties and impoſtures of *oral tradition*. All mankind being derived from one common ſource, it ſeems it was much eaſier in the firſt ages of the world to preſerve the tradition pure, than it could poſſibly be afterwards: there were only a few things then to be delivered concerning God; as, That he was one ſpiritual Being, that he had created all things, that he alone was to be worſhipped and ſerved; the reſt relating to the hiſtory of the world, and chiefly of the firſt man that was made in it. There were alſo great advantages on the ſide of *oral tradition*, the firſt men were very long-lived, and they ſaw their own families ſpread extremely, ſo that they had on their ſide both the authority which long life always has, particularly concerning matters of fact, and the credit that parents have naturally with their own children, to ſecure tradition. Two perſons might have conveyed it down from Adam to Abraham; Methuſelah lived above three hundred years while Adam was yet alive, and Sem was almoſt an hundred when he died, and he lived much above an hundred years in the ſame time with Abraham, according to the Hebrew. Here is a great period of time filled up by two or three perſons: and yet in that time the tradition of thoſe very few things, in which religion was then comprehended, was ſo univerſally and entirely corrupted, that it was neceſſary to correct it by immediate revelation to Abraham: God intending to have a peculiar people to himſelf out of his poſterity, commanded him to forſake his kindred and country, that he might not be corrupted with an idolatry, that we have reaſon to believe was then but beginning among them. We are ſure his nephew Laban was an idolater: and the danger of mixing with the reſt of mankind was then ſo great, that God ordered a mark to be made on the bodies of all deſcended from him, to be the *ſeal of the Covenant*, and the badge and cognizance of his poſterity: by that diſtinction, and by their living in a wandering and unfixed manner, they were preſerved for ſome time from idolatry; God intending afterwards to ſettle them in an inſtituted religion. But though the beginnings of it, I mean the promulgation of the law on Mount Sinai, was one of the moſt amazing things that ever happened, and the fitteſt to be orally conveyed down, the law being very ſhort, and the circumſtances in the delivery of it moſt aſtoniſhing; and though there were many rites, and ſeveral feſtivities, appointed chiefly for the carrying down the memory

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mory of it; though there was alſo in that diſpenſation the greateſt advantage imaginable for ſecuring this tradition, all the main acts of their religion being to be performed in one place, and by men of one tribe and family; as they were alſo all the inhabitants of a ſmall tract of ground, of one language, and by their conſtitutions obliged to maintain a conſtant commerce among themſelves: they having further a continuance of ſignal characters of God's miraculous preſence among them, ſuch as the operation of the water of jealouſy, the plenty of the ſixth year to ſupply them all the Sabbatical year, and till the harveſt of the following year: together with a ſucceſſion of Prophets that followed one another, either in a conſtant courſe, or at leaſt ſoon after one another; but above all, the preſence of God which appeared in the cloud of glory, and in thoſe anſwers that were given by the *Urim* and *Thummim*; all which muſt be confeſſed to be advantages on the ſide of tradition, vaſtly beyond any that can be pretended to have been in the Chriſtian Church: yet notwithſtanding all theſe, God commanded Moſes to write all their Law, as the Ten Commandments were, by the immediate power or finger of God, writ on tables of ſtone. When all this is laid together and well conſidered, it will appear, that God by a particular œconomy intended then to ſecure revealed religion from the doubtfulneſs and uncertainties of oral tradition. ART. VI.

It is much more reaſonable to believe, that the Chriſtian religion, which was to be ſpread to many remote regions, among whom there could be little communication, ſhould have been fixed in its firſt beginnings by putting it in writing, and not left to the looſeneſs of reports and ſtories. We do plainly ſee, that though the methods of knowing and communicating truth are now ſurer and better fixed than they have been in moſt of the ages which have paſſed ſince the beginnings of this religion; yet in every matter of fact ſuch additions are daily made, as it happens to be reported, and every point of doctrine is ſo variouſly ſtated, that if religion had not a more aſſured bottom than tradition, it could not have that credit paid to it that it ought to have. If we had no greater certainty for religion than report, we could not believe it very firmly, nor venture upon it: ſo in order to the giving this doctrine ſuch authority as is neceſſary for attaining the great ends propoſed in it, the conveyance of it muſt be clear and unqueſtionable; otherwiſe as it would grow to be much mixed with fable, ſo it would come to be looked on as all a fable. Since then oral tradition, when



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ART. VI.

it had the utmoſt advantages poſſible of its ſide, failed ſo much in the conveyance both of natural religion, and of the Moſaical, we ſee that it cannot be relied on as a certain method of preſerving the truths of revealed religion.

In our Saviour's time, tradition was ſet up on many occaſions againſt him, but he never ſubmitted to it: on the contrary he reproached the Jews with this, that they had made *the laws of God of no effect by their traditions*; and he told them, that they *worſhipped God in vain, when they taught for doctrines the commandments of men.* In all his diſputes with the Phariſees, he appealed to Moſes and the Prophets, he bade them *ſearch the Scriptures*; *for in them*, ſaid he, *ye think ye have eternal life, and they teſtify of me. Ye think* is, by the phraſeology of that time, a word that does not refer to any particular *conceit* of theirs; but imports, that as they *thought*, ſo in them they had *eternal life.* Our Saviour juſtifies himſelf and his doctrine often by words of Scripture, but never once by tradition. We ſee plainly, that in our Saviour's time the tradition of the Reſurrection was ſo doubtful among the Jews, that the Sadducees, a formed party among them, did openly deny it. The authority of tradition had likewiſe impoſed two very miſchievous errors upon the ſtricteſt ſect of the Jews, that adhered the moſt firmly to it: the one was, that they underſtood the prophecies concerning the Meſſias ſitting on the *throne of David* literally: they thought that, in imitation of David, he was not only to free his own country from a foreign yoke, but that he was to ſubdue, as David had done, all the neighbouring nations. This was to them a ſtone of ſtumbling, and a rock of offence; ſo their adhering to their traditions proved their ruin in all reſpects. The other error, to which the authority of tradition led them, was their preferring the rituals of their religion to the moral precepts that it contained: this not only corrupted their own manners, while they thought that an exactneſs of performing, and a zeal in aſſerting, not only the ritual precepts that Moſes gave their fathers, but thoſe additions to them which they had from tradition, that were accounted hedges about the law: that this, I ſay, might well excuſe or atone for the moſt heinous violations of the rules of juſtice and mercy: but this had yet another worſe effect upon them, while it poſſeſſed them with ſuch prejudices againſt our Saviour and his Apoſtles, when they came to ſee, that they ſet no value on thoſe practices that were recommended by tradition, and that they preferred pure and ſublime morals even to Moſaical ceremonies themſelves, and ſet the Gentiles at liberty

Mat. xv. 3, 6, 9.

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liberty from those observances. So that the ruin of the Jews, their rejecting the Messias, and their persecuting his followers, arose chiefly from this principle that had got in among them, of believing tradition, and of being guided by it. ART. VI.

The Apostles, in all their disputes with the Jews, make their appeals constantly to the Scriptures; they set a high character on those of Berea for examining them, and comparing the doctrine that they preached with them. Acts xvii. 11. In the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews, in which they pursue a thread of argument, with relation to the prejudices that the Jews had taken up against Christianity, they never once argue from tradition, but always from the Scriptures; they do not pretend only to disparage modern tradition, and to set up that which was more ancient: they make no such distinction, but hold close to the Scriptures. When St. Paul sets out the advantages that Timothy had by a religious education, he mentions this, *that of a child he had known the holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise unto salvation, through faith which was in Christ Jesus:* that is, the belief of the Christian religion was a key to give him a right understanding of the Old Testament; and upon this occasion St. Paul adds, *all Scripture* (that is, the whole Old Testament) *is given by divine inspiration*; or (as others render the words) *all the divinely inspired Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.* The New Testament was writ on the same design with the Old; that, as St. Luke expresses it, *we might know the certainty of those things wherein we have been instructed: These things were written*, saith St. John, *that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.* When St. Peter knew by a special revelation that he was near his end, he writ his second Epistle, that they might have that as a mean of keeping *those things always in remembrance after his death.* Nor do the Apostles give us any hints of their having left any thing with the Church, to be conveyed down by an oral tradition, which they themselves had not put in writing: they do sometimes refer themselves to such things as they had delivered to particular Churches; but by tradition in the Apostles' days, and for some ages after, it is very clear, that they meant only the conveyance of the faith, and not any unwritten doctrines: they reckoned the faith was a sacred *depositum* which was committed to them; and that 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16. Luke i. 4. John xx. 31. 2 Pet. i. 15.



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ART. VI.

was to be preſerved pure among them. But it were very eaſy to ſhew in the continued ſucceſſion of all the Chriſtian writers, that they ſtill appealed to the Scriptures, that they argued from them, that they condemned all doctrines that were not contained in them; and when at any time they brought human authorities to juſtify their opinions or expreſſions, they contented themſelves with a very few, and thoſe very late authorities: ſo that their deſign in vouching them ſeems to be rather to clear themſelves from the imputation of having innovated any thing in the doctrine, or in the ways of expreſſing it, than that they thought thoſe authorities were neceſſary to prove them by. For in that caſe they muſt have taken a great deal more pains than they did, to have followed up, and proved the tradition much higher than they went.

We do alſo plainly ſee that ſuch traditions as were not founded on Scripture were eaſily corrupted, and on that account were laid aſide by the ſucceeding ages. Such were the opinion of Chriſt's reign on earth for a thouſand years; the ſaints not ſeeing God till the reſurrection; the neceſſity of giving infants the Euchariſt; the divine inſpiration of the ſeventy Interpreters; beſides ſome more important matters, which in reſpect to thoſe times are not to be too much deſcanted upon. It is alſo plain, that the Gnoſtics, the Valentinians, and other heretics, began very early to ſet up a pretenſion to a tradition delivered by the Apoſtles to ſome particular perſons, as a key for underſtanding the ſecret meanings that might be in Scripture; in oppoſition to which, both Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, make uſe of two ſorts of arguments: The one is the authority of the Scripture itſelf, by which they confuted their errors: the other is a point of fact, that there was no ſuch tradition. In aſſerting this, they appeal to thoſe Churches which had been founded by the Apoſtles, and in which a ſucceſſion of Biſhops had been continued down. They ſay, in theſe we muſt ſearch for apoſtolical tradition. This was not ſaid by them as if they had deſigned to eſtabliſh tradition, as an authority diſtinct from, or equal to, the Scriptures: but only to ſhew the falſehood of that pretence of the heretics, and that there was no ſuch tradition for their hereſies as they gave out.

Iren. l. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Tertul. de Preſc. cap. 20, 21, 25, 27, 28.

When this whole matter is conſidered in all its parts, ſuch as, 1ſt, That nothing is to be believed as an article of faith, unleſs it appears to have been revealed by God. 2dly, That oral tradition appears, both from the nature of man, and the experience of former times, to be an incompetent

petent conveyer of truth. 3dly, That ſome books were written for the conveyance of thoſe matters, which have been in all ages carefully preſerved and eſteemed ſacred. 4thly, That the writers of the firſt ages do always argue from, and appeal to, theſe books: And, 5thly, That what they have ſaid without authority from them has been rejected in ſucceeding ages; the truth of this branch of our Article is fully made out. ART. VI.

If what is contained in the Scripture in expreſs words is the object of our faith, then it will follow, that whatſoever may be proved from thence, by a juſt and lawful conſequence, is alſo to be believed. Men may indeed err in framing theſe conſequences and deductions, they may miſtake or ſtretch them too far: but though there is much ſophiſtry in the world, yet there is alſo true logic, and a certain thread of reaſoning. And the ſenſe of every propoſition being the ſame, whether expreſſed always in the ſame or in different words; then whatſoever appears to be clearly the ſenſe of any place of Scripture, is an object of faith, though it ſhould be otherwiſe expreſſed than as it is in Scripture, and every juſt inference from it muſt be as true as the propoſition itſelf is: therefore it is a vain cavil to aſk expreſs words of Scripture for every Article. That was the method of all the ancient heretics: Chriſt and his Apoſtles argued from the words and paſſages in the Old Teſtament, to prove ſuch things as agreed with the true ſenſe of them, and ſo did all the fathers; and therefore ſo may we do.

The great objection to this is, that the Scriptures are dark, that the ſame place is capable of different ſenſes, the literal and the myſtical: and therefore, ſince we cannot underſtand the true ſenſe of the Scripture, we muſt not argue from it, but ſeek for an interpreter of it, on whom we may depend. All ſects argue from thence, and fancy that they find their tenets in it: and therefore this can be no ſure way of finding out ſacred truth, ſince ſo many do err that follow it. In anſwer to this, it is to be conſidered, that the Old Teſtament was delivered to the whole nation of the Jews; that Moſes was read in the Synagogue, in the hearing of the women and children; that whole nation was to take their doctrine and rules from it: all appeals were made to the Law and to the Prophets among them: and though the prophecies of the Old Teſtament were in their ſtyle and whole contexture dark, and hard to be underſtood; yet when ſo great a queſtion as this, who was the true Meſſias? came



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ART. VI.

to be examined, the proofs urged for it were paſſages in the Old Teſtament. Now the queſtion was, how theſe were to be underſtood? No appeal was here made to tradition, or to church-authority, but only by the enemies of our Saviour. Whereas he and his Diſciples urge theſe paſſages in their true ſenſe, and in the conſequences that aroſe out of them. They did in that appeal to the rational faculties of thoſe to whom they ſpoke. The Chriſtian religion was at firſt delivered to poor and ſimple multitudes, who were both illiterate and weak; the Epiſtles, which are by much the hardeſt to be underſtood of the whole New Teſtament, were addreſſed to the whole Churches, to all the *Faithful* or *Saints*; that is, to all the Chriſtians in thoſe Churches. Theſe were afterwards read in all their aſſemblies. Upon this it may reaſonably be aſked, were theſe writings clear in that age, or were they not? If they were not, it is unaccountable why they were addreſſed to the whole body, and how they came to be received and entertained as they were. It is the end of ſpeech and writing, to make things to be underſtood; and it is not ſuppoſable, that men inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt either could not or would not expreſs themſelves ſo as that they ſhould be clearly underſtood. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the new diſpenſation is oppoſed to the old, as light is to darkneſs, an open face to a vailed, and ſubſtance to ſhadows. Since then the Old Teſtament was ſo clear, that David both in the 19th, and moſt copiouſly in the 119th Pſalm, ſets out very fully the light which the laws of God gave them in that darker ſtate, we have much more reaſon to conclude, that the new diſpenſation ſhould be much brighter. If there was no need of a certain expounder of Scripture then, there is much leſs now. Nor is there any proviſion made in the new for a ſure guide; no intimations are given where to find one: from all which we may conclude, that the books of the New Teſtament were clear in thoſe days, and might well be underſtood by thoſe to whom they were at firſt addreſſed. If they were clear to them, they may be likewiſe clear to us: for though we have not a full hiſtory of that time, or of the phraſes and cuſtoms, and particular opinions of that age; yet the vaſt induſtry of the ſucceeding ages, of theſe two laſt in particular, has made ſuch diſcoveries, beſides the other collateral advantages which learning and a niceneſs in reaſoning has given us, that we may juſtly reckon, that though ſome hints in the Epiſtles, which relate to the particulars of that time, may be ſo loſt, that we

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we can at beſt but make conjectures about them; yet, upon the whole matter, we may well underſtand all that is neceſſary to ſalvation in the Scripture. ART. VI.

We may indeed fall into miſtakes as well as into ſins; and into errors of ignorance, as well as into ſins of ignorance. God has dealt with our underſtandings as he hath dealt with our wills: he propoſes our duty to us, with ſtrong motives to obedience; he promiſes us inward aſſiſtances, and accepts of our ſincere endeavours: and yet this does not hinder many from periſhing eternally, and others from falling into great ſins, and ſo running great danger of eternal damnation; and all this is becauſe God has left our wills free, and does not conſtrain us to be good. He deals with our underſtandings in the ſame manner; he has ſet his will and the knowledge of ſalvation before us, in writings that are framed in a ſimple and plain ſtyle, in a language that was then common, and is ſtill well underſtood, that were at firſt deſigned for common uſe; they are ſoon read, and it muſt be confeſſed that a great part of them is very clear: ſo we have reaſon to conclude, that if a man reads theſe carefully and with an honeſt mind; if he prays to God to direct him, and follows ſincerely what he apprehends to be true, and practiſes diligently thoſe duties that do unqueſtionably appear to be bound upon him by them, that then he ſhall find out enough to ſave his ſoul; and that ſuch miſtakes as lie ſtill upon him, ſhall either be cleared up to him by ſome happy providence, or ſhall be forgiven him by that infinite mercy, to which his ſincerity and diligence is well known. That bad men ſhould fall into grievous errors, is no more ſtrange, than that they ſhould commit heinous ſins: and the errors of good men, in which they are neither wilful nor inſolent, will certainly be forgiven, as well as their ſins of infirmity. Therefore all the ill uſe that is made of the Scripture, and all the errors that are pretended to be proved by it, do not weaken its authority or clearneſs. This does only ſhew us the danger of ſtudying them with a biaſſed or corrupted mind, of reading them too careleſsly, of being too curious in going farther than as they open matters to us; and in being too implicit in adhering to our education, or in ſubmitting to the dictates of others.

So far I have explained the firſt branch of this Article. The conſequence that ariſes out of it is ſo clear, that it needs not be proved: *That therefore nothing ought to be eſteemed an Article of Faith, but what may be found in it, or proved from it.* If this is our rule, our entire and only

ART. VI. rule, then ſuch doctrines as are not in it ought to be rejected; and any Church that adds to the Chriſtian religion, is erroneous for making ſuch additions, and becomes tyrannical if ſhe impoſes them upon all her members, and requires poſitive declarations, ſubſcriptions, and oaths, concerning them. In ſo doing ſhe forces ſuch as cannot have communion with her, but by affirming what they believe to be falſe, to withdraw from that which cannot be had without departing from the truth. So all the additions of the five Sacraments, of the invocation of angels and ſaints, of the worſhipping of images, croſſes, and relics; of the corporal preſence in the Euchariſt; of the ſacrifice offered in it for the dead as well as for the living, together with the adoration offered to it, with a great many more, are certainly errors, unleſs they can be proved from Scripture; and they are intolerable errors, if as the Scripture is expreſs in oppoſition to them, ſo they defile the worſhip of Chriſtians with idolatry: but they become yet moſt intolerable, if they are impoſed upon all that are in that communion, and if creeds or oaths in which they are affirmed are required of all in their communion. Here is the main ground of juſtifying our forming ourſelves into a diſtinct body from the Roman Church, and therefore it is well to be conſidered. The further diſcuſſing of this will come properly in, when other particulars come to be examined.

From hence I go to the ſecond branch of this Article, which gives us the Canon of the Scripture. Here I ſhall begin with the New Teſtament; for though in order the Old Teſtament is before the New, yet the proof of the one being more diſtinctly made out by the concurring teſtimonies of other writers, than can poſſibly be pretended for the other, and the New giving an authority to the Old, by aſſerting it ſo expreſsly, I ſhall therefore prove firſt the Canon of the New Teſtament. I will not urge that of the teſtimony of the Spirit, which many have had recourſe to: this is only an argument to him that feels it, if it is one at all; and therefore it proves nothing to another perſon: beſides, the utmoſt that with reaſon can be made of this is, that a good man, feeling the very powerful effects of the Chriſtian religion on his own heart, in the reforming his nature, and the calming his conſcience, together with thoſe comforts that ariſe out of it, is convinced in general of the whole of Chriſtianity, by the happy effects that it has upon his own mind: but it does not from this appear how he ſhould know that ſuch books and ſuch paſſages in them ſhould come from a divine original,

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ginal, or that he ſhould be able to diſtinguiſh what is genuine in them from what is ſpurious. To come therefore to ſuch arguments as may be well inſiſted upon or maintained. ART. VI.

The Canon of the New Teſtament, as we now have it, is fully proved from the quotations out of the books of the New Teſtament, by the writers of the firſt and ſecond centuries; ſuch as Clemens, Ignatius, Juſtin, Irenæus, and ſeveral others. Papias, who converſed with the diſciples of the Apoſtles, is cited by Euſebius in confirmation of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which he ſays was writ by him in Hebrew: he is alſo cited to prove that St. Mark writ his Goſpel from St. Peter's preaching; which is alſo confirmed by Clemens of Alexandria; not to mention later writers. Irenæus ſays St. Luke writ his Goſpel according to St. Paul's preaching; which is ſupported by ſome words in St. Paul's Epiſtles that relate to paſſages in that Goſpel; yet certainly he had likewiſe other vouchers; thoſe *who from the beginning were eye-witneſſes and miniſters of the Word*; though the whole might receive its full authority from St. Paul's approbation. St. John writ later than the other three; ſo the teſtimonies concerning his Goſpel are the fulleſt and the moſt particular. Irenæus has laboured the proof of this matter with much care and attention: he lived within an hundred years of St. John, and knew Polycarp that was one of his diſciples: after him come Tertullian and Origen, who ſpeak very copiouſly of the four Goſpels; and from them all the eccleſiaſtical writers have without any doubting or controverſy acknowledged and cited them, without the leaſt ſhadow of any oppoſition, except what was made by Marcion and the Manichees.

Lib. iii. Hiſt. c. 39. c. 25. Euſ. l. ii. Hiſt. c. 15. Lib. iii. cap. 11. Tert. l. iv. cont. Mar. cap. 1. Orig. apud Euſ. lib. vi. cap. 25.

Next to theſe authorities we appeal to the catalogues of the books of the New Teſtament, that are given us in the third and fourth centuries by Origen, a man of great induſtry, and that had examined the ſtate of many churches; by St. Athanaſius, by the council of Laodicea and Carthage; and after theſe we have a conſtant ſucceſſion of teſtimonies, that do deliver theſe as the Canon univerſally received. All this laid together does fully prove this point; and that the more clearly, when theſe particulars are conſidered. 1. That the books of the New Teſtament were read in all their churches, and at all their aſſemblies, ſo that this was a point in which it was not eaſy for men to miſtake. 2dly, That this was ſo near the fountain, that the originals themſelves of the Apoſtles were no doubt ſo long preſerved. 3dly, That both the

Athan. in Synopſ. Conc. Can. 60. Carth. iii. c. 47.

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ART. VI.

the Jews, as appears from Juſtin Martyr, and the Gentiles, as appears by Celſus, knew that theſe were the books in which the faith of the Chriſtians was contained. 4thly, That ſome queſtion was made touching ſome of them, becauſe there was not that clear or general knowledge concerning them, that there was concerning the others; yet upon fuller enquiry all acquieſced in them. No doubt was ever made about thirteen of St. Paul's Epiſtles; becauſe there were particular churches or perſons, to whom the originals of them were directed: but the ſtrain and deſign of that to the Hebrews being to remove their prejudices, that high one, which they had taken up againſt St. Paul as an enemy to their nation, was to be kept out of view, that it might not blaſt the good effects which were intended by it; yet it is cited oftener than once by Clemens of Rome: and though the ignorance of many of the Roman Church, who thought that ſome paſſages in it favoured the ſeverity of the Novatians, that cut off apoſtates from the hopes of repentance, made them queſtion it, of which mention is made both by Origen, Euſebius, and Jerome, who frequently affirm, that the Latin Church, or the Roman, did not receive it; yet Athanaſius reckons both this and the ſeven general Epiſtles among the canonical writings. Cyril of Jeruſalem, who had occaſion to be well informed about it, ſays, that he delivers his catalogue from the Church, as ſhe had received it from the Apoſtles, the ancient biſhops, and the governors of the Church; and reckons up in it both the ſeven general Epiſtles, and the fourteen of St. Paul. So does Ruffin, and ſo do the councils of Laodicea and Carthage [a]; the canons of the former being received into the body of the *Canons* [b] of the *Univerſal Church*. Irenæus, Origen, and Clemens of Alexandria [c], cite the Epiſtle to the Hebrews frequently. Some queſtion was made of the Epiſtle of St. James, the ſecond of St. Peter, the ſecond and third of St. John, and St. Jude's Epiſtle. But both Clemens of Rome [d], Ignatius, and Origen, cite St. James's Epiſtle; Euſebius [e] ſays it was known to moſt, and read in moſt Chriſtian Churches: the like is teſtified by St. Jerome [f]. St. Peter's ſecond Epiſtle is cited

Dial. cum Trypho.

Tertul. de Preſc. cap. 36.

Orig. Ep. ad African. Orig. Exh. ad Martyr. Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 20. Hieron. Ep. ad Dardan. Cyr. Catech. iv.

[a] Apud Hieron.
[b] Can. 60. Can. 47.
[c] Iren. l. iii. c. 38. Orig. l. iii. et vii. cont. Celſ. Dial. con. Marc. et Ep. ad Afric. Clem. Alex.
[d] Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. Orig. Hom. 13. in Geneſ.
[e] Euſ. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 22. l. iii. c. 24, 25.
[f] Hieron. Pref. in Ep. Jac.

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ART. VI.

by Origen and Firmilian [a]; and Euſebius [b] ſays it was held very uſeful even by thoſe who held it not canonical: but ſince the firſt Epiſtle was never queſtioned by any, the ſecond that carries ſo many characters of its genuineneſs, ſuch as St. Peter's name at the head of it, the mention of the transfiguration, and of his being an eye-witneſs of it, are evident proofs of its being writ by him. The ſecond and third Epiſtles of St. John are cited by Irenæus, Clemens and Dennis of Alexandria, and by Tertullian [c]. The Epiſtle of St. Jude is alſo cited by Tertullian. Some of thoſe general Epiſtles were not addreſſed to any particular body, or Church, that might have preſerved the originals of them, but were ſent about in the nature of circular letters; ſo that it is no wonder if they were not received ſo early, and with ſuch an unanimity, as we find concerning the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and thirteen of St. Paul's Epiſtles. Theſe being firſt fixed upon by an unqueſtioned and undiſputed tradition, made that here was a ſtandard once aſcertained to judge the better of the reſt: ſo when the matter was ſtrictly examined, ſo near the fountain that it was very poſſible and eaſy to find out the certainty of it, then in the beginning of the fourth century the Canon was ſettled, and univerſally agreed to. The ſtyle and matter of the Revelation, as well as the deſignation of *Divine* given to the author of it, gave occaſion to many queſtions about it: Clemens of Rome cites it as a prophetical book: Juſtin Martyr ſays it was writ by John, one of Chriſt's twelve Apoſtles; Irenæus calls it the Revelation of St. John, the diſciple of our Lord, writ almoſt in our own age, in the end of Domitian's reign. Melito writ upon it: Theophilus of Antioch, Hippolytus, Clemens and Dennis of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen do cite it. And thus the Canon of the New Teſtament ſeems to be fully made out by the concurrent teſtimony of the ſeveral Churches immediately after the Apoſtolical time.

Clem. in Ep. ad Cor. Juſtin. cont. Tryphon. Iren. l. v. c. 30. Euſ. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 24, 26. l. v. c. 18. l. vii. c. 27.

Here it is to be obſerved, that a great difference is to be made between all this and the oral tradition of a doctrine, in which there is nothing fixed or permanent, ſo that the whole is only report carried about and handed down. Whereas here is a book, that was only to be copied out and read publicly, and by all perſons, between

[a] Orig. cont. Marcion. Firmil. Ep. 75. ad Cypr.
[b] Euſ. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 3.
[c] Iren. l. i. c. 13. Clem. Alex. Strom. 2. Tertul. de Carne Chr. c. 24. Euſ. Hiſt. l. vi. c. 24. Tertul. de cultu fœm.

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ART. VI. which the difference is ſo vaſt, that it is as little poſſible to imagine how the one ſhould continue pure, as how the other ſhould come to be corrupted. There was never a book of which we have that reaſon to be aſſured that it is genuine, that we have here. There happened to be conſtant diſputes among Chriſtians from the ſecond century downward, concerning ſome of the moſt important parts of this doctrine; and by both ſides theſe books were appealed to: and though there might be ſome variations in readings and tranſlations, yet no queſtion was made concerning the Canon, or the authenticalneſs of the books themſelves; unleſs it were by the Manichees, who came indeed to be called Chriſtians, by a very enlarged way of ſpeaking; ſince it is juſtly ſtrange how men who ſaid that the author of the univerſe, and of the Moſaical diſpenſation, was an evil God; and who held that there were two ſupreme Gods, a good and an evil one; how ſuch men, I ſay, could be called Chriſtians.

The authority of thoſe books is not derived from any judgment that the Church made concerning them; but from this, that it was known that they were writ, either by men who were themſelves the Apoſtles of Chriſt, or by thoſe who were their aſſiſtants and companions, at whoſe order, or under whoſe direction and approbation, it was known that they were written and publiſhed. Theſe books were received and known for ſuch, in the very apoſtolical age itſelf; ſo that many of the apoſtolical men, ſuch as Ignatius and Polycarp, lived long enough to ſee the Canon generally received and ſettled. The ſuffering and depreſſed ſtate of the firſt Chriſtians was alſo ſuch, that as there is no reaſon to ſuſpect them of impoſture, ſo it is not at all credible that an impoſture of this kind could have paſſed upon all the Chriſtian Churches. A man in a corner might have forged the Sibylline oracles, or ſome other pieces which were not to be generally uſed; and they might have appeared ſoon after, and credit might have been given too eaſily to a book or writing of that kind: but it cannot be imagined, that in an age in which the belief of this doctrine brought men under great troubles, and in which miracles and other extraordinary gifts were long continued in the Church, that, I ſay, either falſe books could have been ſo early obtruded on the Church as true, or that true books could have been ſo vitiated as to loſe their original purity, while they were ſo univerſally read and uſed; and that ſo ſoon; or that the writers of that very age and of the next ſhould have been ſo generally and ſo groſsly impoſed upon,

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upon, as to have cited ſpurious writings for true. Theſe are things that could not be believed in the hiſtories or records of any nation: though the value that the Chriſtians ſet upon theſe books, and the conſtant uſe they made of them, reading a parcel of them every Lord's day, make this much leſs ſuppoſable in the Chriſtian religion, than it could be in any other ſort of hiſtory or record whatſoever. The early ſpreading of the Chriſtian religion to ſo many remote countries and provinces, the many copies of theſe books that lay in countries ſo remote, the many tranſlations of them that were quickly made, do all concur to make the impoſſibility of any ſuch impoſture the more ſenſible. Thus the Canon of the New Teſtament is fixed upon clear and ſure grounds. ART. VI.

From thence, without any further proof, we may be convinced of the Canon of the Old Teſtament. Chriſt does frequently cite Moſes and the Prophets; he appeals to them; and though he charged the Jews of that time, chiefly their teachers and rulers, with many diſorders and faults, yet he never once ſo much as inſinuated that they had corrupted their law, or other ſacred books; which, if true, had been the greateſt of all thoſe abuſes that they had put upon the people. Our Saviour cited their books according to the tranſlation that was then in credit and common uſe amongſt them. When one aſked him which was the great commandment, he anſwered, *How readeſt thou?* And he proved the chief things relating to himſelf, his Death and Reſurrection, from the prophecies that had gone before; which ought to have been fulfilled in him: he alſo cites the Old Teſtament, by a threefold diviſion of the *Law of Moſes*, *the Prophets*, and *the Pſalms*; according to the three orders of books into which the Jews had divided it. The *Pſalms*, which was the firſt among the holy writings, being ſet for that whole volume, St. Paul ſays, that *to the Jews were committed the oracles of God*: he reckons that among the chief of their privileges, but he never blames them for being unfaithful in this truſt; and it is certain that the Jews have not corrupted the chief of thoſe paſſages that are urged againſt them to prove Jeſus to have been the Chriſt. So that the Old Teſtament, at leaſt the tranſlation of the LXX Interpreters, which was in common uſe and in high eſteem among the Jews in our Saviour's time, was, as to the main, faithful and uncorrupted. This might be further urged from what St. Paul ſays concerning thoſe Scriptures which Timothy had learned of a child; theſe could be no other than the books of the Old Teſtament. Thus if the writings of the

Luke xxiv. 44.

Rom. iii. 2.

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ART. VI.

the New Teſtament are acknowledged to be of divine authority, the full teſtimony, that they give to the books of the Old Teſtament, does ſufficiently prove their authority and genuineneſs likewiſe. But to carry this matter yet further:

Moſes wrought ſuch miracles both in Egypt, in paſſing through the Red Sea, and in the wilderneſs, that if theſe are acknowledged to be true, there can be no queſtion made of his being ſent of God, and authoriſed by him to deliver his will to the Jewiſh nation. The relation given of thoſe miracles repreſents them to be ſuch in themſelves, and to have been acted ſo publicly, that it cannot be pretended they were tricks, or that ſome bold aſſerters gained a credit to them by affirming them. They were ſo publicly tranſacted, that the relations given of them are either downright fables, or they were clear and unconteſted characters of a prophet authoriſed of God. Nor is the relation of them made with any of thoſe arts that are almoſt neceſſary to impoſtors. The Jewiſh nation is all along repreſented as froward and diſobedient, apt to murmur and rebel. The laws it contains, as to the political part, are calculated to advance both juſtice and compaſſion, to awaken induſtry, and yet to repreſs avarice. Liberty and authority are duly tempered; the moral part is pure, and ſuitable to human nature, though with ſome imperfections and tolerances which were connived at, but yet regulated: and for the religious part, idolatry, magic, and all human ſacrifices were put away by it. When we conſider what remains are left us of the idolatry of the Egyptians, and what was afterward among the Greeks and Romans, who were polite and well conſtituted as to their civil laws and rules, and may be eſteemed the moſt refined pieces of heatheniſm, we do find a ſimplicity and purity, a majeſty and gravity, a modeſty with a decency, in the Jewiſh rituals, to which the others can in no ſort be compared.

In the books of Moſes, no deſign for himſelf appears; his poſterity were but in the crowd, Levites without any character of diſtinction; and he ſpares neither himſelf nor his brother, when there was occaſion to mention their faults, no more than he does the reſt of his countrymen. It is to be further conſidered, that the laws and policy appointed by Moſes ſettled many rules and rites that muſt have perpetuated the remembrance of them. The land was to be divided by lot, and every ſhare was to deſcend in an inheritance; the frequent aſſemblies at Jeruſalem on the three great feſtivals, the ſabbaths, the new moons, the

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ART. VI.

the ſabbatical year, and the great jubilee, the law of the double tythe, the ſacrifices of ſo many different kinds, the diſtinctions of meats, the prohibition of eating blood, together with many other particulars, were all founded upon it. Now let it be a little conſidered, whether the foundation of all this, I mean the five books of Moſes, could be a forgery or not. If the Pentateuch was delivered by Moſes himſelf to the Jews, and received by them as the rule both of their religion and policy, then it is not poſſible to conceive, but that the recital of all that is contained from the book of Exodus to the end of Deuteronomy, was known by them to be true; and this eſtabliſhes the credit of the whole. But if this is not admitted, then let it be conſidered in what time it can poſſibly be ſuppoſed that this impoſture could have appeared. There is a continued ſeries of books of their hiſtory, that goes down to the Babyloniſh captivity; ſo if there was an impoſture of this ſort ſet on foot in that time, all that hiſtory muſt have been made upon it, and an account muſt have been given of the diſcovery of thoſe books; otherwiſe the impoſture muſt have been too weak to have gained credit. Whereas, on the contrary, the whole thread of their hiſtory repreſents theſe books to have been always amongſt them.

The diſcovery made in the reign of Joſias cannot be ſuppoſed to be of this ſort; ſince how much diſorder ſoever the long and wicked reign of Manaſſes might have brought them under, and what havoc ſoever might have been made of the writings that were held ſacred among them, yet it was impoſſible that a ſeries of forged laws and hiſtories could have been put upon them; of which there was ſtill a continued memory preſerved among them; and that they could be brought to believe that a book and a law full of ſo much hiſtory, and of ſo many various and unuſual rites founded upon it, had been held ſacred among them for many ages; if it was but a new invention. Therefore this is an extravagant conceit: ſo that the book, that was then found in the Temple, was either the original of the Law written by Moſes's own hand; for ſo the words may be rendered; or it may be underſtood of ſome of the laſt chapters of Deuteronomy, which ſeem by the tenor of them to have been at firſt a book by themſelves, though afterwards joined to the reſt of Deuteronomy; and in the collection that Joſias was making, theſe might be wanting at firſt; and in theſe there are ſuch ſevere threatenings, that it was no wonder if a heart ſo

2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

Ch. xxvi. 16, to the end of Deut.

Deut. xxviii. from 36 to the end.

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ART. VI.

ſo tender as Joſias's was very much affected at the reading them.

Upon the whole matter there is no period in the whole hiſtory of the Jews, to which any ſuſpicion of ſuch an impoſture can be faſtened before the Babyloniſh captivity: ſo it muſt be laid either upon the times of the captivity, or ſoon after their return out of it. Now, not to obſerve that men in ſuch circumſtances are ſeldom capable of things of that nature, can it be imagined that a ſeries of books, that run through many ages, could have been framed ſo particularly, and yet ſo exactly, that nothing in any concurrent hiſtory could ever be brought to diſprove any part of it? That ſuch a thing could paſs in ſo ſhort a time upon a whole nation, while ſo many men remembered, or might well remember, what they had been before the captivity, if they had not all known that it was true, is a moſt inconceivable thing. Theſe books were ſo far from being diſputed, though we ſee their neighbours the Samaritans were inclined enough to conteſt every thing with them, that all acquieſced in them, and in that ſecond beginning of their being a ſtate, as it is opened in the books of Eſdras and Nehemiah, and in Daniel, and the three prophets of the ſecond Temple, all the other books were received among them without diſpute: and their law was in ſuch high eſteem, that about two hundred years after that, the king of Egypt did with much intreaty, and at a vaſt charge, procure a tranſlation of it to be made in Greek.

The Jewiſh nation, as they live much within themſelves, where it is ſafe for them to profeſs their religion, ſo they have had the divine authority of their books ſo deeply infuſed in them from age to age, that now above ſixteen hundred years, though it is not poſſible for them to practiſe the main parts of their religion, and though they ſuffer much for profeſſing it, yet they do ſtill adhere to it, and practiſe as much of it as they can by the law itſelf, which ties the chief performances of that religion to one determinate place. This is a firmneſs which has never yet appeared in any other religion beſides the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian: for all the ſeveral ſhapes of Heatheniſm have often changed, and they all went off as ſoon as the government that ſupported them fell, and that another came in its place. Whereas theſe have ſubſiſted long, not only without the ſupport of the civil power, but under many ſevere perſecutions: which is at leaſt a good moral argument to prove, that theſe religions had another foundation,

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foundation, and a deeper root than any other religion could ever pretend to. Yet, after all, it is not to be denied, but that in the collection that was made of the books of the Old Teſtament after the captivity, by Ezra and others, or after that burning of many of the books of their law under Antiochus Epiphanes, mentioned in the book of Maccabees, that ſome diſorder might happen; that there might be ſuch regard had to ſome copies, as not to alter ſome manifeſt faults that were in them, but that, inſtead of that, they might have marked on the margin that which was the true reading: and a ſuperſtitious conceit might have afterwards crept in, and continued in after-ages, of a myſtery in that matter, upon their firſt letting theſe faults continue in the text with the marginal annotation of the correction of them. There might be alſo other marginal annotations of the modern names of places ſet againſt the ancient ones, to guide the reader's judgment; and afterwards the modern name might have been writ inſtead of the ancient one. Theſe are things that might naturally enough happen; and will ſerve to reſolve many objections againſt the texts of the Old Teſtament. All the numbers of perſons as well as of years might alſo have been writ in numerical letters, though afterwards they came all to be ſet down in words at large: and while they were in letters, as ſome might have been worn out, and loſt in ancient copies, ſo others were, by the reſemblance of ſome letters, very like to be miſtaken: nor could men's memories ſerve them ſo well to correct miſtakes in numbers as in other matters. This may ſhew a way to reconcile many ſeeming differences between the accounts that are variouſly ſtated in ſome of the books of the Bible, and between the Hebrew and the Septuagint. In theſe matters our Church has made no deciſion; and ſo divines are left to a juſt freedom in them. ART. VI. 1 Maccab. i. 56.

In general we may ſafely rely upon the care and providence of God, and the induſtry of men, who are naturally apt to preſerve things of that kind entire, which are highly valued among them. And therefore we conclude, that the books of the Old Teſtament are preſerved pure down to us, as to all thoſe things for which they were written; that is, in every thing that is either an object of faith, or a rule of life; and as to leſſer matters, which viſibly have no relation to either of theſe, there is no reaſon to think that every copier was ſo divinely guided that no ſmall error might ſurpriſe him. In fact, we know that there are many various readings, which might have ariſen from the haſte and careleſſneſs of copiers, from their



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ART. VI.

gueſſing wrong that which appeared doubtful or imperfect in the copy, and from a ſuperſtitious adhering to ſome apparent faults, when they found them in copies of a venerable antiquity. But when all thoſe various readings are compared together, it appears that as they are inconſiderable, ſo they do not concern our faith, nor our morals; the ſetting which right was the main end of revelation. The moſt important diverſity relates to chronology: but the account of time, eſpecially in the firſt ages, is of no conſequence to our believing right, or to our living well: and therefore if ſome errors or miſtakes ſhould appear to be among thoſe different readings, theſe give no juſt cauſe to doubt of the whole. And indeed, conſidering the many ages through which thoſe books have paſſed, we have much more reaſon to wonder, that they are brought down to us ſo entire, and ſo manifeſtly genuine in all their main and important parts, than that we ſhould ſee ſome prints of the frailty of thoſe who copied and preſerved them.

It remains only upon this head to conſider what inſpiration and an inſpired book is, and how far that matter is to be carried. When we talk with one another, a noiſe is made in the air that ſtrikes with ſuch vibrations on the ears of others, that by the motion thereby made on the brain of another, we do convey our thoughts to another perſon: ſo that the impreſſion made on the brain is that which communicates our thoughts to another. By this we can eaſily apprehend how God may make ſuch impreſſions on men's brains, as may convey to them ſuch things as he intends to make known to them.

This is the general notion of inſpiration; in which the manner and degree of the impreſſion may make it at the leaſt as certain that the motion comes from God, as a man may be certain that ſuch a thing was told him by ſuch a perſon, and not by any other. Now there may be different degrees both of the objects that are revealed, and of the manner of the revelation. To ſome it may be given in charge to deliver rules and laws to men: and becauſe that ought to be expreſſed in plain words without pomp or ornament, therefore upon ſuch occaſions the imagination is not to be much agitated; but the impreſſion muſt be made ſo naked, that the underſtanding may clearly apprehend it; and by conſequence that it may be plainly expreſſed. In others, the deſign may be only to employ them in order to the awakening men to obſerve a law already received and owned; that muſt be done with ſuch pompous viſions of judgments coming upon the violation of

ART. VI.

of those laws, as may very much alarm those to whom they are sent: both the representations and the expressions must be fitted to excite men, to terrify, and so to reform them. Now because the imagination, whether when we are transported in our thoughts being awake, or in dreams, is capable of having those scenes acted upon it, and of being so excited by them, as to utter them with pompous figures, and in a due rapidity; this is another way of inspiration that is strictly called *prophecy* in the Old Testament. A great deal of the style used in this must relate to the particulars of the time to which it belongs: many allusions, hints, and forms of speech must be used, that are lively and proverbial; which cannot be understood, unless we had all those concurrent helps which are lost even in the next age, if not preserved in books, and so they must be quite lost after many ages are past, when no other memorials are left of the time in which they were transacted. This must needs make the far greater part of all the prophetic writings to be very dark to us; not to insist upon the peculiar genius of the language in which the Prophets wrote, and on the common customs of those climates and nations to this day, that are very different from our own.

A third degree of inspiration might be, when there were no discoveries of future events to be made: but good and holy men were to be inwardly excited by God, to compose such poems, hymns, and discourses, as should be of great use both to give men clearer and fuller apprehensions of divine things, and also insensibly to charm them with a pleasant and exalted way of treating them. And if the providence of God should so order them in the management of their compositures, that it may afterwards appear that predictions were intermixed with them; yet they are not to be called Prophets, unless God had revealed to them the mystical intent of such predictions: so that though the Spirit of God prophesied in them, yet they themselves not understanding it, are not to be accounted Prophets. Of this last sort are the books of the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, &c.

According to the different order of these inspirations was the Old Testament divided into three volumes. The inspiration of the New Testament is all to be reduced to the first sort, except the Revelation, which is purely and strictly prophetical. The other parts of the New Testament are writ after a softer and clearer illumination, and in a style suitable to it. Now because enthusiasts and impostors may falsely pretend to divine commissions and in-



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ART. VI.

ſpirations, it is neceſſary (both for the undeceiving of thoſe who may be miſled by a hot and ungoverned imagination, and for giving ſuch an authority to men truly inſpired, as may diſtinguiſh them from falſe pretenders) that the man thus inſpired ſhould have ſome evident ſign or other, either ſome miraculous action that is viſibly beyond the powers of nature, or ſome particular diſcovery of ſomewhat that is to come, which muſt be ſo expreſſed, that the accompliſhment of it may ſhew it to be beyond the conjectures of the moſt ſagacious: by one or both of thoſe a man muſt prove, and the world muſt be convinced, that he is ſent and directed by God. And if ſuch men deliver their meſſage in writing, we muſt receive ſuch writings as ſacred and inſpired.

In theſe writings ſome parts are hiſtorical, ſome doctrinal, and ſome elenchtical or argumentative. As to the hiſtorical part, it is certain that whatſoever is delivered to us, as a matter truly tranſacted, muſt be indeed ſo: but it is not neceſſary, when diſcourſes are reported, that the individual words ſhould be ſet down juſt as they were ſaid; it is enough if the effect of them is reported: nor is it neceſſary that the order of time ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, or that all the conjunctions in ſuch relations ſhould be underſtood ſeverely according to their grammatical meaning. It is viſible that all the ſacred writers write in a diverſity of ſtyle, according to their different tempers, and to the various impreſſions that were made upon them. In that the inſpiration left them to the uſe of their faculties, and to their previous cuſtoms and habits: the deſign of revelation, as to this part of its ſubject, is only to give ſuch repreſentations of matters of fact, as may both work upon and guide our belief; but the order of time, and the ſtrict words having no influence that way, the writers might diſpoſe them, and expreſs them variouſly, and yet all be exactly true. For the conjunctive particles do rather import that one paſſage comes to be related after another, than that it was really tranſacted after it.

As to the doctrinal parts, that is, the rules of life, which theſe books ſet before us, or the propoſitions that are offered to us in them, we muſt entirely acquieſce in theſe, as in the voice of God, who ſpeaks to us by the means of a perſon, whom he, by his authoriſing him in ſo wonderful a manner, obliges us to hear and believe. But when theſe writers come to explain or argue, they uſe many figures that were well known in that age: but becauſe the ſignification of a figure is to be taken from common uſe, and not to be carried to the utmoſt extent that

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ART. VI.

that the words themſelves will bear, we muſt therefore enquire, as much as we can, into the manner and phraſeology of the time in which ſuch perſons lived, which with relation to the New Teſtament will lead us far: and by this we ought to govern the extent and importance of theſe figures.

As to their arguings, we are further to conſider, that ſometimes they argue upon certain grounds, and at other times they go upon principles, acknowledged and received by thoſe with whom they dealt. It ought never to be made the only way of proving a thing, to found it upon the conceſſions of thoſe with whom we deal; yet when a thing is once truly proved, it is a juſt and uſual way of confirming it, or at leaſt of ſilencing thoſe who oppoſe it, to ſhew that it follows naturally from thoſe opinions and principles that are received among them. Since therefore the Jews had, at the time of the writing of the New Teſtament, a peculiar way of expounding many prophecies and paſſages in the Old Teſtament, it was a very proper way to convince them, to allege many places according to their key and methods of expoſition. Therefore when divine writers argue upon any point, we are always bound to believe the concluſions that their reaſonings end in, as parts of divine revelation: but we are not bound to be able to make out, or even to aſſent to, all the premiſes made uſe of by them in their whole extent; unleſs it appears plainly that they affirm the premiſes as expreſsly as they do the concluſions proved by them.

And thus far I have laid down ſuch a ſcheme concerning inſpiration and inſpired writings, as will afford, to ſuch as apprehend it aright, a ſolution to moſt of theſe difficulties with which we are urged on the account of ſome paſſages in the ſacred writings. The laying down a ſcheme that aſſerts an immediate inſpiration which goes to the ſtyle, and to every tittle, and that denies any error to have crept *into any of the copies*, as it ſeems on the one hand to raiſe the honour of the Scriptures very highly, ſo it lies open on the other hand to great difficulties, which ſeem inſuperable in that hypotheſis; whereas a middle way, as it ſettles the divine inſpiration of theſe writings, and their being continued down genuine and unvitiated to us, as to all that, for which we can only ſuppoſe that inſpiration was given; ſo it helps us more eaſily out of all difficulties, by yielding that which ſerves to anſwer them, without weakening the authority of the whole.

I come in the laſt place to examine the negative conſe-



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ART. VI.

quence that arises out of this head, which excludes those books commonly called Apocryphal, that are here rejected, from being a part of the Canon: and this will be easily made out. The chief reason that presses us Christians to acknowledge the Old Testament, is the testimony that Christ and his Apostles gave to those books, as they were then received by the Jewish Church; to whom *were committed the oracles of God.* Now it is not so much as pretended, that ever these books were received among the Jews, or were so much as known to them. None of the writers of the New Testament cite or mention them; neither Philo nor Josephus speaks of them. Josephus on the contrary says, they had only twenty-two books that deserved belief, but that those which were written after the time of Artaxerxes were not of equal credit with the rest: and that in that period they had no prophets at all. The Christian Church was for some ages an utter stranger to those books. Melito, Bishop of Sardis, being desired by Onesimus to give him a perfect catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, took a journey on purpose to the East, to examine this matter at its source: and having, as he says, made an exact enquiry, he sent him the names of them just as we receive the Canon; of which Eusebius says, that he has preserved it, because it contained all those books which the Church owned. Origen gives us the same catalogue according to the tradition of the Jews, who divided the Old Testament into twenty-two books, according to the letters of their alphabet. Athanasius reckons them up in the same manner to be twenty-two, and he more distinctly says, "that he delivered "those, as they had received them by tradition, and as "they were received by the whole Church of Christ, be- "cause some presumed to mix apocryphal books with the "divine Scriptures: and therefore he was set on it by "the orthodox brethren, in order to declare the canonical "books delivered as such by tradition, and believed to "be of divine inspiration. It is true," he adds, "that "besides these there were other books which were not "put into the Canon, but yet were appointed by the "fathers to be read by those who first come to be in- "structed in the way of piety: and then he reckons up "most of the apocryphal books." Here is the first mention we find of them, as indeed it is very probable they were made at Alexandria, by some of those Jews who lived there in great numbers. Both Hilary and Cyril of Jerusalem give us the same catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, and affirm, that they delivered them thus according

Euseb. Hist. l. iv. c. 26.

In Psal. i.

In Synop.

In Ep. pasch.

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according to the tradition of the ancients. Cyril says, that all other books are to be put in a second order. Gregory Nazianzen reckons up the twenty-two books, and adds that none besides them are genuine. The words that are in the Article are repeated by St. Jerome in several of his prefaces. And that which should determine this whole matter is, that the council of Laodicea by an express canon delivers the catalogue of the canonical books as we do, decreeing that these only should be read in the Church. Now the canons of this council were afterwards received into the code of the Canons of the universal Church; so that here we have the concurring sense of the whole Church of God in this matter.

ART. VI.

Catech. 4.

Can. 95, and 60.

It is true, the book of the Revelation not being reckoned in it, this may be urged to detract from its authority: but it was already proved, that that book was received much earlier into the Canon of the Scriptures, so the design of this Canon being to establish the authority of those books that were to be read in the Church, the darkness of the Apocalypse making it appear reasonable not to read it publicly, that may be the reason why it is not mentioned in it, as well as in some later catalogues.

Here we have four centuries clear for our Canon, in exclusion to all additions. It were easy to carry this much further down, and to shew that these books were never by any express definition received into the Canon, till it was done at Trent: and that in all the ages of the Church, even after they came to be much esteemed, there were divers writers, and those generally the most learned of their time, who denied them to be a part of the Canon. At first many writings were read in the Churches, that were in high reputation both for the sake of the authors, and of the contents of them, though they were never looked on as a part of the Canon: such were Clemens's Epistle, the books of Hermas, the Acts of the Martyrs, besides several other things which were read in particular Churches. And among these the apocryphal books came also to be read, as containing some valuable books of instruction, besides several fragments of the Jewish history, which were perhaps too easily believed to be true. These therefore being usually read, they came to be reckoned among canonical Scriptures: for this is the reason assigned in the third council of Carthage, for calling them canonical, because they had received them from their Fathers as books that were to be read in Churches: and the word *Canonical* was by some in those ages used in a large sense, in opposition to spurious; so that it signified no more

Can. 47.



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ART. VI. than that they were genuine. So much depends upon this Article, that it ſeemed neceſſary to dwell fully upon it, and to ſtate it clearly.

It remains only to obſerve the diverſity between the Articles now eſtabliſhed, and thoſe ſet forth by King Edward. In the latter there was not a catalogue given of the books of Scripture, nor was there any diſtinction ſtated between the Canonical and the Apocryphal books. In thoſe there is likewiſe a paragraph, or rather a parentheſis, added after the words *proved thereby*, in theſe words, *Although ſometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful people as pious, and conducing unto order and decency:* which are now left out, becauſe the authority of the Church as to matters of order and decency, which was only intended to be aſſerted by this period, is more fully explained and ſtated in the 35th Article.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE VII.

### Of the Old Teſtament.

**The Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New: For both in the Old and New Teſtament Everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the Old Fathers did look only for Tranſitory Promiſes.**

**Although the Law given from God by Moſes, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth, yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the Obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.**

THIS Article is made up of the Sixth and the Nineteenth of King Edward's Articles laid together: only the Nineteenth of King Edward's has theſe words after *Moral: Wherefore they are not to be heard, which teach that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the weak; and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend that all whatſoever they preach is ſuggeſted to them; though manifeſtly contrary to the Holy Scriptures.* This whole Article relates to the Antinomians, as theſe laſt words were added by reaſon of the extravagance of ſome enthuſiaſts at that time; but that madneſs having ceaſed in Queen Elizabeth's time, it ſeems it was thought that there was no more occaſion for thoſe words.

There are four heads that do belong to this Article: Firſt, that the Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New. Secondly, that Chriſt was the Mediator in both diſpenſations, ſo that ſalvation was offered in both by him. Thirdly, that the ceremonial and the judiciary precepts in the Law of Moſes do not bind Chriſtians. Fourthly, that the Moral Law does ſtill bind all Chriſtians.

To the firſt of theſe, The Manichees of old, who fancied that there was a bad as well as a good God, thought that theſe two great Principles were in a perpetual ſtruggle; and they believed the Old Diſpenſation was

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ART. VII.

was under the bad one, which was taken away by the New, that is the work of the good God. But they who held ſuch monſtrous tenets, muſt needs reject the whole New Teſtament, or very much corrupt it: ſince there is nothing plainer, than that the Prophets of the Old foretold the New, with approbation; and the writers of the New prove both their commiſſion and their doctrine from paſſages of the Old Teſtament. This therefore could not be affirmed without rejecting many of the books that we own, and corrupting the reſt. So this deſerves no more to be conſidered.

Upon this occaſion it will be no improper digreſſion, to conſider what revelation thoſe under the Moſaical Law, or that lived before it, had of the Meſſias: this is an important matter: it is a great confirmation of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, as it will furniſh us with proper arguments againſt the Jews. It is certain they have long had, and ſtill have, an expectation of a Meſſias: now the characters and predictions concerning this perſon muſt have been fulfilled long ago, or the prophecies will be found to be falſe; and if they do meet and were accompliſhed in our Saviour's perſon, and if no other perſon could ever pretend to this, then that which is undertaken to be proved will be fully performed. The firſt promiſe to Adam after his ſin, ſpeaks of an enmity between the

Gen. iii. 15. ſeed of the Serpent and the ſeed of the Woman: *It ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.* The one might hurt the other in ſome leſſer inſtances, but the other was to have an entire victory at laſt; which is plainly ſignified by the figures of bruiſing the heel, and bruiſing the head, which was to be performed by one who was to bear this character of being the woman's

Gen. xii. 3. Gen. xxii. 18. Gen. xxvi. 24. Gen. xxviii. 14. ſeed. The next promiſe was made to Abraham, *In thee ſhall all the families of the earth be bleſſed:* this was lodged in his ſeed or poſterity, upon his being ready to offer up his ſon Iſaac: that promiſe was renewed to Iſaac, and after him to Jacob: when he was dying, it was lodged by him, in the tribe of Judah, when he propheſied, that

Gen. xlix. 10. *the ſceptre ſhould not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh ſhould come; and the gathering of the people*, that is, of the Gentiles, *was to be to him.* It is certain the Ten Tribes were loſt in their captivity, whereas the tribe of Judah was brought back, and continued to be a political body under their own laws, till a breach was made upon that by the Romans firſt reducing them to the form of a province, and ſoon after that deſtroying them utterly: ſo that either that prediction

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tion was not accompliſhed, or the *Shiloh*, the *Sent*, to whom the Gentiles were to be gathered, came before they loſt their ſceptre and laws. ART. VII.

Moſes told the people of Iſrael, that *God was to raiſe up among them a Prophet like unto him, to whom they ought to hearken*, otherwiſe God would *require it of them*. The character of Moſes was, that he was a lawgiver, and the author of an entire body of inſtituted religion, ſo they were to look for ſuch a one. Balaam propheſied darkly of one whom he ſaw as at a great diſtance from his own time; and he ſpoke of a *Star that ſhould come out of Jacob, and a Sceptre out of Iſrael:* ſome memorial of which was probably preſerved among the Arabians. In the book of Pſalms there are many things ſaid of David, which ſeem capable of a much auguſter ſenſe than can be pretended to be anſwered by any thing that befel himſelf. What is ſaid in the 2d, the 16th, the 22d, the 45th, the 102d, and the 110th Pſalms, affords us copious inſtances of theſe. Paſſages in theſe Pſalms muſt be ſtretched by figures that go very high, to think they were all fulfilled in David or Solomon: but in their literal and largeſt ſenſe they were accompliſhed in Chriſt, to whom God ſaid, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* In him that was verified, *Thou wilt not leave my ſoul in hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee corruption. His hands and his feet were pierced, and lots were caſt upon his veſture.* Of him it may be ſtrictly ſaid, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* To him that belonged, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool.* And, *The Lord ſware and will not repent, Thou art a prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedeck.* Deut. xviii. 15. Num. xxiv. 17.

The Prophets gave yet more expreſs predictions concerning the Meſſias. Iſaiah did quiet the fears of Ahaz, and of the houſe of David, by ſaying, *The Lord himſelf ſhall give you a ſign, Behold, a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a ſon.* It was certainly no ſign for one that was a *Virgin*, to conceive afterwards and bear a ſon; therefore the *ſign* or extraordinary thing here promiſed as a ſignal pledge of God's care of the houſe of David, muſt lie in this, that one ſtill remaining a *Virgin* ſhould conceive and bear a ſon; not to inſiſt upon the ſtrict ſignification of the word in the original. The ſame Prophet did alſo foretel, that as this Meſſias, or the *Branch*, ſhould ſpring from the ſtem of Jeſſe, ſo alſo he was to be full of the Spirit of the Lord; and *that the Gentiles ſhould ſeek to him.* In another place he enumerates many of the miracles that ſhould be done by him: he was to give ſight to the blind, make Iſa. viii. 14. Iſa. xi. 1, 2. Ver. 10. Iſa. xxxv. 5, 6.

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ART. VII.

make the deaf to hear, the lame to walk. He does further ſet forth his character; not that of a warrior or conqueror; on the contrary, *He was nòt to cry nor ſtrive, nor break the bruiſed reed, or quench the ſmoking flax; he was to bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, and the iſles were to wait for his law.* There is a whole chapter in the ſame Prophet, ſetting forth the mean appearance that the Meſſias was to make, the contempt he was to fall under, and the ſufferings he was to bear; and that for the ſins of others, which were to be laid on him; ſo that his ſoul or life was to be made an *offering for ſin*, in reward of which he was to be highly exalted. In another place his miſſion is ſet forth, not in the ſtrains of war, or of conqueſt, but of preaching to the poor, ſetting the priſoners free as in a year of jubilee, and comforting the afflicted and ſuch as mourned. In the two laſt chapters of that Prophet mention is made more particularly of the Gentiles that were to be called by him, and the *iſles that were afar off*, out of whom God was to take ſome *for Prieſts and Levites*: which ſhewed plainly, that a new diſpenſation was to be opened by him, in which the Gentiles were to be *Prieſts and Levites*, which could not be done while the Moſaical Law ſtood, that had tied theſe functions to the tribe of Levi, and to the houſe of Aaron. Jeremy renewed the promiſe to the houſe of David, of *a King that ſhould reign and proſper; in whoſe days Judah and Iſrael were to dwell ſafely, whoſe name was to be, The Lord our Righteouſneſs.* It is certain this promiſe was never literally accompliſhed; and therefore recourſe muſt be had to a myſtical ſenſe. The ſame Prophet gives a large account of a *new covenant that God was to make with the houſe of Iſrael, not according to the covenant that he made with their Fathers, when he brought them out of Egypt.* We have alſo two characters given of that covenant: one is, that *God would put his law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts*; that he would be their God, and that they ſhould all be taught of him: the other is, *that he would forgive their iniquities, and remember their ſin no more.* One of theſe is in oppoſition to their Law, that conſiſted chiefly in rituals, and had no promiſes of inward aſſiſtances; and the other is in oppoſition to the limited pardon that was offered in that diſpenſation, on the condition of the many ſacrifices that they were required to offer. There is a prediction to the ſame purpoſe in Ezekiel. Joel prophefied of an extraordinary effuſion of the Spirit of God on great numbers of perſons, old and young, that was to happen before the great and terrible day of the Lord, that

Iſa. xlii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Iſa. liii.

Iſa. lxi.

Jer. xxiii. 5.

Jer. xxxi. 31.

Ezek. xxxvi. 25.

Joel ii. 28.

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ART. VII.

that is, before the final deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Micah, after he had foretold ſeveral things of the diſpenſation of the Meſſiah, ſays that he was to come out of Bethlehem Ephratah. Haggai encouraged thoſe who were troubled at the meanneſs of the Temple, which they had raiſed after their return out of the captivity. It had neither the outward glory in its fabric that Solomon's Temple had, nor the more real glory of the Ark, with the *Tables of the Law*; of *fire from heaven on the altar*; of a *ſucceſſion of prophets*; of the *Urim and Thummim*, and the *cloud* between the cherubims; which laſt, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was the glory; all which had been in Solomon's Temple, but were wanting in that. In oppoſition to this, the Prophet in the name of God promiſed, that he would in a *little while ſhake the heavens and the earth*, and *ſhake all nations*; words that import ſome ſurpriſing and great change; upon which the *deſire of all nations ſhould come, and God would fill the houſe with his glory*; and *the glory of this latter houſe ſhould exceed the glory of the former, for in that place God would give peace*. Here is a plain prophecy, that this Temple was to have a glory, not only equal but ſuperior to the glory of Solomon's Temple: theſe words are too auguſt to be believed to have been accompliſhed, when Herod rebuilt the Temple with much magnificence; for that was nothing in compariſon of the real glory, of the ſymbols of the preſence of God, that were wanting in it. This cannot anſwer the words, that the *deſire of all nations* was to come, and that God would *give peace* in that place. So that either this prophecy was never fulfilled, or ſomewhat muſt be aſſigned during the ſecond Temple, that will anſwer thoſe ſolemn expreſſions, which are plainly applicable to our Saviour, who was the expectation of the *Gentiles*, by whom peace was made, and in whom the eternal Word dwelt in a manner infinitely more auguſt than in the cloud of glory. Zechary prophefied, that *their King*, by which they underſtood the Meſſias, was to be *meek and lowly*, and that he was to make his entrance in a very mean appearance, *riding on an aſs*; but yet under that, he was to *bring ſalvation to them*, and they were to *rejoice greatly in him*. Malachi told them, that *the Lord whom they ſought, even the meſſenger of the covenant in whom they delighted, ſhould ſuddenly come into his Temple*; and that the day of his coming was to be dreadful; that he was to *refine and purify*, in particular, *the Sons of Levi*; and a terrible deſtruction is denounced after that. One character of his coming was, that *Elijah the prophet* was to come before *that great and dreadful*

Micah v. 2. Hag. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Zech. ix. 9.

Mal. iii. 1.

Mal. iv. 1.

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ART. VII.

*ful day*, who ſhould convert many, old and young. Now it is certain that no other perſon came, during the ſecond Temple, to whom theſe words can be applied; ſo that they were not accompliſhed, unleſs it was in the perſon of our Saviour, to whom all theſe characters do well agree.

But to conclude with that prophecy which of all others is the moſt particular: when Daniel at the end of ſeventy years captivity was interceding for that nation, an angel was ſent to him to tell him, that they were to have a new period of ſeventy weeks, that is, ſeven times ſeventy years, 490 years; and that after ſixty-two weeks, *Meſſiah the Prince was to come, and to be cut off*; and that then the *people of a prince ſhould deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary*; and the *end of theſe was to be* as with *a flood* or inundation, and *deſolations were determined to the end of the war*. They were to be deſtroyed by abominable armies, that is, by idolatrous armies: they were to be made deſolate, till an utter end or conſummation ſhould be made of them. The pomp, with which this deſtruction is ſet forth, plainly ſhews, that the final ruin of the Jews by the Roman armies is meant by it. From which it is juſtly inferred, not only that if that viſion was really ſent from God by an angel to Daniel, and in conſequence to that was fulfilled, then the Meſſiah did come, and was cut off during the continuance of Jeruſalem and the Temple; but that it happened within a period of time deſigned in that viſion. Time was then computed more certainly than it had been for many ages before. Two great meaſures were fixed; one at Babylon by Nabonaſſer, and another in Greece in the Olympiads. Here a prediction is given almoſt five hundred years before the accompliſhment, with many very nice reckonings in it. I will not now enter upon the chronology of this matter, on which ſome great men have beſtowed their labours very happily. Archbiſhop Uſher has ſtated this matter ſo, that the interval of time is clearly four hundred eighty-ſix years. The covenant was to be confirmed with many for one week, in the midſt of which God was to cauſe the ſacrifice and oblation for ſin to ceaſe; which ſeems to be a myſtical way of deſcribing the death of Chriſt, that was to put an end to the virtue of the Judaical ſacrifices; ſo ſixty-nine weeks and a half make juſt four hundred eighty-ſix years and a half. But without going further into this calculation, it is evident, that during the ſecond Temple, the Meſſias was to come, and to be cut off, and that ſoon after that a prince was to ſend an army to deſtroy both city and ſanctuary. The Jews do not ſo much as pretend that during

Dan. ix. 24, 25, 26, 27.

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during that Temple the Meſſias thus ſet forth did come, or was cut off; ſo either the prediction failed in the event, or the Meſſias did come within that period. ART. VII.

And thus a thread of the prophecies of the Meſſias being carried down through the whole Old Teſtament, it ſeems to be fully made out, that he was to be of the ſeed of Abraham, and of the poſterity of David: that the tribe of Judah was to be a diſtinct policy, till he ſhould come: that he ſhould work many miracles: that he was to be meek and lowly: that his function was to conſiſt in preaching to the afflicted, and in comforting them: that he was to call the Gentiles, and even the remote iſlands, to the knowledge of God: that he was to be born of a virgin, and at Bethlehem: that he was to be a new lawgiver, as Moſes had been: that he was to ſettle his followers upon a new covenant, different from that made by Moſes: that he was to come during the ſecond Temple: that he was to make a mean, but a joyful entrance to Jeruſalem: that he was to be cut off: that the iniquities of us all were to be laid on him; and that his life was to be made an offering for ſin; but that God was to give him a glorious reward for theſe his ſufferings; and that his doctrine was to be internal, accompanied with a free offer of pardon, and of inward aſſiſtances; and that after his death the Jews were to fall under a terrible curſe, and an utter extirpation. When this is all ſummed up together; when it appears, that there was never any other perſon to whom thoſe characters did agree, but that they did all meet in our Saviour, we ſee what light the Old Teſtament has given us in this matter. Here a nation that hates us and our religion, who are ſcattered up and down the world, who have been for many ages without their temple, and without their ſacrifices, without prieſts, and without their genealogies, who yet hold theſe books among them in a due veneration, which furniſh us with ſo full a proof, that the Meſſiah whom they ſtill look for, is the Lord Jeſus whom we worſhip. We do now proceed to other matters.

The Jews pretend, that it is a great argument againſt the authority of the New Teſtament, becauſe it acknowledges the Old to be from God, and yet repeals the far greater part of the laws enacted in it; though thoſe laws are often ſaid to be *laws for ever*, and *throughout all generations*. Now they ſeem to argue with ſome advantage, who ſay, that what God does declare to be a law that ſhall be perpetual by any one Prophet, cannot be abrogated or reverſed by another, ſince that other can have no more authority

ART. VII. authority than the former Prophet had: and if both are of God, it ſeems the one cannot make void that which was formerly declared by the other in the name of God. But it is to be conſidered, that by the phraſes of *a ſtatute for ever, or throughout all generations*, can only be meant, that ſuch laws were not tranſient laws, ſuch as were only to be obſerved whilſt they marched through the wilderneſs, or upon particular occaſions; whereas ſuch laws which were conſtantly and generally to be obſerved, were to them perpetual. But that does not import that the Lawgiver himſelf had parted with all the authority that naturally belongs to him, over his own laws. It only ſays, that the people had no power over ſuch laws to repeal or change them: they were to bind them always, but that puts no limitation on the Lawgiver himſelf, ſo that he might not alter his own conſtitutions. Poſitive precepts, which have no real value in themſelves, are of their own nature alterable: and as in human laws the words of enacting a law for all future times do only make that to be a perpetual law for the ſubjects, but do not at all limit the legiſlative power, which is as much at liberty to abrogate or alter it, as if no ſuch words had been in the law; there are alſo many hints in the Old Teſtament, which ſhew that the precepts of the Moſaical law were to be altered: many plain intimations are given of a time and ſtate, in which the knowledge of God was to be ſpread over all the earth: and that God was every where to be worſhipped. Now this was impoſſible to be done without a change in their law and rituals: it being impoſſible that all the world ſhould go up thrice a year to worſhip at Jeruſalem, or could be ſerved by prieſts of the Aaronical family. Circumciſion was a diſtinction of one particular race, which needed not to be continued after all were brought under one denomination, and within the ſame common privileges.

Theſe things hitherto mentioned belong naturally to this part of the Article: yet in the intention of thoſe who framed it, theſe words relate to an extravagant ſort of enthuſiaſts that lived in thoſe days; who abuſing ſome ill-underſtood phraſes concerning Juſtification by Chriſt without the works of the Law, came to ſet up very wild notions, which were bad in themſelves, but much more pernicious in their conſequences. They therefore fancied that a Chriſtian was tied by no law, as a rule or yoke; all theſe being taken away by Chriſt: they ſaid indeed, that a Chriſtian by his renovation became a law to himſelf; he obeyed not any written rule or law, but a new

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new inward nature: and thus as it is ſaid that Sadocus miſtook his maſter Antigonus, who taught his diſciples to ſerve God, not for the hope of a reward, but without any expectations, as if he by that affectation of ſublimity had denied that there was any reward, and from thence ſprung the ſect of the Sadducees: ſo theſe men, perhaps at firſt miſtaking the meaning of the New Teſtament, went wrong only in their notions; and ſtill meant to preſs the neceſſity of true holineſs, though in another ſet of phraſes, and upon other motives; yet from thence many wild and ungoverned notions aroſe then, and were not long ago revived among us: all which flowed from their not underſtanding the importance of the word Law in the New Teſtament, in which it ſtands moſt commonly for the complex of the whole Jewiſh religion, in oppoſition to the Chriſtian; as the word Law, when it ſtands for a book, is meant of the five Books of Moſes. ART. VII.

The maintaining the whole frame of that diſpenſation, in oppoſition to that liberty which the Apoſtles granted to the Gentiles, as to the ritual parts of it, was the controverſy then in debate between the Apoſtles and the Judaizing Chriſtians. The ſtating that matter aright is a key that will open all thoſe difficulties, which with it will appear eaſy, and without it inſuperable. In oppoſition to theſe, who thought then that the Old Teſtament, having brought the world on to the knowledge of the Meſſias, was now of no more uſe, this Article was framed.

The ſecond part of the Article relates to a more intricate matter; and that is, whether in the Old Teſtament there were any promiſes made, other than tranſitory or temporal ones, and whether they might look for eternal ſalvation in that diſpenſation, and upon what account? Whether Chriſt was the Mediator in that diſpenſation, or if they were ſaved by virtue of their obedience to the laws that were then given them. Thoſe who deny that Chriſt was truly God, think that in order to the raiſing him to thoſe great characters in which he is propoſed in the New Teſtament, it is neceſſary to aſſert that he gave the firſt aſſurances of eternal happineſs, and of a free and full pardon of all ſins, in his Goſpel: and that in the Old Teſtament neither the one nor the other were certainly and diſtinctly underſtood.

It is true, that if we take the words of the covenant that Moſes made between God and the people of Iſrael ſtrictly and as they ſtand, they import only temporal bleſſings: that was a covenant with a body of men and



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ART. VII.

with their poſterity, as they were a people engaged to the obedience of that law. Now a national covenant could only be eſtabliſhed in temporal promiſes of public and viſible bleſſings, and of a long continuance of them upon their obedience, and in threatenings of as ſignal judgments upon the violation of them: but under thoſe general promiſes of what was to happen to them collectively, as they made up one nation, every ſingle perſon among them might, and the good men among them did, gather the hopes of a future ſtate. It is clear that Moſes did all along ſuppoſe the being of God, the creation of the world, and the promiſe of the Meſſias, as things fully known and carried down by tradition to his days: ſo it ſeems he did alſo ſuppoſe the knowledge of a future ſtate, which was then generally believed by the Gentiles as well as the Jews; though they had only dark and confuſed notions about it. But when God was eſtabliſhing a covenant with the Jewiſh nation, a main part of which was his giving them the land of Canaan for an inheritance, it was not neceſſary that eternal rewards or puniſhments ſhould be then propoſed to them: but from the tenor of the promiſes made to their forefathers, and from the general principles of natural religion, not yet quite extinguiſhed among them, they might gather this, that under thoſe carnal promiſes, bleſſings of a higher nature were to be underſtood. And ſo we ſee that David had the hope of arriving *at the preſence of God*, and *at his right hand*, where he believed there was *a fulneſs of joy, and pleaſures for evermore:* and he puts himſelf in this oppoſition to the wicked, that whereas *their portion was in this life, and they left their ſubſtance to their children*; he ſays, that as for him, he ſhould *behold God's face in righteouſneſs*, and ſhould *be ſatisfied when he awaked with his likeneſs*; which ſeems plainly to relate to a ſtate after this life, and to the reſurrection. He carries this oppoſition further in another Pſalm, where after he had ſaid, that *men in honour did not continue, but were like the beaſts that periſhed: that none of them could purchaſe immortality for his brother, that he ſhould ſtill live for ever, and not ſee corruption: they all died and left their wealth to others, and like ſheep they were laid in the grave, where death ſhould feed on them:* in oppoſition to which he ſays, that *the upright ſhould have dominion over them in the morning:* which is clearly a poetical expreſſion for another day that comes after the night of death. As for himſelf in particular, he ſays, that *God ſhall redeem my ſoul* (that is, his life, or his body, for in thoſe ſenſes the word ſoul is uſed in the

Pſ. xvi. 11.

Pſ. xvii. 14, 15.

Pſ. xlix. 14, 15.

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Old Teſtament) *from the power of the grave:* that is, from continuing in that ſtate of death; for *he ſhall receive me.* This does very clearly ſet forth David's belief, both of future happineſs, and of the reſurrection of his body. To which might be added ſome other paſſages in the Pſalms, Eccleſiaſtes, Iſaiah, and Daniel: in all which it appears, that the holy men in that diſpenſation did underſtand, that under thoſe promiſes in the Books of Moſes that ſeemed literally to belong to the land of Canaan, and other temporal bleſſings, there was a ſpiritual meaning hid, which it ſeems was conveyed down by that ſucceſſion of Prophets, that was among them, as the myſtical ſenſe of them.

ART. VII.

Pſ. lxxxiv. 11. lxxxvii. 6. xc. 17. xcvi. 13. Eccl. xi. 9. xii. 14. Iſa. xxv. 8. xxvi. 19. Dan. xii. 2.

It is to this that our Saviour ſeems to appeal, when the Sadducees came to puzzle him with that queſtion of the ſeven brethren, who had all married one wife: he firſt tells them, *they erred, not knowing the Scriptures*; which plainly imports, that the doctrine, which they denied, was contained in the Scriptures: and then he goes to prove it, not from thoſe more expreſs paſſages that are in the Prophets and holy writers, which as ſome think the Sadducees rejected; but from the Law, which being the ſource of their religion, it might ſeem a juſt prejudice againſt any doctrine, eſpecially if it was of great conſequence, that it was not contained in the Law. Therefore he cites theſe words that are ſo often repeated, and that were ſo much conſidered by the Jews, as containing in them the foundation of God's love to them; that God ſaid upon many occaſions, particularly at his firſt appearance to Moſes, *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob.* Which words imported, not only that God had been their God, but ſtill was their God: now when God is ſaid to be a God to any, by that is meant, that he is their benefactor, or *exceeding rich reward*, as was promiſed to Abraham. And that therefore Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob *lived unto God*, that is, were not dead; but were then in a happy ſtate of life, in which God did reward them, and ſo was their God. Whether this argument reſts here, our Saviour deſigning only to prove, againſt the main error of the Sadducees, that we have ſouls diſtinct from our bodies, that ſhall outlive their ſeparation from them; or if it goes further to prove the riſing of the body itſelf, I ſhall not determine. On the one hand our Saviour ſeems to apply himſelf particularly to prove the reſurrection of the body; ſo we muſt ſee how to find here an argument for that, to anſwer the ſcope of the whole diſcourſe: yet on the other hand it may be ſaid,

Mat. xxii. 29.

Ver. 31, 32. Exod. iii. 6.



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ART. VII.

that he having proved the main point of the ſoul's ſubſiſting after death, which is the foundation of all religion; the other point, which was chiefly denied, becauſe that was thought falſe, would be more eaſily both acknowledged and believed.

As for the reſurrection of the body, all that can be brought from hence as an argument to prove it is, that ſince God was the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and by conſequence their benefactor and rewarder, and yet they were pilgrims on this earth, and ſuffered many toſſings and troubles, that therefore they muſt be rewarded in another ſtate; or becauſe God promiſed that to them he would give the land of Canaan, as well as to their ſeed after them, and ſince they never had any portion of it in their own poſſeſſion, that therefore they ſhall riſe again, and with the other ſaints reign on earth, and have that promiſe fulfilled in themſelves.

From all this the aſſertion of the Article is as to one main point made good, that the old fathers looked for more than tranſitory promiſes: it is alſo clear, that they looked for a further pardon of ſin, than that which their law held forth to them in the expiation made by ſacrifices. Sins of ignorance, or ſins of a lower ſort, were thoſe only for which *Sin* or *Treſpaſs-Offerings* were appointed. The
Heb. x. 28. ſins of a higher order were puniſhed by death, by the hand of heaven, or by cutting off; ſo that ſuch as ſinned in that kind were to die without mercy: yet when David had fallen into the moſt heinous of thoſe ſins, he
Pſal. li. 1, 2, 16, 17. prays to God for a pardon, according to God's loving-kindneſs, and the multitude of his tender mercies: for he knew that they were beyond the expiation by ſacrifice. The Prophets do often call the Jews to repent of their idolatry and other crying ſins, ſuch as oppreſſion, injuſtice, and murder; with the promiſe of the pardon of them;
Iſa. i. 18. even though they were of the deepeſt dye, as crimſon and ſcarlet. Since then for leſſer ſins an expiation was appointed by ſacrifice, beſides their confeſſing and repenting of it; and ſince it ſeems, by St. Paul's way of arguing, that they held it for a maxim, that *without ſhedding of blood there was no remiſſion of ſins*; this might naturally lead them to think that there was ſome other conſideration that was interpoſed in order to the pardoning of thoſe more heinous ſins: for a greater degree of guilt ſeems by a natural proportion to demand a higher degree of ſacri-
Iſa. liii. Dan. ix. fice and expiation. But after all, whatſoever Iſaiah, Daniel, or any other Prophet might have underſtood or meant by thoſe ſacrificatory phraſes that they uſe in ſpeaking

ART. VII.

ſpeaking of the Meſſiah, yet it cannot be ſaid from the Old Teſtament, that in that diſpenſation it was clearly revealed that the Meſſias was to die, and to become a ſacrifice for ſin: the Meſſias was indeed promiſed under general terms; but there was not then a full and explicit revelation of his being to die for the redemption of mankind; yet ſince the moſt heinous ſins were then pardoned, though not by virtue of the ſacrifices of that covenant, nor by the other means preſcribed in it, we have good reaſon to affirm, that, according to this Article, life was offered to mankind in the old diſpenſation by Chriſt, who was, with relation to obtaining the favour of God, and everlaſting life, the Mediator of that as well as of the new diſpenſation. In the New Teſtament he is ſet in oppoſition to the old Adam, *that as in the one all died, ſo in the other all were made alive:* nor is it any way incongruous to ſay, that the merit of his death ſhould by an anticipation have ſaved thoſe who died before he was born: for that being in the view of God as certain before, as after it was done, it might be in the divine intention the ſacrifice for the old, as well as it is expreſsly declared to be the ſacrifice for the new diſpenſation. And this being ſo, God might have pardoned ſins in conſideration of it, even to thoſe who had no diſtinct apprehenſions concerning it. For as God applies the death of Chriſt, by the ſecret methods of his grace, to many perſons whoſe circumſtances do render them incapable of the expreſs acts of laying hold on it, the want of thoſe (for inſtance, in infants and ideots) being ſupplied by the goodneſs of God: ſo though the revelation that was made of the Meſſias to the fathers under the old diſpenſation, was only in general and prophetical terms, of which they could not have a clear and diſtinct knowledge; yet his death might be applied to them, and their ſins pardoned through him, upon their performing ſuch acts as were proportioned to that diſpenſation, and to the revelation that was then made: and ſo they were reconciled to God even after ſins, for which no ſacrifices were appointed by their diſpenſation, upon their repentance and obedience to the fœderal acts and conditions then required, which ſupplied the want of more expreſs acts with relation to the death of Chriſt, not then diſtinctly revealed to them. But though the old fathers had a conveyance of the hope of eternal life made to them, with a reſurrection of their bodies, and a confidence in the mercy of God, for pardoning the moſt heinous ſins; yet it cannot be denied, but that it was as *a light that ſhined in a dark place, till the Day-ſtar* 2 Pet. i. 19.

ART. VII.

*did ariſe*, and that Chriſt *brought life and immortality to light by his Goſpel*; giving us fuller and clearer diſcoveries of it, both with relation to our ſouls and bodies; and that by him alſo God *has declared his righteouſneſs for the remiſſion of ſins, through the forbearance of God, through the redemption that is in Chriſt Jeſus, and through faith in his blood.*

Rom. iii. 24, 25.

The third branch of this Article will not need much explanation, as it will bear no diſpute, except with Jews, who do not acknowledge the New Teſtament. The ceremonial parts of the Moſaical Law, which comprehends all both the negative and the poſitive precepts, were enjoined the Jews either with relation to the worſhip of God and ſervice at the Temple, or to their perſons and courſe of life.

That which is not moral of its own nature, or that had no relation to civil ſociety, was commanded them, to ſeparate them not only from the idolatrous and magical practices of other nations, but to diſtinguiſh them ſo entirely as to all their cuſtoms, even in the rules of eating and of cleanneſs, that they might have no familiar commerce with other nations, but live within and among themſelves; ſince that was very likely to corrupt them, of which they had very large experience. Some of thoſe rituals were perhaps given them as puniſhments for their frequent revolts, and were as a yoke upon them, who were ſo prone to idolatry. They were as rudiments and remembrances to them: they were as it were ſubdued by a great variety of precepts, which were matter both of much charge and great trouble to them: by theſe they were alſo amuſed; for it ſeems they did naturally love a pompous exterior in religion; they were alſo, by all that train of performances which were laid on them, kept in mind both of the great bleſſings of God to them, and of the obligations that lay on them towards God; and many of thoſe, particularly their ſacrifices and waſhings, were typical. All this was proper and neceſſary to reſtrain and govern them, while they were the only people in the world that renounced idolatry, and worſhipped the true God: and therefore ſo ſoon as that of which they had an emblem in the ſtructure of their Temple (of a court of the Gentiles ſeparated with a middle wall of partition, from the place in which the Iſraelites worſhipped) was to be removed, and that the houſe of God was to become *a houſe of prayer to all nations*, then all thoſe diſtinctions were to be laid aſide, and all that ſervice was to determine and come to an end. The Apoſtles did declare, that the Gentiles were not to be brought

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brought under that heavy yoke, which their fathers were not able to bear; yet the Apoſtles themſelves, as born Jews, and while they lived among the Jews, did continue in the obſervance of their rites, as long as God ſeemed to be waiting for the remnant of that nation that was to be ſaved, before his wrath came upon the reſt to the uttermoſt. They went to the Temple, they purified themſelves; and, in a word, *to the Jews they became Jews*; and in this compliance, the firſt converts of the Jewiſh nation continued till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; after which, it became impoſſible to obſerve the greateſt part of their moſt important rituals, even all thoſe that were tied to the Temple. But that nation loſing its genealogies, and all the other characters that they formerly had of a nation under the favour and protection of God, could no more know after a few ages, whether they were the ſeed of Abraham or not, or whether there were any left among them of the tribe of Levi, or of the family of Aaron. So that now all thoſe ceremonies are at an end; many of them are become impoſſible, and the reſt uſeleſs; as the whole was abrogated by the authority of the Apoſtles, who being ſent of God, and proving their miſſion by miracles, as well as Moſes had done his, they might well have *looſed* and diſſolved thoſe precepts upon earth, upon which, according to our Saviour's words, they are to be eſteemed as *looſed in heaven*. ART. VII.

The judiciary parts of the Law were thoſe that related to them as they were a ſociety of men, to whom God by a ſpecial command gave authority to drive out and deſtroy a wicked race of people, and to poſſeſs their land; which God appointed to be divided equally among them, and that every portion ſhould be as a perpetuity to a family; ſo that though it might be mortgaged out for a number of years, yet it was afterwards to revert to the family. Upon this bottom they were at firſt ſet; and they were ſtill to be preſerved upon it; ſo that many laws were given them as they were a civil ſociety, which cannot belong to any other ſociety: and therefore their whole judiciary law, except when any parts of it are founded on moral equity, was a complicated thing, and can belong to no other nation, that is not in its firſt and eſſential conſtitution made and framed as they were. For inſtance; the prohibition of taking uſe for money, being a mean to preſerve that equality which was among them, and to keep any of them from becoming exceſſively rich, or others from becoming miſerably poor, this is by no means to be applied to other conſtitutions, where men are left to their induſtry,



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ART. VII.

and neither have their inheritance by a grant from heaven, nor are put by any ſpecial appointment of God all upon a level. So that it is certain, and can bear no debate, that the Moſaical diſpenſation, as to all the parts of it that are not of their own nature moral, is determined and abrogated by the Goſpel. The deciſions which the Apoſtles made in this matter are ſo clear, and for the proof of them, the whole tenor of the Epiſtles to the Galatians and the Hebrews is ſo full, that no doubt can reſt concerning this, with any man who reads them.

The laſt branch of this Article that remains to be conſidered, is concerning the Moral Law, by which the Ten Commandments are meant, together with all ſuch precepts as do belong to them, or are corollaries ariſing out of them. By *Moral Law* is to be underſtood, in oppoſition to *Poſitive*, a law which has an anteoedent foundation in the nature of things, that ariſes from eternal reaſon, is ſuitable to the frame and powers of our ſouls, and is neceſſary for maintaining of human ſociety. All ſuch laws are commanded, becauſe they are in themſelves good, and ſuitable to the ſtate in which God has put us here. The two ſources, out of which all the notions of morality flow, are firſt the conſideration of ourſelves as we are ſingle individuals, and that with relation both to ſoul and body; and next the conſideration of human ſociety, what is neceſſary for the peace and order, the ſafety and happineſs, of mankind. There are two orders of moral precepts; ſome relate to things that of their own nature are inflexibly good or evil, ſuch as truth and falſehood; whereas other things, by a variety of circumſtances, may ſo change their nature, that they may be either morally good or evil: a merciful or generous temper is always a good moral quality, and yet it may run to exceſſes: there may be many things that are not unalterably moral in themſelves, which yet may be fit ſubjects of perpetual laws about them. For inſtance; in the degrees of kindred with relation to marriage, there are no degrees but direct aſcendants or deſcendants, that is, parents and children, that by an eternal reaſon can never marry; for where there is a natural ſubordination, there can never be ſuch an equality as that ſtate of life requires: but collateral degrees, even the neareſt, brothers and ſiſters, are not by any natural law barred marriage, and therefore in a caſe of neceſſity they might marry: yet ſince their intermarrying muſt be attended with vaſt inconveniences, and would tend to the defilement of all families, and hinder the conjunction of mankind by the intermixture of different families; it becomes

ART. VII.

cases therefore a fit subject for a perpetual law, to strike a horror at the thought of such commixtures, and so to keep the world pure; which, considering the freedoms in which those of the same family do live, could not be preserved without such a law. It is also the interest of mankind, and necessary for the careful education of the rising generation, that marriages should be for life; for if it were free for married persons to separate at pleasure, the issue of marriages so broken would be certainly much neglected: and since a power to break a marriage would naturally inflame such little quarrellings as may happen among all persons that live together, which will on the contrary be certainly repressed, when they know that the marriage cannot be dissolved, and when, by such a dissolution of marriages, the one half of the human species, I mean woman-kind, is exposed to great miseries, and subject to much tyranny, it is a fit subject for a perpetual law; so that it is moral in a secondary order. It were easy to give instances of this in many more particulars, and to shew, that a precept may be said to be moral, when there is a natural suitableness in it to advance that which is moral in the first order, and that it cannot be well preserved without such a support. It will appear what occasion there is for this distinction, when we consider the Ten Commandments; which are so many heads of morality, that are instanced in the highest act of a kind; and to which are to be reduced all such acts as by the just proportions of morality belong to that order and series of actions.

The foundation of morality is religion. The sense of God, that he is, and that he is both a rewarder and a punisher, is the foundation of religion. Now this must be supposed as antecedent to his laws, for we regard and obey them from the persuasion that is formed in us concerning the being and the justice of God: the two first Commandments are against the two different sorts of idolatry; which are, the worshipping of false Gods, or the worshipping the true God in a corporeal figure: the one is the giving the honour of the true God to an idol, and the other is the depressing the true God to the resemblance of an idol. These were the two great branches of idolatry, by which the true ideas of God were corrupted. Religion was by them corrupted in its source. Nobody can question but that it is immoral to worship a false God; it is a transferring the honour, which belongs immediately and singly to the great God, to a creature, or to some imaginary thing which never had a real existence,

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ART. VII.

ence. This is the robbing God of what is due to him, and the exalting another thing to a degree and rank that cannot belong to it. Nor is it leſs immoral to propoſe the great and true God to be worſhipped under appearances that are derogatory to his nature, that tend to give us low thoughts of him, and that make us think him like, if not below ourſelves. This way of worſhipping him is both unſuitable to his nature, and unbecoming ours; while we pay our adorations to that which is the work of an artificer. This is confirmed by thoſe many expreſs prohibitions in Scripture, to which reaſons are added, which ſhew that the thing is immoral in its own nature: it being often repeated, that no ſimilitude of God was ever ſeen: and *to whom will ye liken me?* All things in heaven and earth are often called the *work of his hands:* which are plain indications of a moral precept, when arguments are framed from the nature of things to enforce obedience to it. The reaſon given in the very command itſelf, is taken from the nature of God, who is jealous; that is, ſo tender of his glory, that he will not ſuffer a diminution of it to go unpuniſhed; and if this precept is clearly founded upon natural juſtice, and the proportion that ought to be kept between all human acts and their objects, then it muſt be perpetual; and that the rather, becauſe we do plainly ſee that the Goſpel is a refining upon the Law of Moſes, and does exalt it to a higher pitch of ſublimity and purity: and by conſequence the ideas of God, which are the firſt ſeeds and principles of religion, are to be kept yet more pure and undefiled in it, than they were in a lower diſpenſation.

Ex. iii. 1. Lev. xix. 12. Mat. v 33.

The third precept is againſt falſe Swearing: for the word *vain* is often uſed in the Scripture in that ſenſe: and ſince in all the other Commandments, the ſin which is named is not one of the loweſt, but of the chief ſins that relate to that head; there is no reaſon therefore to think, that *vain* or idle ſwearing, which is a ſin of a lower order, ſhould be here meant, and not rather falſe ſwearing, which is the higheſt ſin of the kind. The morality of this command is very apparent; for ſince God is the God of truth, and every oath is an appeal to him, therefore it muſt be a groſs wickedneſs to appeal to God, or to call him to vouch for our lies.

The fourth Commandment cannot be called moral in the firſt and higheſt ſenſe; for from the nature of things no reaſon can be aſſigned, why the ſeventh day, rather than the ſixth, or the eighth, or any other day, ſhould be ſeparated from the common buſineſs of life, and applied to the

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the ſervice of God. But it is moral that a man ſhould pay homage to his Maker, and acknowledge him in all his works and ways: and ſince our ſenſes and ſenſible objects are apt to wear better things out of our thoughts, it is neceſſary that ſome ſolemn times ſhould be ſet apart for full and copious meditations on theſe ſubjects: this ſhould be univerſal, leſt, if the time were not the ſame every where, the buſineſs of ſome men might interfere with the devotions of others. It ought to have ſuch an eminent character on it, like a ceſſation from buſineſs: which may both awaken a curioſity to enquire into the reaſon of that ſtop, and alſo may give opportunity for meditations and diſcourſes on thoſe ſubjects. It is alſo clear, that ſuch days of reſt muſt not return ſo oft, that the neceſſary affairs of life ſhould be ſtopped by them, nor ſo ſeldom, that the impreſſions of religion ſhould wear out, if they were too ſeldom awakened: but what is the proper proportion of time, that can beſt agree both with men's bodies and minds, is only known to the great Author of nature. Howſoever, from what has been ſaid, it appears that this is a very fit matter to be fixed by ſome ſacred and perpetual law, and that from the firſt creation; becauſe there being then no other method for conveying down knowledge, beſides oral tradition, it ſeems as highly congruous to that ſtate of mankind, as it is agreeable to the words in Geneſis, to believe that God ſhould then have appointed one day in ſeven for commemorating the creation, and for acknowledging the great Creator of all things. But though it ſeems very clear, that here a perpetual law was given the world for the ſeparating the ſeventh day; yet it was a mere circumſtance, and does not at all belong to the ſtanding uſe of the law, in what end of the week this day was to be reckoned, whether the firſt or the laſt: ſo that even a leſs authority than the Apoſtles, and a leſs occaſion than the reſurrection of Chriſt, might have ſerved to have transferred the day. There being in this no breach made on the good and moral deſign of this law, which is all in it that we ought to reckon ſacred and unalterable: the degree of the reſt might be alſo more ſeverely urged under the Moſaical Law, than either before it or after it. Our Saviour having given plain intimations of an abatement of that rigour, by this general rule, that *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath*. We, who are called to a ſtate of freedom, are not under ſuch a ſtrictneſs as the Jews were. Still the law ſtands for ſeparating a ſeventh day from the common buſineſs of life, and applying it to a religious reſt, for acknowledging

ART. VII.

Mark ii. 27.

at

ART. VII.

at first the Creator, and now, by a higher relation, the Redeemer of the world.

These four Commandments make the first Table, and were generally reckoned as four distinct Commandments, till the Roman Church having a mind to make the second disappear, threw it in as an appendix to the first, and then left it quite out in her catechisms: though it is plain that these Commandments relate to two very different matters, the one being in no sort included in the other. Certainly they are much more different than the coveting the neighbour's wife is from the coveting any of his other concerns; which are plainly two different acts of the same species: and the *house* being set before the *wife* in Exodus (though it comes after it in Deuteronomy, which, being a repetition, is to be governed by Exodus, and not Exodus by it) stands for the whole substance, which is afterwards branched out in the particulars; and so it is clear that there is no colour for dividing this in two: but the first two Commandments relating to things of such a different sort, as is the worshipping of more Gods than one, and the worshipping the true God in an image, ought still to be reckoned as different: and though the reason given for the jealousy and justice of God may relate equally to both, yet that does not make them otherwise one, than as both might be reduced to one common head of idolatry, so that both were to be equally punished.

Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 21.

In the second Table this order is to be observed. There are four branches of a man's property, to which every thing that he can call his own may be reduced: his person, his wife and children, his goods, and his reputation: so there is a negative precept given to secure him in every one of these, against killing, committing adultery, stealing, and bearing false witness: to which, as the chief acts of their kind, are to be reduced all those acts that may belong to those heads: such as injuries to a man in his person, though not carried on nor designed to kill him; every temptation to uncleanness, and all those excesses that lead to it; every act of injustice, and every lie or defamation. To these four are added two fences; the one exterior, the other interior. The exterior is the settling the obedience and order that ought to be observed in families, according to the law of nature: and, by a parity of reason, if families are under a constitution, where the government is made as a common parent, the establishing the obedience to the civil powers, or to such orders of men who may be made as parents, with relation to matters of religion: this is the foundation of peace

peace and juſtice, of the ſecurity and happineſs of mankind. And therefore it was very proper to begin the ſecond Table, and thoſe laws that relate to human ſociety, with this; without which the world would be like a foreſt, and mankind, like ſo many ſavages, running wildly through it. ART. VII.

The laſt Commandment is an inward fence to the Law: it checks deſires, and reſtrains the thoughts. If free ſcope ſhou'd be given to theſe, as they would very often carry men to unlawful actions, for a man is very apt to do that which he deſires, ſo they muſt give great diſturbance to thoſe that are haunted or overcome by them. And therefore as a mean both to ſecure the quiet of men's minds, and to preſerve the world from the ill effects which ſuch deſires might naturally have, this ſpecial law is given; *Thou ſhalt not covet.* It will not be eaſy to prove it *moral* in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, yet in a ſecondary order it may be well called *moral:* the matter of it being ſuch both with relation to ourſelves and others, that it is a very proper ſubject for a perpetual law to be made about it. And yet, as St. Paul ſays, he had not known it to be a ſin, if it had not been for the law that forbids it; for after all that can be ſaid, it will not be eaſy to prove it to be of its own nature moral. Thus, by the help of that diſtinction, of what is moral in a primary and in a ſecondary order, the morality of the Ten Commandments is demonſtrated. Rom. vii. 7.

That this law obliges Chriſtians as well as Jews, is evident from the whole ſcope of the New Teſtament. Inſtead of derogating from the obligation of any part of that law, our Saviour after he had affirmed, that *he came not to diſſolve the Law, but to fulfil it*, and *that heaven and earth might paſs away, but that one tittle of the Law ſhould not paſs away*; he went through a great many of thoſe laws, and ſhewed how far he extended the commentary he put upon them, and the obligations that he laid upon his Diſciples, beyond what was done by the Jewiſh Rabbies: all the reſt of his Goſpel, and the writings of his Apoſtles agree with this, in which there is not a tittle that looks like a ſlackening of it, but a great deal to the contrary: a ſtrictneſs that reaches to idle words, to paſſionate thoughts, and to all impure deſires, being enjoined as indiſpenſably neceſſary; for *without holineſs no man can ſee the Lord.* Mat. v. 17, 18.

And thus every thing relating to this Article is conſidered, and I hope both explained and proved.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### Of the Three Creeds.

**The Three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanaſius Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, ought throughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by moſt certain Warrants of Holy Scripture.**

ALTHOUGH no doubt ſeems to be here made of the names or deſignations given to thoſe Creeds, except of that which is aſcribed to the Apoſtles, yet none of them are named with any exactneſs: ſince the article of the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and all that follows it, is not in the Nicene Creed, but was uſed in the Church as a part of it; for ſo it is in Epiphanius, before the ſecond General Council at Conſtantinople; and it was confirmed and eſtabliſhed in that Council: only the article of the Holy Ghoſt's *proceeding from the Son*, was afterwards added firſt in Spain, anno 447, which ſpread itſelf over all the Weſt: ſo that the Creed here called the Nice Creed is indeed the Conſtantinopolitan Creed, together with the addition of *filioque* made by the Weſtern Church. That which is called Athanaſius's Creed is not his neither; for as it is not among his works, ſo that great article of the Chriſtian religion having been ſettled at Nice, and he and all the reſt of the orthodox referring themſelves always to the Creed made by that Council, there is no reaſon to imagine that he would have made a Creed of his own; beſides, that not only the Macedonian, but both the Neſtorian and the Eutychian hereſies are expreſsly condemned by this Creed; and yet thoſe authorities never being urged in thoſe diſputes, it is clear from thence, that no ſuch Creed was then known in the world; as indeed it was never heard of before the eighth century; and then it was given out as the Creed of Athanaſius, or as a repreſentation of his doctrine, and ſo it grew to be received by the Weſtern Church; perhaps the more early, becauſe it went under ſo great a name, in ages that were not critical enough to judge of what was genuine, and what was ſpurious.

In Anchoraſto.

There is one great difficulty that ariſes out of ſeveral expreſſions in this Creed, in which it is ſaid, that *whoſoever will be ſaved, muſt believe it*; that the belief of it is *neceſſary*

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*neceſſary to ſalvation*; and that ſuch as do not *hold it pure and undefiled*, ſhall without doubt *periſh everlaſtingly*: where many explanations of a myſtery hard to be underſtood are made indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſalvation; and it is affirmed, that all ſuch as do not ſo believe muſt periſh everlaſtingly. To this two anſwers are made: 1. That it is only the Chriſtian faith in general that is hereby meant, and not every period and article of this Creed; ſo that all thoſe ſevere expreſſions are thought to import only the neceſſity of believing the Chriſtian religion: but this ſeems forced; for the words that follow, *and the Catholic faith is*, do ſo plainly determine the ſignification of that word to the explanation that comes after, that the word *Catholic faith*, in the firſt verſe, can be no other than the ſame word, as it is defined in the third and following verſes; ſo that this anſwer ſeems not natural. 2. The common anſwer in which the moſt eminent men of this Church, as far as the memory of all ſuch as I have known could go up, have agreed, is this, that theſe condemnatory expreſſions are only to be underſtood to relate to thoſe who, having the means of inſtruction offered to them, have rejected them, and have ſtifled their own convictions, holding the truth in unrighteouſneſs, and chooſing darkneſs rather than light: upon ſuch as do thus reject this great article of the Chriſtian doctrine, concerning one God and Three Perſons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and that other concerning the Incarnation of Chriſt, by which God and man was ſo united as to make one perſon, together with the other doctrines that follow theſe, are thoſe anathemas denounced: not ſo as if it were hereby meant, that every man who does not believe this in every tittle muſt certainly periſh, unleſs he has been furniſhed with ſufficient means of conviction, and that he has rejected them, and hardened himſelf againſt them. The wrath of God is *revealed againſt all ſin*, and *the wages of ſin is death*: ſo that every ſinner has the wrath of God abiding on him, and is in a ſtate of damnation: yet a ſincere repentance delivers him out of it, even though he lives and dies in ſome ſins of ignorance; which though they may make him liable to damnation, ſo that nothing but true repentance can deliver him from it; yet a general repentance, when it is alſo ſpecial for all known ſins, does certainly deliver a man from the guilt of unknown ſins, and from the wrath of God due to them. God only knows our hearts, the degrees of our knowledge, and the meaſure of our obſtinacy, and how far our ignorance is affected or invincible; and therefore he will deal with every

ART. VIII.

ART. VIII.

every man according to what he has received. So that we may believe that ſome doctrines are neceſſary to ſalvation, as well as that there are ſome commandments neceſſary for practice; and we may alſo believe that ſome errors as well as ſome ſins are excluſive of ſalvation; all which imports no more than that we believe ſuch things are ſufficiently revealed, and that they are neceſſary conditions of ſalvation; but by this we do not limit the mercies of God towards thoſe who are under ſuch darkneſs as not to be able to ſee through it, and to diſcern and acknowledge theſe truths. It were indeed to be wiſhed, that ſome expreſs declaration to this purpoſe were made by thoſe who have authority to do it: but in the mean while, this being the ſenſe in which the words of this Creed are univerſally taken, and it agreeing with the phraſeology of the Scripture upon the like occaſions, this is that which may be reſted upon. And allowing this large explanation of theſe ſevere words, the reſt of this Creed imports no more than the belief of the doctrine of the Trinity, which has been already proved, in treating of the former Articles.

As for the Creed called the Apoſtles' Creed, there is good reaſon for ſpeaking ſo doubtfully of it as the Article does, ſince it does not appear that any determinate Creed was made by them: none of the firſt writers agree in delivering their faith in a certain form of words; every one of them gives an abſtract of his faith, in words that differ both from one another, and from this form. From thence it is clear that there was no common form delivered to all the Churches: and if there had been any tradition, after the times of the Council of Nice, of ſuch a Creed compoſed by the Apoſtles, the Arians had certainly put the chief ſtrength of their cauſe on this, that they adhered to the Apoſtles' Creed, in oppoſition to the innovations of the Nicene Fathers: there is therefore no reaſon to believe that this Creed was prepared by the Apoſtles, or that it was of any great antiquity, ſince Ruffin was the firſt that publiſhed it: it is true, he publiſhed it as the Creed of the Church of Aquileia; but that was ſo late, that neither this nor the other Creeds have any authority upon their own account. Great reſpect is indeed due to things of ſuch antiquity, and that have been ſo long in the Church; but, after all, we receive thoſe Creeds, not for their own ſakes, nor for the ſake of thoſe who prepared them, but for the ſake of the doctrine that is contained in them; becauſe we believe that the doctrine which they declare is contained in the Scriptures, and chiefly that which is the main

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main intent of them, which is to assert and profess the Trinity, therefore we do receive them; though we must acknowledge that the Creed ascribed to Athanasius, as it was none of his, so it was never established by any General Council. ART. VIII.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### Of Original or Birth-Sin.

**Original Sin ſtandeth not in the following of** Adam, (as the Pelagians **do vainly talk,**) **but it is the fault or corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the Offspring of** Adam, **whereby man is very far gone from Original Righteouſneſs, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, ſo that the Fleſh luſteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every Perſon born into the World it deſerveth God's Wrath and Damnation: And this Infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the Luſt of the Fleſh, called in** Greek φρόνημα σαρκὸς, **which ſome do expound the Wiſdom, ſome Senſuality, ſome the Affection, ſome the Deſire of the Fleſh, is not ſubject to the Law of God. And though there is no Condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apoſtle doth confeſs, That Concupiſcence and Luſt hath of itſelf the nature of Sin.**

AFTER the firſt principles of the Chriſtian religion are ſtated, and the rule of faith and life was ſettled, the next thing that was to be done, was to declare the ſpecial doctrines of this religion; and that firſt with relation to all Chriſtians, as they are ſingle individuals, for the directing every one of them in order to the working out his own ſalvation; which is done from this to the nineteenth Article: and then with relation to them as they compoſe a ſociety called the Church; which is carried on from the nineteenth to the end.

In all that has been hitherto explained, the whole Church of England has been all along of one mind. In this and in ſome that follow there has been a greater diverſity of opinion; but both ſides have ſtudied to prove their tenets to be at leaſt not contrary to the Articles of the Church. Theſe different parties have diſputed concerning the decrees of God, and thoſe aſſiſtances which purſuant to his decrees are afforded to us. But becauſe the

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the foundation of thoſe decrees, and the neceſſity of thoſe aſ- ART. IX.
ſiſtances, are laid in the ſin of Adam, and in the effects it had on mankind, therefore theſe controverſies begin on this head. The Pelagians and the Socinians agree in ſaying, that Adam's ſin was perſonal: that by it, as being the firſt ſin, it is ſaid that ſin *entered into the world:* but Rom. v. 12.
that as Adam was made mortal, and had died whether he had ſinned or not; ſo they think the liberty of human nature is ſtill entire; and that every man is puniſhed for his own ſins, and not for the ſin of another; to do otherwiſe, they ſay, ſeems contrary to juſtice, not to ſay, goodneſs.

In oppoſition to this, *judgment* is ſaid to have *come upon* Ver. 15.
*many to condemnation through one* (either man or ſin). *Death* is ſaid *to have reigned by one*, and *by one man's offence*; and *many* are ſaid to be *dead through the offence of one*. All theſe paſſages do intimate that death is the conſequence of Adam's ſin; and that in him, as well as in all others, *death* was the wages of *ſin*, ſo alſo that we die upon the account of his ſin. We are ſaid to bear the *image of the firſt Adam*, as true Chriſtians bear the *image of* 1 Cor. xv.
*the ſecond:* now we are ſure that there is both a deriva- 49.
tion of righteouſneſs, and a communication of inward holineſs transferred to us through Chriſt: ſo it ſeems to follow from thence, that there is ſomewhat both tranſferred to us, and conveyed down through mankind, by the firſt Adam; and particularly that by it we are all made ſubject to death; from which we ſhould have been freed, if Adam had continued in his firſt ſtate, and that by virtue of the *Tree of Life:* in which ſome think there was Gen. iii. 22.
a natural virtue to cure all diſeaſes, and relieve againſt all accidents, while others do aſcribe it to a divine bleſſing, of which that tree was only the ſymbol or *ſacrament*; though the words ſaid after Adam's ſin, as the reaſon of driving him out of Paradiſe, leſt he put forth his hand, and *take of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live for ever*, ſeem to import that there was a phyſical virtue in the tree, that could ſo fortify and reſtore life, as to give immortality. Theſe do alſo think that the threatening made to Adam, that upon his eating the forbidden fruit he ſhould ſurely die, is to be taken literally, and is to be carried no further than to a natural death. This ſubjection to death, and to the fear of it, brings men under a ſlaviſh bondage, many terrors, and other paſſions and miſeries that ariſe out of it, which they think is a great puniſhment; and that it is a condemnation and ſentence of death paſſed upon the whole race; and by this they are *made ſinners*, that is, treated as guilty perſons, and ſeverely puniſhed.



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ART. IX.

This they think is eaſily enough reconciled with the notions of juſtice and goodneſs in God, ſince this is only a temporary puniſhment relating to men's perſons: and we ſee in the common methods of Providence, that children are in this ſort often puniſhed for the ſins of their fathers; moſt men that come under a very ill habit of body, tranſmit the ſeeds of diſeaſes and pains to their children. They do alſo think that the communication of this liableneſs to death is eaſily accounted for; and they imagine, that as the Tree of Life might be a plant that furniſhed men with an univerſal medicine, ſo the forbidden fruit might derive a ſlow poiſon into Adam's body, that might have exalted and inflamed his blood very much, and might, though by a ſlower operation, certainly have brought on death at the laſt. Our being thus adjudged to death, and to all the miſeries that accompany mortality, they think may be well called the *wrath of God, and damnation:* ſo temporary judgments are often expreſſed in Scripture. And to this they add, that Chriſt has entirely redeemed us from this, by the promiſe he has given us of raiſing us up at the laſt day: and that therefore when St. Paul is ſo copiouſly diſcourſing of the Reſurrection, he brings this in, that as we have borne the *image of the firſt Adam, who was earthly,* ſo we ſhall alſo *bear the image of the heavenly*; and *ſince by man came death, by man came alſo the reſurrection from the dead*; and that *as in Adam all die, ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive*; and that this is the univerſal redemption and reparation that all mankind ſhall have in Chriſt Jeſus. All this theſe divines apprehend is conceivable, and no more; therefore they put original ſin in this only, for which they pretend they have all the Fathers with them before St. Auſtin, and particularly St. Chryſoſtom and Theodoret, from whom all the later Greeks have done little more than copied out their words. This they do alſo pretend comes up to the words of the Article; for as this general adjudging of all men to die may be called, according to the ſtyle of the Scriptures, *God's wrath and damnation*; ſo the fear of death, which ariſes out of it, corrupts men's natures, and inclines them to evil.

† 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22. In Ep. ad Rom. paſſim.

Others do ſo far approve of all this, as to think that it is a part of original ſin, yet they believe it goes much farther; and that there is a corruption ſpread through the whole race of mankind, which is born with every man. This the experience of all ages teaches us but too evidently; every man feels it in himſelf, and ſees it in others. The Philoſophers, who were ſenſible of it, thought to avoid

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and the difficulty that ariſes from it, when it might be urged, that a good God could not make men to be originally depraved and wicked; they therefore fancied that all our ſouls preexiſted in a former and a purer ſtate, from which they fell, by deſcending too much into corporeal pleaſure, and ſo both by a lapſe and for a puniſhment they ſunk into groſſer bodies, and fell differently according to the different degrees of the ſins they had committed in that ſtate: and they thought that a virtuous life did raiſe them up to their former pitch, as a vicious one would ſink them lower into more depraved and more miſerable bodies. All this may ſeem plauſible: but the beſt that can be ſaid for it is, that it is an hypotheſis that ſaves ſome difficulties; but there is no ſort of proofs to make it appear to be true. We neither perceive in ourſelves any remembrances of ſuch a ſtate, nor have we any warning given us either of our fall, or of the means of recovering out of it: ſo ſince there is no reaſon to affirm this to be true, we muſt ſeek for ſome other ſource of the corruption of human nature. The Manichees imputed it to the evil God, and thought it was his work, which ſome ſay might have ſet on St. Auſtin the more earneſtly to look for another hypotheſis to reconcile all. ART. IX.

But before we go to that, it is certain, that in Scripture this general corruption of our nature is often mentioned. *The imaginations of man's thoughts are only evil continually:* Gen. vi. 5. viii. 21. *What man is he that liveth and ſinneth not? 3 The juſt man falleth ſeven times a day:* 4 *The heart of man is deceitful above all things, and deſperately wicked; who can know it?* 5 *All that are in Chriſt muſt become new creatures: old things muſt be done away, and every thing muſt become new.* 6 *God made man upright, but he ſought out to himſelf many inventions.* 7 *The fleſh is weak;* 8 *The fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit;* 9 *The carnal mind is enmity to the law of God, and is not ſubject to the law of God, neither indeed can be:* and *they that are in the fleſh cannot pleaſe God:* where by *fleſh* is to be meant the natural ſtate of mankind, according to thoſe words, *That which is born of the fleſh is fleſh; and that which is born of the ſpirit is ſpirit.* Theſe, with many other places of Scripture to the ſame purpoſe, when they are joined to the univerſal experience of all mankind concerning the corruption of our whole race, lead us to ſettle this point, that in fact it has overrun our whole kind, the contagion is ſpread over all. Now this being ſettled, we are next to enquire, how this could happen: we cannot think that God made men ſo: for it is expreſsly ſaid, that *God made man after his own image.*

1 Kings viii. 46. Prov. xxiv. 16. Jer. xvii. 9. 2 Cor. v. 17. Eccl. vii. 29. Gal. v. 17. Rom. viii. 7, 8. John iii. 6. Gen. i. 27.



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ART. IX.

The ſureſt way to find out what this *image* was at firſt, is to conſider, what the New Teſtament ſays of it, when we come to be reſtored to it. *We muſt put on the new man, after the image of him that created him*; or as elſewhere, the *new man in righteouſneſs and true holineſs*. This then was the *image of God*, in which man was at firſt made. Nor ought the image of God to be conſidered only as an expreſſion that imports only our repreſenting him here on earth, and having dominion over the creatures: for in Geneſis the creation of man in the image of God is expreſſed as a thing different from his dominion over the creatures, which ſeems to be given to him as a conſequent of it. The image of God ſeems to be this, that the ſoul of man was a being of another ſort and order than all thoſe material beings till then made, which were neither capable of thought nor liberty, in which reſpect the ſoul was made after the *image of God*. But Adam's ſoul being put in his body, his brain was a *tabula raſa*, as white paper, had no impreſſions in it, but ſuch as either God put in it, or ſuch as came to him by his ſenſes. A man born deaf and blind, newly come to hear and ſee, is not a more ignorant and amazed-like creature than Adam muſt have been, if God had not conveyed ſome great impreſſions into him; ſuch as firſt the acknowledging and obeying him as his Maker, and then the managing his body ſo as to make it an inſtrument, by which he could make uſe of and obſerve the creation. There is no reaſon to think that his body was at firſt inclined to appetite, and that his mind was apt to ſerve his body, but that both were reſtrained by ſupernatural aſſiſtances. It is much more natural and more agreeable to the words of the *wiſe man*, to think that *God made man upright*, that his body craved modeſtly, and that his mind was both judge and maſter of thoſe cravings; and if a natural hypotheſis may be offered but only as an hypotheſis, it may be ſuppoſed, that a man's blood was naturally low and cool, but that it was capable of a vaſt inflammation and elevation, by which a man's powers might be exalted to much higher degrees of knowledge and capacity: the animal ſpirits receiving their quality from that of the blood, a new and a ſtrong fermentation in the blood might raiſe them, and by conſequence exalt a man to a much greater ſublimity of thought: but with that it might diſpoſe him to be eaſily inflamed by appetites and paſſions; it might put him under the power of his body, and make his body much more apt to be fired at outward objects, which might ſink all ſpiritual and pure ideas

Eph. iv. 22, 24.

Gen. i. 27, 28.

ART. IX.

ideas in him, and raiſe groſs ones with much fury and rapidity. Hereby his whole frame might be much corrupted, and that might go ſo deep in him, that all thoſe who deſcended from him might be defiled by it, as we ſee madneſs and ſome chronical diſeaſes paſs from parents to their children.

All this might have been natural, and as much the phyſical effect of eating the forbidden fruit, as it ſeems immortality would have been that of eating the fruit of the Tree of Life: this might have been in its nature a ſlow poiſon, which muſt end in death at laſt. It may be very eaſy to make all this appear probable from phyſical cauſes. A very ſmall accident may ſo alter the whole maſs of the blood, that in a very few minutes it may be totally changed: ſo the eating the forbidden fruit might have, by a natural chain of things, produced all this. But this is only an hypotheſis, and ſo is left as ſuch. All the aſſiſtance that revealed religion can receive from philoſophy, is to ſhew, that a reaſonable hypotheſis can be offered upon phyſical principles, to ſhew the poſſibility, or rather probability, of any particulars that are contained in the Scriptures. This is enough to ſtop the mouths of deiſts, which is all the uſe that can be made of ſuch ſchemes.

To return to the main point of the fall of Adam: He himſelf was made liable to death: but not barely to ceaſe to live; for death and life are terms oppoſite to one another in Scripture. In treating upon theſe heads, it is ſaid, that *the wages of ſin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life*. Rom. vi. 23. And though the addition of the word *eternal*, makes the ſignification of the one more expreſs, yet where it is mentioned without that addition, no doubt is to be made, but that it is to be ſo meant: as where it is ſaid, that *to be carnally minded is death, but to be ſpiritually minded is life and peace*: and *believing, we have life, through his name: Ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life*. So, by the rule of oppoſites, *death* ought to be underſtood as a word of a general ſignification, which we, who have the comment of the New Teſtament to guide us in underſtanding the Old, are not to reſtrain to a natural death; and therefore when we are ſaid to be *the ſervants of ſin unto death*, we underſtand much more by it than a natural death: ſo God's threatening of Adam with *death*, ought not to be reſtrained to a *natural death*. Adam being thus defiled, all emanations from him muſt partake of that vitiated ſtate to which he had brought himſelf. But then the queſtion remains, how came the ſouls of his

Rom. viii. 6. Joh. xx. 31. Joh. v. 40.



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ART. IX.

poſterity to be defiled; for if they were created pure, it ſeems to be an unjuſt cruelty to them, to condemn them to ſuch an union to a defiled body, as ſhould certainly corrupt them? All that can be ſaid in anſwer to this is,

That God has ſettled it as a law in the creation, that a ſoul ſhould inform a body according to the texture of it, and either conquer it, or be maſtered by it, as it ſhould be differently made: and that as ſuch a degree of purity in the texture of it might make it both pure and happy; ſo a contrary degree of texture might have very contrary effects. And if, with this, God made another general law, that when all things were duly prepared for the propagation of the ſpecies of mankind, a ſoul ſhould be always ready to go into and animate thoſe firſt threads and beginnings of life; thoſe laws being laid down, Adam, by corrupting his own frame, corrupted the frame of his whole poſterity, by the general courſe of things, and the great law of the creation. So that the ſuffering this to run through all the race, is no more (only different in degrees and extent) than the ſuffering the folly or madneſs of a man to infect his poſterity. In theſe things God acts as the Creator of the world by general rules, and theſe muſt not be altered becauſe of the ſins and diſorders of men: but they are rather to have their courſe, that ſo ſin may be its own puniſhment. The defilement of the race being thus ſtated, a queſtion remains, whether this can be properly called a ſin, and ſuch as deſerves *God's wrath and damnation?* On the one hand an oppoſition of nature to the Divine nature muſt certainly be hateful to God, as it is the root of much malignity and ſin. Such a nature cannot be the object of his love, and of itſelf it cannot be accepted of God: now ſince there is no mean in God, between *love* and *wrath*, *acceptation* and *damnation*, if ſuch perſons are not in the firſt order, they muſt be in the ſecond.

Yet it ſeems very hard, on the other hand, to apprehend, how perſons, who have never actually ſinned, but are only unhappily deſcended, ſhould be, in conſequence to that, under ſo great a miſery. To this ſeveral anſwers are made: ſome have thought that thoſe who die before they commit any actual ſin, have indeed no ſhare in the favour of God, but yet that they paſs unto a ſtate in the other world, in which they ſuffer little or nothing. The ſtating this more clearly, will belong to another opinion, which ſhall be afterwards explained.

There is a further queſtion made, whether this vicious inclination is a ſin, or not? Thoſe of the Church of Rome, as

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as they believe that original ſin is quite taken away by baptiſm, ſo finding that this corrupt diſpoſition ſtill remains in us, they do from thence conclude, that it is no part of original ſin; but that this is the natural ſtate in which Adam was made at firſt, only it is in us without the reſtraint or bridle of ſupernatural aſſiſtances, which was given to him, but loſt by ſin, and reſtored to us in baptiſm. But, as was ſaid formerly, Adam in his firſt ſtate was made after the image of God, ſo that his bodily powers were perfectly under the command of his mind; this revolt, that we feel our bodies and ſenſes are always in, cannot be ſuppoſed to be God's original workmanſhip. There are great diſputings raiſed concerning the meaning of a long diſcourſe of St. Paul's in the ſeventh of the Romans, concerning a conſtant ſtruggle that he felt within himſelf; which ſome, arguing from the ſcope of the whole Epiſtle, and the beginning of that chapter, underſtand only of the ſtate that St. Paul repreſents himſelf to have been in while yet a Jew, and before his converſion: whereas others underſtand it of him in his converted and regenerated ſtate. Very plauſible things have been ſaid on both ſides, but without arguing any thing from words, the ſenſe of which is under debate; there are other places which do manifeſtly expreſs the ſtruggle that is in a good man: *The fleſh is weak, though the ſpirit is willing: the fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit, as the ſpirit luſteth againſt the fleſh*: we ought to be ſtill *mortifying the deeds of the body*; and we feel many ſins *that do ſo eaſily beſet us*, that from theſe things we have reaſon to conclude, that there is a corruption in our nature, which gives us a bias and propenſity to ſin. Now there is no reaſon to think that baptiſm takes away all the branches and effects of original ſin: it is enough if we are by it delivered from the wrath of God, and brought into a ſtate of favour and acceptation: we are freed from the curſe of death, by our being entitled to a bleſſed reſurrection: and if we are ſo far freed from the corruption of our nature, as to have a fœderal right to ſuch aſſiſtances as will enable us to reſiſt and repreſs it, though it is not quite extinct in us, ſo long as we live in theſe frail and mortal bodies, here are very great effects of our admiſſion to Chriſtianity by baptiſm; though this ſhould not go ſo far as to root all inclinations to evil out of our nature. The great diſpoſition that is in us to appetite and paſſion, and that great heat with which they inflame us; the averſion that we naturally have to all the exerciſes of religion, and the pains that muſt be uſed to work us up to

ART. IX.

Gal. v. 17. Rom. viii. 13.

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ART. IX. to a tolerable degree of knowledge, and an ordinary measure of virtue, ſhews that theſe are not natural to us: whereas ſloth and vice do grow on us without any care taken about them: ſo that it appears, that they are the natural, and the other the forced growth of our ſouls. Theſe ill diſpoſitions are ſo univerſally ſpread through all mankind, and appear ſo early, and in ſo great a diverſity of ill inclinations, that from hence it ſeems reaſonable and juſt to infer, that this corruption is ſpread through our whole nature and ſpecies, by the ſin and diſobedience of Adam. And beyond this a great many among ourſelves think that they cannot go, in aſſerting of original ſin.

But there is a farther ſtep made by all the diſciples of St. Auſtin, who believe that a covenant was made with all mankind in Adam, as their firſt parent: that he was a perſon conſtituted by God to repreſent them all; and that the covenant was made with him, ſo that if he had obeyed, all his poſterity ſhould have been happy, through his obedience; but by his diſobedience they were all to be eſteemed to have ſinned in him, his act being imputed and transferred to them all. St. Auſtin conſidered all mankind as loſt in Adam, and in that he made the decree of election to begin: there being no other reprobation aſſerted by him, than the leaving men to continue in that ſtate of damnation, in which they were by reaſon of Adam's ſin; ſo that though by baptiſm all men were born again, and recovered out of that loſt ſtate, yet unleſs they were within the decree of election, they could not be ſaved, but would certainly fall from that ſtate, and periſh in a ſtate of ſin; but ſuch as were not baptized were ſhut out from all hope. Thoſe words of Chriſt's, John iii. 5, *Except ye be born again of water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God*, being expounded ſo as to import the indiſpenſable neceſſity of baptiſm to eternal ſalvation; all who were not baptized, were reckoned by him among the damned: yet this damnation, as to thoſe who had no actual ſin, was ſo mitigated, that it ſeemed to be little more than an excluſion out of heaven, without any ſuffering or miſery, like a ſtate of ſleep and inactivity. This was afterwards dreſſed up as a diviſion or partition in hell, called the *Limbo of Infants*; ſo by bringing it thus low, they took away much of the horror that this doctrine might otherwiſe have given the world.

It was not eaſy to explain the way how this was propagated: they wiſhed well to the notion of a ſoul's propagating

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ART. IX.

pasting a soul, but that seemed to come too near creation; so it was not received as certain. It was therefore thought, that the body being propagated defiled, the soul was created and infused at the time of conception: and that though God did not create it impure, yet no time was interposed between its creation and infusion: so that it could never be said to have been once pure, and then to have become impure. All this, as it afforded an easy foundation to establish the doctrine of absolute decrees upon it, no care being taken to shew how this sin came into the world, whether from an absolute decree or not, so it seemed to have a great foundation in that large discourse of St. Paul's; where, in the fifth of the Romans, he compares the blessings that we receive by the death of Christ, with the guilt and misery that was brought upon us by the sin of Adam. Now it is confessed, that by Christ we have both an imputation or communication of the merits of his death, and likewise a purity and holiness of nature conveyed to us by his doctrine and spirit. In opposition then to this, if the comparison is to be closely pursued, there must be an imputation of sin, as well as a corruption of nature, transfused to us from Adam. This is the more considerable as to the point of imputation, because the chief design of St. Paul's discourse seems to be levelled at that, since it is begun upon the head of reconciliation and atonement: upon which it follows, that *as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and death passed upon all men, for that* (or, as others render it, *in whom*) *all have sinned.* Now they think it is all one to their point, whether it be rendered, *for that*, or *in whom*: for though the latter words seem to deliver their opinion more precisely, yet it being affirmed, that, according to the other rendering, all who die have sinned; and it being certain, that many infants die who have never actually sinned, these must have *sinned in Adam*, they could sin no other way. It is afterwards said by St. Paul, that *by the offence of one many were dead: that the judgment was by one to condemnation: that by one man's offence death reigned by one. That by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: and that by one man's disobedience many were made sinners.* As these words are positive, and of great importance in themselves, so all this is much the stronger, by the opposition in which every one of them is put to the effects and benefits of Christ's death; particularly to our justification through him, in which there is an imputation of the merits and effects of his death, that are thereby transferred to us; so

Rom. v. 12, *to the end.*

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ART. IX. so that the whole effect of this discourse is taken away, if the imputation of Adam's sin is denied. And this explication does certainly quadrate more entirely to the words of the Article, as it is known that this was the tenet of those who prepared the Articles, it having been the generally-received opinion from St. Austin's days downward.

But to many other divines this seems a harsh and unconceivable opinion; it seems repugnant to the justice and goodness of God, to reckon men guilty of a sin which they never committed, and to punish them in their souls eternally for that which is no act of theirs: and though we easily enough conceive how God, in the riches of his grace, may transfer merit and blessing from one person to many, this being only an œconomy of mercy, where all is free, and such a method is taken as may best declare the goodness of God: but in the imputation of sin and guilt, which are matters of strict justice, it is quite otherwise. Upon that head God is pleased often to appeal to men for the justice of all his ways: and therefore no such doctrine ought to be admitted, that carries in it an idea of cruelty, beyond what the blackest tyrants have ever invented. Besides that in the Scripture such a method as the punishing children for their fathers' sins, is often disclaimed, and it is positively affirmed, that every man that sins is punished. Now though, in articles relating to the nature of God, they acknowledge it is highly reasonable to believe, that there may be mysteries which exceed our capacity; yet in moral matters, in God's fœderal dealings with us, it seems unreasonable, and contrary to the nature of God, to believe that there may be a mystery contrary to the clearest notions of justice and goodness; such as the condemning mankind for the sin of one man, in which the rest had no share; and as contrary to our ideas of God, and upon that to set up another mystery that shall take away the truth and fidelity of the promises of God; justice and goodness being as inseparable from his nature, as truth and fidelity can be supposed to be. This seems to expose the Christian religion to the scoffs of its enemies, and to objections that are much sooner made than answered: and since the foundation of this is a supposed covenant with Adam as the representative head of mankind, it is strange that a thing of that great consequence should not have been more plainly reported in the history of the creation; but that men should be put to fetch out the knowledge of so great and so extraordinary a thing, only by some remote consequences.

Jer. xxxi. 29. Ezek. xviii. 20.

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ART. IX.

conſequences. It is no ſmall prejudice againſt this opinion, that it was ſo long before it firſt appeared in the Latin Church; that it was never received in the Greek; and that even the Weſtern Church, though perhaps for ſome ignorant ages it received it, as it did every thing elſe, very implicitly, yet has been very much divided both about this, and many other opinions related to it, or ariſing out of it.

As for thoſe words of St. Paul's, that are its chief, if not its only foundation, they ſay many things upon them. Firſt, it is a ſingle proof. Now when we have not a variety of places proving any point, in which one gives light, and leads us to a ſure expoſition of another, we cannot be ſo ſure of the meaning of any one place, as to raiſe a theory, or found a doctrine upon it. They ſay farther, that St. Paul ſeems to argue, from that opinion of our having ſinned in Adam, to prove that we are juſtified by Chriſt. Now it is a piece of natural logic not to prove a thing by another, unleſs that other is more clear of itſelf, or at leaſt more clear by its being already received and believed. This cannot be ſaid to be more clear of itſelf, for it is certainly leſs credible or conceivable, than the reconciliation by Chriſt. Nor was this clear from any ſpecial revelation made of it in the Old Teſtament: therefore there is good reaſon to believe, that it was then a doctrine received among the Jews, as there are odd things of this kind to be found among the Cabbaliſts, as if all the ſouls of all mankind had been in Adam's body. Now when an argument is brought in Scripture to prove another thing by, though we are bound to acknowledge the concluſion, yet we are not always ſure of the premiſes; for they are often founded upon received opinions. So that it is not certain that St. Paul meant to offer this doctrine to our belief as true, but only that he intended by it to prove our being reconciled to God through the death of Chriſt; and the medium by which he proved it might be, for aught that appears from the words themſelves, only an opinion held true among thoſe to whom he writes. For he only ſuppoſes it, but ſays nothing to prove it: which it might be expected he would have done, if the Jews had made any doubt of it. But farther they ſay, that when compariſons or oppoſitions, ſuch as this, are made in Scripture, we are not always to carry them on to an exact equality: we are required not only *to be holy as God is holy, but to be perfect as he is perfect:* where by the *as* is not to be meant a true equality, but ſome ſort of reſemblance and conformity.

1 Pet. i. 15, 16. Mat. v. 48.

ART. IX.

ty. Therefore those who believe that there is nothing imputed to Adam's posterity on the account of his sin, but this temporary punishment of their being made liable to death, and to all those miseries that the fear of it, with our other concerns about it, bring us under, say that this is enough to justify the comparison that is there stated: and that those, who will carry it on to be an exact parallel, make a stretch beyond the phraseology of the Scripture, and the use of parables, and of the many comparisons that go only to one or more points, but ought not to be stretched to every thing.

These are the things that other great divines among us have opposed to this opinion. As to its consonancy to the Article, those who oppose it do not deny, but that it comes up fully to the highest sense that the words of the Article can import: nor do they doubt, but that those who prepared the Articles, being of that opinion themselves, might perhaps have had that sense of the words in their thoughts. But they add, that we are only bound to sign the Articles in a literal and grammatical sense: since therefore the words, *God's wrath and damnation*, which are the highest in the Article, are capable of a lower sense, temporary judgments being often so expressed in the Scriptures, therefore they believe the loss of the favour of God, the sentence of death, the troubles of life, and the corruption of our faculties, may be well called *God's wrath and damnation*. Besides, they observe, that the main point of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, and its being considered by God as their own act, not being expressly taught in the Article, here was that moderation observed, which the compilers of the Articles have shewed on many other occasions. It is plain from hence, that they did not intend to lay a burthen on men's consciences, or oblige them to profess a doctrine that seems to be of hard digestion to a great many. The last prejudice that they offer against that opinion is, that the softening the terms of *God's wrath and damnation*, that was brought in by the followers of St. Austin's doctrine, to such a moderate and harmless notion, as to be only a loss of heaven, with a sort of unactive sleep, was an effect of their apprehending that the world could very ill bear an opinion of so strange a sound, as that all mankind were to be damned for the sin of one man: and that therefore, to make this pass the better, they mitigated *damnation* far below the representation that the Scriptures generally give of it, which propose it as the being adjudged to a place of torment, and a state of horror and misery.

Ex. xxxii. 10. *and through the whole Old Testament.* Mat. iii. 7. 1 Thess. ii. 16. Luke xxiii. 40. 1 Cor. xi. 29. 1 Pet. iv. 17. Rom. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. vii. 3. Joh. viii. 10, 11. Rom. xiv. 23.

Thus

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ART. IX.

Thus I have ſet down the different opinions in this point, with that true indifference that I intend to obſerve on ſuch other occaſions, and which becomes one who undertakes to explain the doctrines of the Church, and not his own; and who is obliged to propoſe other men's opinions with all ſincerity, and to ſhew what are the ſenſes that the learned men, of different perſuaſions in theſe matters, have put on the words of the Article. In which one great and conſtant rule to be obſerved is, to repreſent men's opinions candidly, and to judge as favourably both of them and their opinions as may be: to bear with one another, and not to diſturb the peace and union of the Church, by inſiſting too much and too peremptorily upon matters of ſuch doubtful diſputation; but willingly to leave them to all that liberty, to which the Church has left them, and which ſhe ſtill allows them.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE X.

### Of Free-Will.

**The Condition of Man after the Fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to Faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.**

WE shall find the same moderation observed in this Article, that was taken notice of in the former; where all disputes concerning the degree of that feebleness and corruption, under which we are fallen by the sin of Adam, are avoided, and only the necessity of a preventing and a cooperating grace is asserted, against the Semipelagians and the Pelagians. But before we enter upon that, it is fitting first to state the true notion of free-will, in so far as it is necessary to all rational agents, to make their actions morally good or bad; since it is a principle that seems to rise out of the light of nature, that no man is accountable, rewardable, or punishable, but for that in which he acts freely, without force or compulsion; and so far all are agreed.

Some imagine, that liberty must suppose a freedom to do, or not to do, and to act contrariwise at pleasure. To others it seems not necessary that such a liberty should be carried to denominate actions morally good or bad: God certainly acts in the perfectest liberty, yet he cannot sin. Christ had the most exalted liberty in his human nature, of which a creature was capable, and his merit was the highest, yet he could not sin. Angels and glorified saints, though no more capable of rewards, are perfect moral agents, and yet they cannot sin: and the devils, with the damned, though not capable of farther punishment, yet are still moral agents, and cannot but sin; so this indifferency to do, or not to do, cannot be the true notion of liberty. A truer one seems to them to be this, that a rational nature is not determined as mere matter, by the impulse and motion of other bodies upon it, but is capable of thought, and, upon considering the objects set before it, makes reflection, and so chooses. Liberty therefore

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fore ſeems to conſiſt in this inward capacity of thinking, and of acting and chooſing upon thought. The clearer the thought is, and the more conſtantly that our choice is determined by it, the more does a man riſe up to the higheſt acts, and ſublimeſt exerciſes of liberty. ART. X.

A queſtion ariſes out of this, whether the will is not always determined by the underſtanding, ſo that a man does always chooſe and determine himſelf upon the account of ſome idea or other? If this is granted, then no liberty will be left to our faculties. We muſt apprehend things as they are propoſed to our underſtanding; for if a thing appears true to us, we muſt aſſent to it; and if the will is as blind to the underſtanding, as the underſtanding is determined by the light in which the object appears to it, then we ſeem to be concluded under a fate, or neceſſity. It is, after all, a vain attempt to argue againſt every man's experience: we perceive in ourſelves a liberty of turning our minds to ſome ideas, or from others; we can think longer or ſhorter of theſe, more exactly and ſteadily, or more ſlightly and ſuperficially, as we pleaſe; and in this radical freedom of directing or diverting our thoughts, a main part of our freedom does conſiſt: often objects as they appear to our thoughts do ſo affect or heat them, that they do ſeem to conquer us, and carry us after them; ſome thoughts ſeeming as it were to intoxicate and charm us. Appetites and paſſions, when much fired by objects apt to work upon them, do agitate us ſtrongly; and, on the other hand, the impreſſions of religion come often into our minds with ſuch a ſecret force, ſo much of terror and ſuch ſecret joy mixing with them, that they ſeem to maſter us; yet in all this a man acts freely, becauſe he thinks and chooſes for himſelf: and though perhaps he does not feel himſelf ſo entirely balanced, that he is indifferent to both ſides, yet he has ſtill ſuch a remote liberty, that he can turn himſelf to other objects and thoughts, ſo that he can divert, if not all of the ſudden reſiſt, the preſent impreſſions that ſeem to maſter him. We do alſo feel that in many trifles we do act with an entire liberty, and do many things upon no other account, and for no other reaſon, but becauſe we will do them; and yet more important things depend on theſe.

Our thoughts are much governed by thoſe impreſſions that are made upon our brain: when an object proportioned to us appears to us with ſuch advantages as to affect us much, it makes ſuch an impreſſion on our brain, that our animal ſpirits move much towards it; and thoſe thoughts that anſwer it ariſe oft and ſtrongly upon us,

ART. X. till either that impreſſion is worn out and flatted, or new and livelier ones are made on us by other objects. In this depreſſed ſtate in which we now are, the ideas of what is uſeful or pleaſant to our bodies are ſtrong; they are ever freſh, being daily renewed; and, according to the different conſtruction of men's blood and their brains, there ariſes a great variety of inclinations in them. Our animal ſpirits, that are the immediate organs of thought, being the ſubtiler parts of our blood, are differently made and ſhaped, as our blood happens to be acid, ſalt, ſweet, or phlegmatic: and this gives ſuch a bias to all our inclinations, that nothing can work us off from it, but ſome great ſtrength of thought that bears it down: ſo learning, chiefly in mathematical ſciences, can ſo ſwallow up and fix one's thought, as to poſſeſs it entirely for ſome time; but when that amuſement is over, nature will return and be where it was, being rather diverted than overcome by ſuch ſpeculations.

The revelation of religion is the propoſing and proving many truths of great importance to our underſtandings, by which they are enlightened, and our wills are guided; but theſe truths are feeble things, languid and unable to ſtem a tide of nature, eſpecially when it is much excited and heated: ſo that in fact we feel, that, when nature is low, theſe thoughts may have ſome force to give an inward melancholy, and to awaken in us purpoſes and reſolutions of another kind; but when nature recovers itſelf, and takes fire again, theſe grow leſs powerful. The giving thoſe truths of religion ſuch a force that they may be able to ſubdue nature, and to govern us, is the deſign of both natural and revealed religion. So the queſtion comes now according to the Article to be, whether a man by the powers of nature and of reaſon, without other inward aſſiſtances, can ſo far turn and diſpoſe his own mind, as to believe and *to do works pleaſant and acceptable to God.* Pelagius thought that man was ſo entire in his liberty, that there was no need of any other grace but that of *pardon*, and of propoſing the truths of religion to men's knowledge, but that the uſe of theſe was in every man's power. Thoſe who were called Semipelagians thought that an aſſiſting inward grace was neceſſary to enable a man to go through all the harder ſteps of religion; but with that they thought that the firſt turn or converſion of the will to God, was the effect of a man's own free choice.

In oppoſition to both which, this Article aſſerts both an aſſiſting and a preventing grace. That there are inward

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ward assistances given to our powers, besides those outward blessings of Providence, is first to be proved. In the Old Testament, it is true, there were not express promises made by Moses of such assistances; yet it seems both David and Solomon had a full persuasion about it. David's prayers do every where relate to somewhat that is internal: he prays God *to open and turn his eyes; to unite and incline his heart; to quicken him; to make him to go; to guide and lead him; to create in him a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within him.* Solomon says, that *God gives wisdom; that he directs men's paths, and giveth grace to the lowly.* In the promise that Jeremy gives of a new covenant, this is the character that is given of it; *I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts: They shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest.* Like to that is what Ezekiel promises; *A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh; and I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them.* That these prophecies relate to the new dispensation, cannot be questioned, since Jeremy's words, to which the other are equivalent, are cited and applied to it in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Now the opposition of the one dispensation to the other, as it is here stated, consists in this, that whereas the old dispensation was made up of laws and statutes that were given on tables of stone, and in writing, the new dispensation was to have somewhat in it beside that external revelation, which was to be internal, and which should dispose and enable men to observe it.

ART. X.

Pf. cxix. 18, 27, 32, 35. Pf. li. 10, 11. Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.

A great deal of our Saviour's discourse concerning the *Spirit* which he was to pour on his Disciples, did certainly belong to that extraordinary effusion at Pentecost, and to those wonderful effects that were to follow upon it: yet as he had formerly given this as an encouragement to all men to pray, That *his heavenly Father would give the Holy Spirit to every one that asked him*, so there are many parts of that his last discourse, that seem to belong to the constant necessities of all Christians. It is as unreasonable to limit all to that time, as the first words of it, *I go to prepare a place for you; and because I live, ye shall live also.* The prayer which comes after that discourse, being extended beyond them to all that should *believe in his name through their word*, we have no reason to limit these words, *I will manifest myself to him; My Father and I will make our abode with him; In me ye shall have peace*; to

Luke xi. 13. Joh. xiv. 2,



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ART. X.

the Apoſtles only; ſo that the guidance, the conviction, the comforts of that Spirit, ſeem to be promiſes which in a lower order belong to all Chriſtians. St. Paul ſpeaks of *the love of God ſhed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghoſt:* when he was under temptation, and prayed thrice, he had this anſwer, *My grace is ſufficient for thee; my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs.* He prays often for the Churches in his Epiſtles to them, that *God would ſtabliſh, comfort, and perfect them, enlighten and ſtrengthen them;* and this in all that variety of words and phraſes that import inward aſſiſtances. This is alſo meant by *Chriſt's living and dwelling in us,* and by our *being rooted and grounded in him*; our being *the temples of God, a holy habitation to him through his Spirit*; our being *ſealed by the Spirit of God to the day of redemption*; by all thoſe directions to pray for *grace to help in time of need,* and *to aſk wiſdom of God, that gives liberally to all men*; as alſo by the phraſes of *being born of God, and the having his ſeed abiding in us.* Theſe and many more places, which return often through the New Teſtament, ſeem to put it beyond all doubt, that there are inward communications from God, to the powers of our ſouls; by which we are made both to apprehend the truths of religion, to remember and reflect on them, and to conſider and follow them more effectually.

Rom. v. 5. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Eph. iii. 17. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Heb. iv. 16. Jam. i. 5. 1 Joh. iii. 9.

How theſe are applied to us is a great difficulty indeed, but it is to little purpoſe to amuſe ourſelves about it. God may convey them immediately to our ſouls, if he will; but it is more intelligible to us to imagine that the truths of religion are by a divine direction imprinted deep upon our brain; ſo that naturally they muſt affect us much, and be oft in our thoughts: and this may be an hypotheſis to explain regeneration or habitual grace by. When a deep impreſſion is once made, there may be a direction from God, in the ſame way that his Providence runs through the whole material world, given to the animal ſpirits to move towards and ſtrike upon that impreſſion, and ſo to excite ſuch thoughts as by the law of the union of the ſoul and body do correſpond to it: this may ſerve for an hypotheſis to explain the conveyance of actual grace to us: but theſe are only propoſed as hypotheſes, that is, as methods, or poſſible ways how ſuch things may be done, and which may help us to apprehend more diſtinctly the manner of them. Now as this hypotheſis has nothing in it but what is truly philoſophical, ſo it is highly congruous to the nature and attributes of God, that if our faculties are fallen under a decay and corruption,

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corruption, ſo that bare inſtruction is not like to prevail over us, he ſhould by ſome ſecret methods rectify this in us. Our experience tells us but too often, what a feeble thing knowledge and ſpeculation is, when it engages with nature ſtrongly aſſaulted; how our beſt thoughts fly from us and forſake us; whereas at other times the ſenſe of theſe things lies with a due weight on our minds, and has another effect upon us. The way of conveying this is inviſible; our Saviour compared it to the *wind that bloweth where it liſteth; no man knows whence it comes, and whither it goes.* No man can give an account of the ſudden changes of the wind, and of that force with which the air is driven by it, which is otherwiſe the moſt yielding of all bodies; to which he adds, *ſo is every one that is born of the Spirit.* This he brings to illuſtrate the meaning of what he had ſaid, that *except a man was born again of water and of the Spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom of God:* and to ſhew how real and internal this was, he adds, *that which is born of the fleſh is fleſh*; that is, a man has the nature of thoſe parents from whom he is deſcended, by *fleſh* being underſtood the fabric of the human body, animated by the ſoul: in oppoſition to which he ſubjoins, *that which is born of the Spirit is ſpirit*; that is to ſay, a man thus regenerated by the operation of the Spirit of God, comes to be of a ſpiritual nature.

ART. X.

John iii. 8.

With this I conclude all that ſeemed neceſſary to be proved, that there are inward aſſiſtances given to us in the new diſpenſation. I do not diſpute whether theſe are fitly called *grace*, for perhaps that word will ſcarce be found in that ſenſe in the Scriptures; it ſignifying more largely the love and favour of God, without reſtraining it to this act or effect of it. The next thing to be proved is, that there is a *preventing grace*, by which the will is firſt moved and diſpoſed to turn to God. It is certain that the firſt promulgation of the Goſpel to the Churches that were gathered by the Apoſtles, is aſcribed wholly to the riches and freedom of the grace of God. This is fully done in the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, in which their former ignorance and corruption is ſet forth under the figures of *blindneſs*, of *being without hope, and without God in the world, and dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, they following the courſe of this world, and the prince of the power of the air, and being by nature children of wrath*; that is, under wrath. I diſpute not here concerning the meaning of the word by *nature*, whether it relates to the corruption of our nature in Adam, or to that general corruption that had overſpread Heatheniſm, and was become as it were

Eph. ii. 2, 3, 12.



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ART. X. another nature to them. In this single instance we plainly see, that there was no previous dispositon to the first preaching of the Gospel at Ephesus: many expressions of this kind, though perhaps not of this force, are in the other Epistles. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, puts God's choosing of Abraham upon this, that it was *of grace, not of debt, otherwise Abraham might have had whereof to glory.* And when he speaks of God's casting off the Jews, and grafting the Gentiles upon that stock from which they were cut off, he ascribes it wholly to the goodness of God towards them, and charges them *not to be high minded, but to fear.* In his Epistle to the Corinthians he says, that *not many wise, mighty, nor noble, were chosen, but God had chosen the foolish, the weak, and the base things of this world, so that no flesh should glory in his presence:* and he urges this farther, in words that seem to be as applicable to particular persons, as to communities or churches: *Who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou, that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?* From these and many more passages of the like nature it is plain, that in the promulgation of the Gospel, *God was found of them that sought not to him, and heard of them that called not upon him*; that is, he prevented them by his favour, while there were no previous dispositions in them to invite it, much less to merit it. From this it may be inferred, that the like method should be used with relation to particular persons.

Rom. iv. 2. Rom. xi. 20. 1 Cor. i. 26, 27, 29. 1 Cor. iv. 7. Isa. lxv. 1.

We do find very express instances in the New Testament of the conversion of some by a preventing grace: it is said, that *God opened the heart of Lydia, so that she attended to the things that were spoken of Paul.* The conversion of St. Paul himself was so clearly from a preventing grace, that if it had not been miraculous in so many of its circumstances, it would have been a strong argument in behalf of it. These words of Christ seem also to assert it; *Without me ye can do nothing; ye have not chosen me, but I you; and no man can come to me, except the Father which has sent me draw him.* Those who received Christ were *born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God. God* is said *to work in us both to will and to do of his own good pleasure:* the one seems to import the first beginnings, and the other the progress of a Christian course of life. So far all among us, that I know of, are agreed, though perhaps not as to the force that is in all those places to prove this point.

Acts xvi. 14. Joh. i. 13. xv. 5, 16. Phil. ii. 13.

There do yet remain two points in which they do not agree;

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ART. X.

agree; the one is the efficacy of this preventing grace; ſome think that it is of its own nature ſo efficacious, that it never fails of converting thoſe to whom it is given; others think that it only awakens and diſpoſes, as well as it enables them to turn to God, but that they may reſiſt it, and that the greater part of mankind do actually reſiſt it. The examining of this point, and the ſtating the arguments on both ſides, will belong more properly to the ſeventeenth Article. The other head, in which many do differ, is concerning the extent of this preventing grace; for whereas ſuch as do hold it to be efficacious of itſelf, reſtrain it to the number of thoſe who are elected and converted by it; others do believe, that as Chriſt died for all men, ſo there is an univerſal grace which is given in Chriſt to all men, in ſome degree or other, and that it is given to all baptized Chriſtians in a more eminent degree; and that as all are corrupted by Adam, there is alſo a general grace given to all men in Chriſt. This depends ſo much on the former point, that the diſcuſſing the one is indeed the diſcuſſing of both; and therefore it ſhall not be farther entered upon in this place.



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## ARTICLE XI.

### Of the Juſtification of Man.

**We are accounted Righteous before God only for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by Faith, and not for our own Works or Deſervings. Wherefore that we are juſtified by Faith only, is a moſt wholeſome Doctrine, and very full of Comfort, as more largely is expreſſed in the Homily of Juſtification.**

IN order to the right underſtanding this Article, we muſt firſt conſider the true meaning of the terms of which it is made up; which are *Juſtification*, *Faith*, *Faith only*, *and Good Works*; and then, when theſe are rightly ſtated, we will ſee what judgments are to be paſſed upon the queſtions that do ariſe out of this Article. *Juſt*, or *juſtified*, are words capable of two ſenſes; the one is, a man who is in the favour of God by a mere act of his grace, or upon ſome conſideration not founded on the holineſs or the merit of the perſon himſelf. The other is, a man who is truly holy, and as ſuch is beloved of God. The uſe of this word in the New Teſtament was probably taken from the term *Chaſidim* among the Jews, a deſignation of ſuch as obſerved the external parts of the law ſtrictly, and were believed to be upon that account much in the favour of God; an opinion being generally ſpread among them, that a ſtrict obſervance of the external parts of the Law of Moſes did certainly put a man in the favour of God. In oppoſition to which, the deſign of a great part of the New Teſtament is to ſhew, that theſe things did not put men in the favour of God. Our Saviour uſed the word *ſaved* in oppoſition to *condemned*; and ſpoke of men who were *condemned already*, as well as of others who were *ſaved*. St. Paul enlarges more fully into many diſcourſes; in which our being *juſtified* and the *righteouſneſs of God*, or his *grace towards us*, are all terms equivalent to one another. His deſign in the Epiſtle to the Romans was to prove that the obſervance of the Moſaical Law could not *juſtify*, that is, could not put a man under the *grace* or *favour* of God, or the *righteouſneſs* of God, that is, into a ſtate of *acceptation* with him, as that is oppoſite to a ſtate of *wrath* or *condemnation:* he upon that ſhews that Abraham was in the favour

John. iii. 18.

of

of God before he was circumcised, upon the account of his trusting to the promises of God, and obeying his commands; and that God reckoned upon these acts of his, as much as if they had been an entire course of obedience; for that is the meaning of these words, *And it was imputed to him for righteousness.* These promises were freely made to him by God, when by no previous works of his he had made them to be due to him of debt; therefore that covenant which was founded on those promises, was the *justifying of Abraham freely by grace.* Upon which St. Paul, in a variety of inferences and expressions, assumes, that we are in like manner *justified freely by grace through the redemption in Christ Jesus.* That God has of his own free goodness offered a new covenant, and new and better promises to mankind in Christ Jesus, which whosoever believe as Abraham did, they are justified as he was. So that whosoever will observe the scope of St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, will see that he always uses *justification* in a sense that imports our being put in the favour of God. The Epistle to the Galatians was indeed writ upon the occasion of another controversy, which was, whether, supposing Christ to be the Messias, Christians were bound to observe the Mosaical Law, or not: whereas the scope of the first part of the Epistle to the Romans is, to shew that we are not justified nor saved by the Law of Moses, as a mean of its own nature capable to recommend us to the favour of God, but that even that Law was a dispensation of *grace*, in which it was a true faith like Abraham's that put men in the favour of God; yet in both these Epistles, in which *justification* is fully treated of, it stands always for the receiving one into the favour of God.

ART. XI.

Gen. xv. 6. Rom. iv. 3, 22.

Rom. iii. 24.

In this the consideration upon which it is done, and the condition upon which it is offered, are two very different things. The one is a dispensation of God's mercy, in which he has regard to his own attributes, to the honour of his laws, and his government of the world: the other is the method in which he applies that to us; in such a manner, that it may have such ends as are both perfective of human nature, and suitable to an infinitely holy Being to pursue. We are never to mix these two together, or to imagine that the condition, upon which justification is offered to us, is the consideration that moves God; as if our holiness, faith, or obedience, were the moving cause of our justification; or that God *justifies* us, because he sees that we are truly *just:* for though it is not to be denied, but that, in some places of the New Testament,

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ART. XI.

ment, *juſtification* may ſtand in that ſenſe, becauſe the word in its true ſignification will bear it; yet in theſe two Epiſtles, in which it is largely treated of, nothing is plainer, than that the deſign is to ſhew us what it is that brings us to the favour of God, and to a ſtate of pardon and acceptation: ſo that *juſtification* in thoſe places ſtands in oppoſition to accuſation and *condemnation*.

The next term to be explained is *faith*; which in the New Teſtament ſtands generally for the complex of Chriſtianity, in oppoſition to the Law, which ſtands as generally for the complex of the whole Moſaical diſpenſation. So that the *faith of Chriſt* is equivalent to this, the Goſpel of Chriſt; becauſe Chriſtianity is a fœderal religion, founded, on God's part, on the promiſes that he has made to us, and on the rules he has ſet us; and on our part, on our believing that revelation, our truſting to thoſe promiſes, and our ſetting ourſelves to follow thoſe rules; the believing this revelation, and that great article of it, of Chriſt's being the Son of God, and the true Meſſias that came to reveal his Father's will, and to offer himſelf up to be the ſacrifice of this new covenant, is often repreſented as the great and only condition of the covenant on our part; but ſtill this *faith* muſt receive the whole Goſpel, the precepts as well as the promiſes of it, and receive Chriſt as a Prophet to teach, and a King to rule, as well as a Prieſt to ſave us.

By *faith only*, is not to be meant faith as it is ſeparated from the other evangelical graces and virtues; but faith, as it is oppoſite to the rites of the Moſaical Law: for that was the great queſtion that gave occaſion to St. Paul's writing ſo fully upon this head; ſince many Judaizing Chriſtians, as they acknowledged Chriſt to be the true Meſſias, ſo they thought that the Law of Moſes was ſtill to retain its force: in oppoſition to whom St. Paul ſays, that *we are juſtified by faith, without the works of the Law*. It is plain that he means the Moſaical diſpenſation, for he had divided all mankind into thoſe *who were in the Law*, and thoſe *who were without the Law*: that is, into Jews and Gentiles. Nor had St. Paul any occaſion to treat of any other matter in thoſe Epiſtles, or to enter into nice abſtractions, which became not one that was to inſtruct the world in order to their ſalvation: thoſe metaphyſical notions are not eaſily apprehended by plain men, not accuſtomed to ſuch ſubtilties, and are of very little value, when they are more critically diſtinguiſhed: yet when it ſeems ſome of thoſe expreſſions were wreſted to an ill ſenſe and uſe, St. James treats of the ſame matter, but with

Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Rom. ii. 12.

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with this great difference, that though he ſays expreſsly, that *a man is juſtified by his works, and not by faith only*; yet he does not ſay, *by the works of the Law*; ſo that he does not at all contradict St. Paul; the works that he mentions not being the circumciſion or ritual obſervances of Abraham, but his offering up his ſon Iſaac, which St. Paul had reckoned a part of the *faith of Abraham:* this ſhews that he did not intend to contradict the doctrine delivered by St. Paul, but only to give a true notion of the *faith* that *juſtifies*; that it is not a bare believing, ſuch as devils are capable of, but ſuch a believing as exerted itſelf in good works. So that the *faith* mentioned by St. Paul is the complex of all Chriſtianity; whereas that mentioned by St. James is a bare believing, without a life ſuitable to it. And as it is certainly true, that we are taken into the favour of God, upon our receiving the whole Goſpel, without obſerving the Moſaical precepts; ſo it is as certainly true, that a bare profeſſing or giving credit to the truth of the Goſpel, without our living ſuitably to it, does not give us a right to the favour of God. And thus it appears that theſe two pieces of the New Teſtament, when rightly underſtood, do in no wiſe contradict, but agree well with one another.

ART. XI.

James ii. 24.

In the laſt place, we muſt conſider the ſignification of *good works:* By them are not to be meant ſome voluntary and aſſumed pieces of ſeverity, which are no where enjoined in the Goſpel, that ariſe out of ſuperſtition, and that feed pride and hypocriſy: theſe are ſo far from deſerving the name of *good works*, that they have been in all ages the methods of impoſture, and of impoſtors, and the arts by which they have gained credit and authority. By *good works* therefore are meant acts of true holineſs, and of ſincere obedience to the laws of the Goſpel.

The terms being thus explained, I ſhall next diſtinguiſh between the queſtions ariſing out of this matter, that are only about words, and thoſe that are more material and important. If any man fancy that the remiſſion of ſins is to be conſidered as a thing previous to *juſtification*, and diſtinct from it, and acknowledge that to be freely given in Chriſt Jeſus; and that in conſequence of this there is ſuch a grace infuſed, that thereupon the perſon becomes truly *juſt*, and is conſidered as ſuch by God: this, which muſt be confeſſed to be the doctrine of a great many in the Church of Rome, and which ſeems to be that eſtabliſhed at Trent, is indeed very viſibly different from the ſtyle and deſign of thoſe places of the New Teſtament, in which this matter is moſt fully opened: but yet after all it

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ART. XI.

it is but a queſtion about words; for if that which they call *remiſſion* of ſins, be the ſame with that which we call *juſtification*; and if that which they call *juſtification*, be the ſame with that which we call *ſanctification*, then here is only a ſtrife of words: yet even in this we have the Scriptures clearly of our ſide; ſo that we hold the *form of ſound words*, from which they have departed. The Scripture ſpeaks of *ſanctification*, as a thing different from, and ſubſequent to, *juſtification*. *Now ye are waſhed, ye are ſanctified, ye are juſtified.* And ſince juſtification, and the being in the love and favour of God, are in the New Teſtament one and the ſame thing, the remiſſion of ſins muſt be an act of God's favour: for we cannot imagine a middle ſtate of being neither accepted of him, nor yet under his *wrath*, as if the remiſſion of ſins were merely an extinction of the guilt of ſin, without any ſpecial favour. If therefore this remiſſion of ſins is acknowledged to be given freely to us through Jeſus Chriſt, this is that which we affirm to be *juſtification*, though under another name: we do alſo acknowledge that our natures muſt be ſanctified and renewed, that ſo God may take pleaſure in us, when his image is again viſible upon us; and this we call *ſanctification*; which we acknowledge to be the conſtant and inſeparable effect of *juſtification*: ſo that as to this, we agree in the ſame doctrine, only we differ in the uſe of the terms; in which we have the phraſe of the New Teſtament clearly with us.

1 Cor. vi. 11.

But there are two more material differences between us: it is a tenet in the Church of Rome, that the uſe of the ſacraments, if men do not put a bar to them, and if they have only imperfect acts of ſorrow accompanying them, does ſo far complete thoſe weak acts, as to *juſtify* us. This we do utterly deny, as a doctrine that tends to enervate all religion; and to make the ſacraments, that were appointed to be the ſolemn acts of religion, for quickening and exciting our piety, and for conveying grace to us, upon our coming devoutly to them, become means to flatten and deaden us; as if they were of the nature of charms, which if they could be come at, though with ever ſo ſlight a preparation, would make up all defects. The doctrine of Sacramental Juſtification is juſtly to be reckoned among the moſt miſchievous of all thoſe practical errors that are in the Church of Rome. Since therefore this is no where mentioned, in all theſe large diſcourſes that are in the New Teſtament concerning juſtification, we have juſt reaſon to reject it: ſince alſo the natural conſequence of this doctrine is to make men reſt contented

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ART. XI.

contented in low imperfect acts, when they can be so easily made up by a sacrament, we have just reason to detest it, as one of the depths of Satan; the tendency of it being to make those ordinances of the Gospel, which were given us as means to raise and heighten our faith and repentance, become engines to encourage sloth and impenitence.

There is another doctrine that is held by many, and is still taught in the Church of Rome, not only with approbation, but favour; that the inherent holiness of good men is a thing of its own nature so perfect, that, upon the account of it, God is so bound to esteem them just, and to *justify* them, that he were unjust if he did it not. They think there is such a real *condignity* in it, that it makes men God's adopted children. Whereas we on the other hand teach, that God is indeed pleased with the inward reformation that he sees in good men, in whom his grace dwells; that he approves and accepts of their sincerity; but that with this there is still such a mixture, and in this there is still so much imperfection, that even upon this account, if God did straitly mark iniquity, none could stand before him: so that even his acceptance of this is an act of mercy and grace. This doctrine was commonly taught in the Church of Rome at the time of the Reformation, and, together with it, they reckoned that the chief of those works that did justify, were either great or rich endowments, or excessive devotions towards images, saints, and relics; by all which, Christ was either forgot quite, or remembered only for form sake, esteemed perhaps as the chief of saints; not to mention the impious comparisons that were made between him and some saints, and the preferences that were given to them beyond him. In opposition to all this, the reformers began, as they ought to have done, at the laying down this as the foundation of all Christianity, and of all our hopes, that we were reconciled to God merely through his mercy, by the redemption purchased by Jesus Christ; and that a firm believing the Gospel, and a claiming to the death of Christ, as the great propitiation for our sins, according to the terms on which it is offered us in the Gospel, was that which united us to Christ; that gave us an interest in his death, and thereby justified us. If, in the management of this controversy, there was not so critical a judgment made of the scope of several passages of St. Paul's Epistles; and if the dispute became afterwards too abstracted and metaphysical, that was the effect of the infelicity of that time, and was the natural consequence of much disputing: therefore

ART. XI. therefore though we do not now ſtand to all the arguments, and to all the citations and illuſtrations uſed by them; and though we do not deny but that many of the writers of the Church of Rome came inſenſibly off from the moſt practical errors, that had been formerly much taught, and more practiſed among them; and that this matter was ſo ſtated by many of them, that, as to the main of it, we have no juſt exceptions to it: yet, after all, this beginning of the Reformation was a great bleſſing to the world, and has proved ſo, even to the Church of Rome; by bringing her to a juſter ſenſe of the atonement made for ſins by the blood of Chriſt; and by taking men off from external actions, and turning them to conſider the inward acts of the mind, faith and repentance, as the conditions of our juſtification. And therefore the approbation given here to the homily, is only an approbation of the doctrine aſſerted and proved in it; which ought not to be carried to every particular of the proofs or explanations that are in it. To be *juſtified*, and to be accounted righteous, ſtand for one and the ſame thing in the Article: and both import our being delivered from the guilt of ſin, and entitled to the favour of God. Theſe differ from God's intending from all eternity to ſave us, as much as a decree differs from the execution of it.

A man is then only *juſtified*, when he is freed from wrath, and is at peace with God: and though this is freely offered to us in the Goſpel through Jeſus Chriſt, yet it is applied to none but to ſuch as come within thoſe qualifications and conditions ſet before us in the Goſpel. That God pardons ſin, and receives us into favour only through the death of Chriſt, is ſo fully expreſſed in the Goſpel, as was already made out upon the ſecond Article, that it is not poſſible to doubt of it, if one does firmly believe, and attentively read the New Teſtament. Nor is it leſs evident, that it is not offered to us abſolutely, and without conditions and limitations. Theſe conditions are, *Repentance*, with which *remiſſion of ſins* is often joined; and *Faith*, but a *Faith that worketh by love, that purifies the heart, and that keeps the commandments of God*; ſuch a faith as ſhews itſelf to be alive by good works, by acts of charity, and every act of obedience; by which we demonſtrate, that we truly and firmly believe the divine authority of our Saviour and his doctrine. Such a faith as this *juſtifies*, but not as it is a work or meritorious action, that of its own nature puts us in the favour of God, and makes us truly juſt; but as it is the condition upon which the mercy of God is offered to us by Chriſt Jeſus; for then we correſpond

Gal. v. 6. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts ii. 38.

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ART. XI.

respond to his design of coming into the world, that *he might redeem us from all iniquity*, that is, justify us: and *purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works*; that is, sanctify us. Upon our bringing ourselves therefore under these qualifications and conditions, we are actually in the favour of God; our sins are pardoned, and we are entitled to eternal life. Tit. ii. 14.

Our faith and repentance are not the valuable considerations for which God pardons and justifies; that is done merely for the death of Christ; which God having out of the riches of his grace provided for us, and offered to us, justification is upon those accounts said to be *free*; there being nothing on our part which either did or could have procured it. But still our faith, which includes our hope, our love, our repentance, and our obedience, is the condition that makes us capable of receiving the benefits of this redemption and free grace. And thus it is clear, in what sense we believe, that *we* are *justified* both *freely*, and yet through Christ; and also through *faith*, as the condition indispensably necessary on our part.

In strictness of words, we are not *justified* till the final sentence is pronounced; till upon our death we are solemnly acquitted of our sins, and admitted into the presence of God; this being that which is opposite to *condemnation*: yet as a man, who is in that state, that must end in *condemnation*, is said to be *condemned already, and the wrath of God is said to abide upon him*; though he be not yet adjudged to it: so, on the contrary, a man in that state, which must end in the full enjoyment of God, is said now to be *justified*, and to be at peace with God; because he not only has the promises of that state now belonging to him, when he does perform the conditions required in them; but is likewise receiving daily marks of God's favour, the protection of his providence, the ministry of Angels, and the inward assistances of his grace and Spirit. John iii. 18.

*This is a doctrine full of comfort*; for if we did believe that our justification was founded upon our inherent justice, or sanctification, as the consideration on which we receive it, we should have just cause of fear and dejection; since we could not reasonably promise ourselves so great a blessing, upon so poor a consideration: but when we know that this is only the condition of it, then when we feel it is sincerely received and believed, and carefully observed by us, we may conclude that we are *justified*: but we are by no means to think, that our certain persuasion of Christ's having died for us in particular, or the certainty of our salvation through him, is an act of *saving faith*, much

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ART. XI.

much leſs that we are juſtified by it. Many things have been too crudely ſaid upon this ſubject, which have given the enemies of the Reformation great advantages, and have furniſhed them with much matter of reproach. We ought to believe firmly, that Chriſt died for all penitent and converted ſinners; and when we feel theſe characters in ourſelves, we may from thence juſtly infer, that he died for us, and that we are of the number of thoſe who ſhall be ſaved through him: but yet if we may fall from this ſtate, in which we do now feel ourſelves, we may and muſt likewiſe forfeit thoſe hopes; and therefore we muſt *work out our ſalvation with fear and trembling*. Our believing that we ſhall be ſaved by Chriſt, is no act of divine faith; ſince every act of faith muſt be founded on ſome divine revelation: it is only a collection and inference that we may make from this general propoſition, that Chriſt is the propitiation for the ſins of thoſe who do truly repent and believe his Goſpel; and from thoſe reflections and obſervations that we make on ourſelves, by which we conclude, that we do truly both repent and believe.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XII.

### Of Good Works.

**Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgment: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God and Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the fruit.**

THAT good works are indispensably necessary to salvation; that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord*; is so fully and frequently expressed in the Gospel, that no doubt can be made of it by any who reads it: and indeed a greater disparagement to the Christian religion cannot be imagined, than to propose the hopes of God's mercy and pardon barely upon believing, without a life suitable to the rules it gives us. This began early to corrupt the theories of religion, as it still has but too great an influence upon the practice of it. What St. James writ upon this subject must put an end to all doubting about it; and whatever subtilties some may have set up, to separate the consideration of faith from a holy life, in the point of *justification*; yet none among us have denied that it was absolutely necessary to salvation: and so it be owned as necessary, it is a nice curiosity to examine whether it is of itself a condition of justification, or if it is the certain distinction and constant effect of that faith which justifies. These are speculations of very little consequence, as long as the main point is still maintained; that Christ came to *bring us to God*, to change our natures, to mortify the old man in us, and to raise up and restore that *image of* God, from which we had fallen by sin. And therefore even where the thread of men's speculations of these matters may be thought too fine, and in some points of them wrong drawn; yet so long as this foundation is preserved, that *every one who nameth the name of Christ does depart from iniquity*, so long the doctrine of Christ is preserved pure in this capital and fundamental point. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

There do arise out of this Article only two points, about which some debates have been made. 1st. Whether the good works of holy men are in themselves so perfect,



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ART. XII. that they can endure the severity of God's judgment, so that there is no mixture of imperfection or evil in them, or not? The Council of Trent has decreed, that men by their good works have so fully satisfied the law of God, according to the state of this life, that nothing is wanting to them. The second point is, whether these good works are of their own nature meritorious of eternal life, or not? The Council of Trent has decreed that they are: yet a long softening is added to the decree, importing, *That none ought to glory in himself, but in the Lord; whose goodness is such, that he makes his own gifts to us, to be merits in us:* and it adds, *That* because *in many things we offend all, every one ought to consider the justice and severity, as well as the mercy and goodness of God; and not to judge himself, even though he should know nothing by himself.* So then that in which all are agreed about this matter, is, 1. That our works cannot be good or acceptable to God but as we are assisted by his grace and spirit to do them: so that the real goodness that is in them flows from those assistances which enable us to do them. 2. That God does certainly reward good works: he has promised it, and *he is faithful, and cannot lie: nor is he unrighteous to forget our labour of love.* So the favour of God and eternal happiness is the reward of good works. Mention is also made *of a full reward, of the reward of a righteous man, and of a prophet's reward.* 3. That this reward is promised in the Gospel, and could not be claimed without that, by any antecedent merit founded upon equality: *Since our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.*

Mat. x. 41, 42.

2 Cor. iv. 17.

The points in which we differ are, 1. Whether the good works of holy men are so perfect, that there is no defect in them; or whether there is still some such defect mixed with them, that there is occasion for mercy, to pardon somewhat even in good men? Those of the Church of Rome think that a work cannot be called *good*, if it is not entirely *good*; and that nothing can please God in which there is a mixture of sin. Whereas we, according to the Article, believe that human nature is so weak and so degenerated, that as far as our natural powers concur in any action, there is still some allay in it; and that a *good work* is considered by God according to the main, both of the action and of the intention of him that does it; and as a father *pities* his children, so God passes over the defects of those who serve him sincerely, though not perfectly. *The imaginations of the heart of man are only evil continually: In many things we offend*

Gen. vi. 5. Jam. iii. 2.

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ART. XII.

*offend all*, says St. James: and St. Paul reckons that *he had not yet apprehended, but was forgetting the things behind, and reaching to those before, and still pressing forward.* Phil. iii. 13, 14.

We see in fact, that the best men in all ages have been complaining and humbling themselves even for the sins of their holy things, for their vanity and desire of glory, for the distraction of their thoughts in devotion, and for the affection which they bore to earthly things. It were a doctrine of great cruelty, which might drive men to despair, if they thought that no action could please God, in which they were conscious to themselves of some imperfection or sin. The midwives of Egypt *feared God*, yet they excused themselves by a lye: but God accepted of what was good, and passed over what was amiss in them, and *built them houses*. St. Austin urges this frequently, that our Saviour, in teaching us to pray, has made this a standing petition, *Forgive us our trespasses*, as well as that, *Give us this day our daily bread*; for we sin daily, and do always need a pardon. Upon these reasons we conclude, that somewhat of the man enters into all that men do: we are made up of infirmities, and we need the intercession of Christ, to make our best actions to be accepted of by God: For *if he should straitly mark iniquity, who can stand before him? but mercy is with him, and forgiveness*. So that with Hezekiah we ought to pray, that *though we are not purified according to the purification of the sanctuary, yet the good Lord would pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God.* Exod. i. 21. Psal. cxxx. 3, 4. 2 Chr. xxx. 18, 19.

The second question arises out of this, concerning *the merit of good works*; for upon the supposition of their being completely good, that merit is founded; which will be acknowledged to be none at all, if it is believed that there are such defects in them, that they need a pardon; since where there is guilt, there can be no pretension to merit. The word *merit* has also a sound that is so daring, so little suitable to the humility of a creature, to be used towards a Being of infinite majesty, and with relation to endless rewards, that though we do not deny but that a sense is given to it by many of the Church of Rome, to which no just exception can be made, yet there seems to be somewhat too bold in it, especially when *condignity* is added to it: and since this may naturally give us an idea of a buying and selling with God, and that there has been a great deal of this put in practice, it is certain that on many respects this *word* ought not to be made use of. There is somewhat in the



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ART. XII.

nature of man apt to ſwell and to raiſe itſelf out of meaſure, and to that no indulgence ought to be given, in words that may flatter it; for we ought to ſubdue this temper by all means poſſible, both in ourſelves and others. On the other hand, though we confeſs that there is a diſorder and weakneſs that hangs heavy upon us, and that ſticks cloſe to us, yet this ought not to make us indulge ourſelves in our ſins, as if they were the effects of an infirmity that is inſeparable from us. To conſent to any ſin, if it were ever ſo ſmall in itſelf, is a very great ſin: we ought to go on, ſtill *cleanſing ourſelves* more and more, *from all filthineſs both of the fleſh and of the ſpirit, and perfecting holineſs in the fear of God.* Our readineſs to ſin ſhould awaken both our diligence to watch againſt it, and our humility under it. For though we grow not up to a pitch of being above all ſin, and of abſolute perfection, yet there are many degrees both of purity and perfection, to which we may arrive, and to which we muſt conſtantly aſpire. So that we muſt keep a juſt temper in this matter, neither to aſcribe ſo much to our own works as to be lifted up by reaſon of them, or to forget our daily need of a Saviour both for pardon and interceſſion; nor on the other hand ſo far to neglect them, as to take no care about them. The due temper is *to make our calling and election ſure, and to work out our own ſalvation with fear and trembling*; but to do *all in the name of the Lord Jeſus*, ever truſting to him, and *giving thanks to God by him.*

2 Cor. vii. 1.

Phil. ii. 12.

Col. iii. 17.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XIII.

### Of Works before Juſtification.

**Works done before the Grace of Chriſt, and the Inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſant to God; forasmuch as they ſpring not of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, neither do they make men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors ſay) deſerve Grace of Congruity: Yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath commanded and willed them to be done, we doubt not but that they have the nature of Sin.**

THERE is but one point to be conſidered in this Article, which is, whether men can without any inward aſſiſtances from God do any action that ſhall be in all its circumſtances ſo good, that it is not only acceptable to God, but meritorious in his ſight, though in a lower degree of merit. If what was formerly laid down concerning a corruption that was ſpread over the whole race of mankind, and that had very much vitiated their faculties, be true, then it will follow from thence, that unaſſiſted nature can do nothing that is ſo good in itſelf, that it can be pleaſant or meritorious in the ſight of God. A great difference is here to be made between an external action as it is conſidered in itſelf, and the ſame action as it was done by ſuch a man. An action is called good, from the morality and nature of the action itſelf; ſo actions of juſtice and charity are in themſelves good, whatſoever the doer of them may be: but actions are conſidered by God with relation to him that does them, in another light; his principles, ends, and motives, with all the other circumſtances of the action, come into this account; for unleſs all theſe be good, let the action in its own abſtracted nature be ever ſo good, it cannot render the doer acceptable or meritorious in the ſight of God.

Another diſtinction is alſo to be made between the methods of the goodneſs and mercy of God, and the ſtrictneſs of juſtice: for if God had ſuch regard to the feigned humiliation of Ahab, as to grant him and his family a reprieve for ſome time from thoſe judgments that had been denounced againſt them and him; and if Jehu's executing the commands of God upon Ahab's family, 1 Kings xxi. 29. 2 Kings x. 30, 31.



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ART. XIII.

and upon the worſhippers of Baal, procured him the bleſſing of a long continuance of the kingdom in his family, though he acted in it with a bad deſign, and retained ſtill the old idolatry of the calves ſet up by Jeroboam; then we have all reaſon to conclude, according to the infinite mercy and goodneſs of God, that no man is rejected by him, or denied inward aſſiſtances, that is making the moſt of his faculties, and doing the beſt that he can; but that he who is faithful in his little, ſhall be made ruler over more.

The queſtion is only, whether ſuch actions can be ſo pure, as to be free from all ſin, and to merit at God's hand, as being works naturally perfect? For that is the formal notion of the *merit of congruity*, as the notion of the *merit of condignity* is, that the work is perfect in the ſupernatural order.

To eſtabliſh the truth of this Article, beſide what was ſaid upon the head of original ſin, we ought to conſider what St. Paul's words in the 7th of the Romans do import: Nothing was urged from them on the former Articles, becauſe there is juſt ground of doubting whether St. Paul is there ſpeaking of himſelf in the ſtate he was in when he writ it, or whether he is perſonating a Jew, and ſpeaking of himſelf as he was while yet a Jew. But if the words are taken in that loweſt ſenſe, they prove this, that an unregenerate man has in himſelf ſuch a principle of corruption, that even a good and a holy *law* revealed to him, cannot reform it; but that, on the contrary, it
Rom. vii. 12, 13. will take *occaſion from that very law to deceive him, and to ſlay him*. So that all the benefit that he receives even from that revelation is, that *ſin in him becomes exceeding ſinful*; as being done againſt ſuch a degree of light, by which it
Ver. 14. appears that he is *carnal, and ſold under ſin*; and that though his underſtanding may be enlightened by the revelation of the law of God made to him, ſo that he has ſome inclinations to obey it, yet he does not that which he would, but that which he would not: and though
16, his *mind* is ſo far convinced, that he *conſents to the law*
17, *that it is good*, yet *he ſtill does that which he would not*; which was the effect of *ſin that dwelt in him*; and from
18, hence he knew, *that in him, that is in his fleſh*, in his carnal part, or carnal ſtate, *there dwelt no good thing*; for *though to will*, that is, to reſolve on obeying the law, *was preſent, yet he found not a way how to perform that which was good*; the good that he wiſhed to do, that he did not; but he did the evil that he wiſhed not to do; which he imputed to the *ſin that dwelt in him*. He found then a *law*,

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a *law*, a bent and bias within him, that when he wiſhed, reſolved, and endeavoured to do good, *evil was preſent with him*, it ſprung up naturally within him; for though in his rational powers he might ſo far approve the law of God as to *delight* in it; yet he found *another law* ariſing upon his mind from his body, *which warred againſt the law of his mind, and brought him into captivity to the law of ſin which was in his members:* all this made him conclude, that *he was carnal, and ſold under ſin*; and cry out, *O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* For this *he thanks God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* and he ſums all up in theſe words; *So then, with the mind I myſelf ſerve the law of God, but with the fleſh the law of ſin.*

ART. XIII.

Ver. 21, 23, 24, 25.

If all this diſcourſe is made by St. Paul of himſelf, when he had the light which a divinely inſpired law gave him, he being educated in the exacteſt way of that religion, both zealous for the law, and blameleſs in his own obſervance of it; we may from thence conclude how little reaſon there is to believe that a heathen, or indeed an unregenerated man, can be better than he was, and do actions that are both good in themſelves, which it is not denied but that he may do; and do them in ſuch a manner that there ſhall be no mixture or imperfection in them, but that they ſhall be perfect in a natural order, and be by conſequence meritorious in a ſecondary order.

By all this we do not pretend to ſay, that a man in that ſtate can do nothing; or that he has no uſe of his faculties: he can certainly reſtrain himſelf on many occaſions; he can do many good works, and avoid many bad ones; he can raiſe his underſtanding to know and conſider things according to the light that he has; he can put himſelf in good methods and good circumſtances; he can pray, and do many acts of devotion, which though they are all very imperfect, yet none of them will be loſt in the ſight of God, who certainly will never be wanting to thoſe who are doing what in them lies, to make themſelves the proper objects of his mercy, and fit ſubjects for his grace to work upon. Therefore this Article is not to be made uſe of to diſcourage men's endeavours, but only to increaſe their humility; to teach them not to think of themſelves above meaſure, but ſoberly; to depend always on the mercy of God, and ever to fly to it.



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## ARTICLE XIV.

### Of Works of Supererogation.

**Voluntary Works, beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety. For by them men do declare, That they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do: but that they do more for his ſake, than of bounden Duty is required. Whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, when ye have done all that are commanded to you, ſay, We are unprofitable Servants.**

THERE are two points that ariſe out of this Article to be conſidered, 1ſt. Whether there are in the New Teſtament counſels of perfection given; that is to ſay, ſuch rules which do not oblige all men to follow them, under the pain of ſin; but yet are uſeful to carry them on to a ſublimer degree of perfection, than is neceſſary in order to their ſalvation. 2d. Whether men by following theſe do not more than they are bound to do, and by conſequence, whether they have not thereby a ſtock of merit to communicate to others. The firſt of theſe leads to the ſecond; for if there are no ſuch counſels, then the foundation of Supererogation fails.

Luke xvii. 10.

We deny both upon this ground, that the great obligations of *loving God with all our heart, ſoul, ſtrength, and mind, and our neighbour as ourſelves*, which are reckoned by our Saviour the *two great Commandments, on which hang all the Law and the Prophets*, are of that extent, that it ſeems not poſſible to imagine, how any thing can be acceptable to God, that does not fall within them. Since if it is acceptable to God, then that obligation to love God ſo entirely muſt bind us to it; for if it is a ſin not to love God up to this pitch, then it is a ſin not to do every thing that we imagine will pleaſe him: and by conſequence, if there is a degree of pleaſing God, whether precept or counſel, that we do not ſtudy to attain to, we do not *love* him in a manner ſuitable to that. It ſeems a great many in the Church of Rome are aware of this conſequence, and therefore they have taken much pains to convince the world that we are not bound to love God at all, or, as others

Matt. xxii. 36 to 40.

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others more cautiously word it, that we are only bound to value him above all things, but not to have a *love* of such a vast intention for him. This is a proposition that, after all their softening it, gives so much horror to every Christian, that I need not be at any pains to confute it. ART. XIV.

We are farther required in the New Testament, *to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness both of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God:* and to reckon ourselves *his, and not our own,* and that *we are bought with a price*; and that therefore *we ought to glorify him both in our bodies, and in our spirits, which are his.* These and many more like expressions are plainly precepts of general obligation, for nothing can be set forth in more positive words than these are: and it is not easy to imagine, how any thing can go beyond them; for if we are Christ's property, purchased by him, then we ought to apply ourselves to every thing in which his honour, or the honour of his religion, can be concerned, or which will be pleasing to him. 2 Cor. vii. 1. 1 Cor. vi. 20.

Our Saviour having charged the Pharisees so often, for adding so many of their ordinances to the laws of God, *teaching his fear by the precepts of men,* and the Apostles condemning *a shew of will-worship and voluntary humility,* seem to belong to this matter, and to be designed on purpose to repress the pride and singularities of affected hypocrites. Our Saviour said to him that asked, *What he should do that he might have eternal life? Keep the Commandments.* These words I do the rather cite, because they are followed with a passage, that, of all others in the New Testament, seems to look the likest a counsel of perfection; for when he, who made the question, replied upon our Saviour's answer, that *he had kept all these from his youth up,* and added, *what lack I yet?* to that our Saviour answered, *If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me:* and by the words that follow, of the difficulty of a *rich man's entering into the kingdom of heaven,* this is more fully explained. The meaning of all that whole passage is this; Christ called that person to abandon all, and come and follow him, in such a manner as he had called his Apostles. So that here is no counsel, but a positive command given to that particular person upon this occasion. By *perfect* is only to be meant complete, in order to that to which he pretended, which was *eternal life.* And that also explains the word in that period, *treasures in heaven,* another expression for *eternal life,* to compensate the loss which he would have made by Coloss. ii. 18. Matt. xix. 16, 17. Ver. 20, 21.

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ART. XIV.

the ſale of his poſſeſſions. So that here is no counſel, but a ſpecial command given to this perſon, in order to his own attaining *eternal life*.

Nor is it to be inferred from hence, that this is propoſed to others in the way of a counſel; for as in caſes either of a famine or perſecution, it may come to be to ſome a command, *to ſell all* in order to the relief of others, as it was in the firſt beginnings of Chriſtianity; ſo in ordinary caſes to do it, might be rather a tempting of Providence than a truſting to it, for then a man ſhould part with the means of his ſubſiſtence, which God has provided for him, without a neceſſary and preſſing occaſion. Therefore our Saviour's words, *Sell that ye have, and give alms*, as they are delivered in the ſtrain and peremptorineſs of a command, ſo they muſt be underſtood to bind as poſitive commands do: not ſo conſtantly as a negative command does, ſince in every minute of our life that binds: but there is a rule and order in our obeying poſitive commands. We muſt not reſt on the *Sabbath-day*, if a work of neceſſity or charity calls us to put to our hands: we muſt not obey our parents in diſobeying a public law: ſo if we have families, or the neceſſities of a feeble body, and a weak conſtitution, for which God hath ſupplied us with that which will afford us *food convenient for us*, we muſt not throw up thoſe proviſions, and caſt ourſelves upon others. Therefore that precept muſt be moderated and expounded, ſo as to agree with the other rules and orders that God has ſet us.

Luke xii. 33.

Prov. xxx. 8.

A diſtinction is therefore to be made between thoſe things that do univerſally and equally bind all mankind, and thoſe things that do more ſpecially bind ſome ſorts of men, and that only at ſome times. There are greater degrees of charity, gravity, and all other virtues, to which the Clergy for inſtance are more bound than other men; but theſe are to them precepts, and not counſels. And in the firſt beginnings of Chriſtianity there were greater obligations laid upon all Chriſtians, as well as greater gifts were beſtowed on them. It is true, in the point of marriage St. Paul does plainly allow, that ſuch as *marry do well, but that ſuch as marry not do better*. But the meaning of that is not as if an unmarried life were a ſtate of perfection, beyond that which a man is obliged to: but only this; that as to the courſe of this life, and the *preſent diſtreſs*; and as to the judgment that is to be made of men by their actions, no man is to be thought to do amiſs who *marries*; but yet he who marries not, is to be judged to do *better*. But yet inwardly and before God this

1 Cor. vii. 38.

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this matter may be far otherwiſe; for he who *marries not* ART. XIV.
and burns, certainly does worſe than he who *marries and lives chaſtely*. But he who finding that he can limit himſelf without endangering his purity; though no law reſtrains him from marrying, yet ſeeing that he is like to be tempted to be too careful about the concerns of this life if he *marries*, is certainly under obligations to follow that courſe of life in which there are fewer temptations, and greater opportunities to attend on the ſervice of God.

With relation to outward actions, and to the judgments that from viſible appearances are to be made of them, ſome actions may be ſaid to be better than others, which yet are truly good: but as to the particular obligations that every man is under, with relation to his own ſtate and circumſtances, and for which he muſt anſwer at the laſt day, theſe being ſecret, and ſo not ſubject to the judgments of men, certainly every man is ſtrictly bound to do the beſt he can; to chooſe that courſe of life in which he thinks he may do the beſt ſervices to God and man: nor are theſe free to him to chooſe or not: he is under obligations, and he ſins if he ſees a more excellent thing that he might have done, and contents himſelf with a lower or leſs valuable thing. St. Paul had wherein to *glory*; for whereas it was lawful for him as an Apoſtle to ſuffer the Corinthians to ſupply him in temporals, when he was ſerving them in ſpiritual things; yet he choſe rather for the honour of the Goſpel, and to take away all occaſion of cenſure from thoſe who ſought for it, *to work with his own hands, and not to be burdenſome to them*. But in that ſtate of things, though there was no law or outward obligation upon him to *ſpare them*; he was under an inward law of doing all things to the glory of God: and by this law he was as much bound, as if there had been an outward compulſory law lying upon him. Acts xx. 34. 1 Cor. ix. 18. 2 Cor. xii. 13.

This diſtinction is to be remembered, between ſuch an obligation as ariſes out of a man's particular circumſtances, and ſuch other motives as can be only known to a man himſelf, and ſuch an obligation as may be faſtened on him by ſtated and general rules: he may be abſolutely free from the latter of theſe, and yet be ſecretly bound by thoſe inward and ſtronger conſtraints of the love of God, and zeal for his glory. Enough ſeems to be ſaid to prove that there are no counſels of perfection in the Goſpel; that all the rules ſet to us in it are in the ſtyle and form of precepts; and that though there may be ſome actions of more heroical virtue, and more ſublime piety, than others, to which all men are not obliged by equal or general

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ART. XIV.

neral rules; yet ſuch men, to whoſe circumſtances and ſtation they do belong, are ſtrictly obliged by them, ſo that they ſhould ſin, if they did not put them in practice.

This being thus made out, the foundation of works of ſupererogation is deſtroyed. But if it ſhould be acknowledged that there were ſuch counſels of perfection in the Scripture, there are ſtill two other clear proofs, to ſhew that there can be no ſuch thing as ſupererogating with God. Firſt, every man not only has ſinned, but has ſtill ſo much corruption about him, as to feel the truth of that

James iii. 2. of St. James, *in many things we offend all.* Now unleſs it can be ſuppoſed that, by obeying thoſe counſels, a man can compenſate with Almighty God for his ſins, there is no ground to think that he can ſupererogate. He muſt firſt clear his own ſcore, before he can imagine that any thing upon his account can be forgiven or imputed to another: and if the guilt of ſin is eternal, and the pretended merit of obeying counſels is only temporary, no temporary merit can take off an eternal guilt. So that it muſt firſt be ſuppoſed, that a man both is and has been perfect as to the precepts of obligation, before it can be thought that he ſhould have an overplus of merit.

The other clear argument from Scripture againſt works of ſupererogation is, that there is nothing in the whole New Teſtament that does in any ſort favour them; we are always taught to truſt to the mercies of God, and to the

Phil. ii. 12. death and interceſſion of Chriſt, and *to work out our own ſalvation with fear and trembling:* but we are never once directed to look for any help from ſaints, or to think that we can do any thing for another man's ſoul in this way.

Pſ. xlix. 7. The Pſalm has it, *No man can by any means give a ranſom for his brother's ſoul:* the words of Chriſt cited in the Article are full and expreſs againſt it.

The words in the parable of the five fooliſh virgins and the five wiſe, may ſeem to favour it, but they really contradict it; for it was the fooliſh virgins that deſired the wiſe to give them of their *oil*; which if any will apply to a ſuppoſed communication of merit, they ought to conſider that the propoſition is made by the *fooliſh*, and

Matt. xxv. 9. the anſwer of the wiſe virgins is full againſt it; *Not ſo, leſt there be not enough for us and you.* What follows, of bidding them *go to them that ſell, and buy for themſelves*, is only a piece of the fiction of the parable, which cannot enter into any part of the application of it. What St.

Col. i. 24. Paul ſays of his *filling up that which was behind of the afflictions of Chriſt in his fleſh, for his body's ſake, which is the Church*, is, as appears by the words that follow, *whereof*

*I am*

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I am *made a miniſter*, only applicable to the edification that the Church received from the ſufferings of the Apoſtles; it being a great confirmation to them of the truth of the Goſpel, when thoſe who preached it ſuffered ſo conſtantly and ſo patiently for it; by which they both confirmed what they had preached, and ſet an example to others, of adhering firmly to it. And ſince Chriſt is related to his Church, as a head to the members, it is in ſome ſort his ſuffering himſelf, when his members ſuffer: and that conformity which they ought to expreſs to him as their head was neceſſary to make up the due proportion, that ought to be between the head and the members. So St. Paul rejoiced in his being made *conformable to him*: and this, as it is a ſenſe that the words will well bear, ſo it is certain they are capable of no other ſenſe; for if the ſufferings of the Apoſtles were meritorious in behalf of the other Chriſtians, ſome plain account muſt have been given of this in the New Teſtament, at leaſt to do honour to the memory of ſuch Apoſtles as had then died for the faith. If it is ſuggeſted, that the living Apoſtles were too modeſt to claim it to themſelves, that will not ſatisfy; all runs quite in a contrary ſtyle: the mercies of God and the blood of Chriſt being always repeated, whereas theſe are never once named. Now to imagine that there can be any thing of ſuch great uſe to us, in which the Scripture ſhould be not only ſilent, but ſhould run in a ſtrain totally different from it, is not conceivable: for if in any thing, the Goſpel ought to be full and explicit in all that which concerns our peace and reconciliation with God, and the means of our eſcaping his wrath, and obtaining his favour. ART. XIV.

There is another doctrine that does alſo belong to this head, which is Purgatory, that is not to be entered on here, but is referred to its proper place. Thus it appears, how ill this doctrine of works of ſupererogation is founded; and upon how many accounts it is evidently falſe; and yet upon it has been built not only a theory of a communication of thoſe merits, and a treaſure in the Church, but a practice of ſo foul a nature, that in it the words of our Saviour ſpoken to the Jews, *My houſe is a houſe of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves*, are accompliſhed in a high and moſt ſcandalous manner. It has been pretended that this was of the nature of a bank, of which the Pope was the keeper; and that he could grant ſuch bills and aſſignments upon it as he pleaſed: this was done in ſo baſe and ſo crying a manner, that all who had any ſenſe of probity in their own Church were aſhamed of it. Mark xi. 17.

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ART. XIV.

In the primitive Church there were very ſevere rules made, obliging all that had ſinned publicly (and they were afterwards applied to ſuch as had ſinned ſecretly) to continue for many years in a ſtate of ſeparation from the Sacrament, and of penance and diſcipline. But becauſe all ſuch general rules admit of a great variety of circumſtances, taken from men's ſins, their perſons, and their repentance, there was a power given to all Biſhops by the Council of Nice to ſhorten the time, and to relax the ſeverity of thoſe Canons; and ſuch favour as they ſaw cauſe to grant, was called *indulgence*. This was juſt and neceſſary, and was a proviſion without which no conſtitution or ſociety can be well governed. But after the tenth century, as the Popes came to take this power in the whole extent of it into their own hands, ſo they found it too feeble to carry on the great deſigns that they grafted upon it.

They gave it high names, and called it a plenary remiſſion, and the pardon of all ſins: which the world was taught to look on as a thing of a much higher nature, than the bare excuſing of men from diſcipline and penance. Purgatory was then got to be firmly believed, and all men were ſtrangely poſſeſſed with the terror of it: ſo a deliverance from purgatory, and by conſequence an immediate admiſſion into heaven, was believed to be the certain effect of it. And to ſupport all this, the doctrine of *counſels of perfection*, of works of *ſupererogation*, and of the *communication* of thoſe merits, was ſet up; and to that this was added, that a treaſure made up of theſe, was at the Pope's diſpoſal, and in his keeping. The uſe that this was put to, was as bad as the forgery itſelf. Multitudes were by theſe means engaged to go to the Holy Land, to recover it out of the hands of the Saracens: afterwards they armed vaſt numbers againſt the heretics to extirpate them: they fought alſo all thoſe quarrels which their ambitious pretenſions engaged them in with emperors and other princes, by the ſame pay; and at laſt they ſet it to ſale with the ſame impudence, and almoſt with the ſame methods, that mountebanks uſe in the venting of their ſecrets.

This was ſo groſs even in an ignorant age, and among the ruder ſort, that it gave the firſt riſe to the Reformation: and as the progreſs of it was a very ſignal work of God, ſo it was in a great meaſure owing to the ſcandals that this ſhameleſs practice had given the world. And upon this ſingle reaſon it is that this matter has been more fully examined than was neceſſary; for the thing is ſo plain, that it has no ſort of difficulty in it.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XV.

### Of Chriſt alone without Sin.

**Chriſt in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (ſin only except) from which he was clearly void both in his fleſh and in ſpirit. He came to be a Lamb without ſpot, who, by ſacrifice of himſelf once made, ſhould take away the ſins of the World: and ſin, as St. John ſaith, was not in him. But all we the reſt (although baptized and born again in Chriſt) offend in many things; and if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us.**

THIS Article relates to the former, and is put here as another foundation againſt all works of ſupererogation: for that doctrine, with the conſequences of it, having given the firſt occaſion to the Reformation, it was thought neceſſary to overthrow it entirely: and becauſe the perfection of the ſaints muſt be ſuppoſed, before their ſupererogating can be thought on, that was therefore here oppoſed.

That Chriſt was *holy, without ſpot and blemiſh, harmleſs, undefiled, and ſeparate from ſinners*; that there was *no guile in his mouth*; *that he never did amiſs, but went about always doing good*, and was as a *lamb without ſpot*, is ſo oft affirmed in the New Teſtament, that it can admit of no debate. This was not only true in his rational powers, the ſuperior part called the *Spirit*, in oppoſition to the lower part, but alſo in thoſe appetites and affections that ariſe from our bodies, and from the union of our ſouls to them, called the *Fleſh*. For though in theſe Chriſt, having the human nature truly in him, had the appetites of hunger in him, yet the devil could not tempt him by that to diſtruſt God, or to deſire a miraculous ſupply ſooner than was fitting: he overcame even that neceſſary appetite, whenſoever there was an occaſion given him *to do the will of his heavenly Father*: he had alſo in him the averſions to pain and ſuffering, and the horror at a violent and ignominious death, which are planted in our natures: and in this it was natural to him to wiſh and to pray that the cup might paſs from him. But in this his purity appeared the moſt eminently, that though he felt the weight of

Heb. vii. 26. 1 Pet. i. 19. John iv. 34.

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ART. XV.

of his nature to a vaſt degree, he did, notwithſtanding that, limit and conquer it ſo entirely, that he reſigned himſelf abſolutely to his Father's will: *Not my will, but thy will be done.*

Beſides all that has been already ſaid upon the former Articles, to prove that ſome taint and degree of the original corruption remains in all men; the peculiar character of Chriſt's holineſs ſo oft repeated, looks plainly to be a diſtinction proper to him, and to him only. We are called upon to follow him, to learn of him, and to imitate him without reſtriction; whereas we are required to

1 Cor. xi. 1. *follow the Apoſtles, only as they were the followers of Chriſt:*

1 Pet. i. 15. and though we are commanded *to be holy as he was holy in all manner of converſation*; that does no more prove that any man can arrive at that pitch, than our being com-

Matt. v. 48. manded *to be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect*, will prove that we may become as perfect as God is: the importance of theſe words being only this, that we ought in all things to make God and Chriſt our patterns; and that we ought to endeavour to imitate and reſemble them all we can.

There ſeems to be a particular deſign in the contexture and writing of the Scriptures, to repreſent to us ſome of the failings of the beſt men: for though Zacharias and

Luke i. 6. Elizabeth are ſaid to have been *blameleſs*, that muſt only be meant of the exterior and viſible part of their converſation, that it was free from blame, and of their being accepted of God; but that is not to be carried to import

Ver. 20. a ſinleſs purity before God: for we find the ſame Zachary guilty of miſbelieving the meſſage of the Angel to him, to ſuch a degree, that he was puniſhed for it with a dumbneſs of above nine months continuance. Perhaps the Virgin's queſtion to the Angel had nothing blameworthy in it; but our Saviour's anſwers to her, both

Luke ii 49. when ſhe came to him in the Temple, when he was twelve years old, and more particularly when ſhe moved him, at

John ii. 4. the marriage in Cana, to furniſh them with wine, look like a reprimand. The contentions among the Apoſtles about the preeminence, and in particular the ambition of

Matt. xx. 20, 24. James and John, cannot be excuſed. St. Peter's diſſimulation at Antioch in the judaizing controverſy, and

Gal. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14. the ſharp contention that happened between Paul and

Acts xv. 39. Barnabas, are recorded in Scripture, and they are both characters of the ſincerity of thoſe who penned them, and likewiſe marks of the frailties of human nature, even in its greateſt elevation, and with its higheſt advantages. So that all the high characters that are given of the beſt men, are

are to be underſtood either comparatively to others whom they exceeded, or with relation to their outward actions, and the viſible parts of their life: or they are to be meant of their zeal and ſincerity, which is valued and accepted of God; and, as it was to Abraham, is imputed to them for righteouſneſs. ART. XV.

Yet this is not to be abuſed by any to be an encouragement to live in ſin; for we may carry this purity and perfection certainly very far, by the grace of God. In every ſin that we commit we do plainly perceive, that we do it with ſo much freedom, that we might not have done it; here is ſtill juſt matter for humiliation and repentance. By this doctrine our Church intends only to repreſs the pride of vain-glorious and hypocritical men, and to ſtrike at the root of that filthy merchandiſe that has been brought into the houſe of God, under the pretence of the perfection, and even the over-doing or ſupererogating of the ſaints.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XVI.

### Of Sin after Baptism.

**Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is the sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our Lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.**

THIS Article, as it relates to the sect of the Novatians of old, so it is probable it was made a part of our doctrine, upon the account of some of the enthusiasts, who at that time, as well as some do in our days, might boast their perfection, and join with that part of the character of a Pharisee, this other of an unreasonable rigour of censure and punishment against offenders. By *deadly sin* in the Article, we are not to understand such sins as in the Church of Rome are called *mortal*, in opposition to others that are *venial:* as if some sins, though offences against God, and violations of his law, could be of their own nature such slight things, that they deserved only temporal punishment, and were to be expiated by some piece of penance or devotion, or the communication of the merits of others. The Scripture no where teaches us to think so slightly of the majesty of God, or of his Law.

Gal. iii. 10. There is a *curse* upon every one *that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the Law to do them;* and the same curse must have been on us all, if Christ had not redeemed us from it: *The wages of sin is death.* And St. James asserts, that there is such a complication of all the precepts of the Law of God, both with one another,

Jam. ii. 10, 11. and with the authority of the Lawgiver, that *he who offends in one point is guilty of all.* So since God has in his word given us such dreadful apprehensions of his *wrath*, and of the *guilt of sin*, we dare not soften these to a degree below the majesty of the eternal God, and the dignity of his most holy laws. But, after all, we are far from

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from the conceit of the Stoics, who made all ſins alike. We acknowledge that ſome ſins of ignorance and infirmity may conſiſt with a ſtate of grace; which is either quite deſtroyed, or at leaſt much eclipſed and clouded by other ſins, that are more heinous in their nature, and more deliberately gone about. It is in this ſenſe that the word *deadly ſin* is to be underſtood in the Article: for though in the ſtrictneſs of juſtice every ſin is *deadly*, yet in the diſpenſation of the Goſpel, thoſe ſins are only *deadly*, that do deeply wound the conſcience, and that drive away grace. ART. XVI.

Another term in the Article needs alſo to be a little explained; *the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*; concerning which, ſince there is ſo ſevere a ſentence pronounced by Chriſt, it is neceſſary that it be rightly underſtood; and that can only be done by conſidering the occaſion of thoſe words, as well as the words themſelves. Chriſt wrought ſuch miracles in the ſight of his enemies, that when there was no room left for any other cavil, they betook themſelves to that, that *he did not caſt out devils but by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.* And this was the occaſion that led our Saviour to ſpeak of the ſin or *blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt.* It was their rejecting the cleareſt evidence that God could give to prove any thing by: the power by which thoſe miracles were wrought, and which was afterwards communicated to the Apoſtles, is called through the whole New Teſtament, the *Holy Ghoſt.* By which is not to be meant here the third Perſon of the Trinity, but the wonderful effuſion of thoſe extraordinary gifts and powers that were then communicated, the œconomy and diſpenſation of which is ſaid to be derived from that *one Spirit.* This was the utmoſt proof that could be given of truth: and when men ſet themſelves to blaſpheme this, and to aſcribe the works of Chriſt to a colluſion with the devil, they did thereby ſo wilfully oppoſe God, and reproach his power, they did ſo ſtifle their own conviction, and ſet themſelves againſt the conviction of others, that nothing could be done farther for their conviction; this being the higheſt degree of evidence and proof: and this was ſo high an indignity to God, when he deſcended ſo far to ſatisfy their ſcruples, that it was not to be pardoned; as their impenitence and incredulity was ſo obſtinate as not to be overcome. Matt. xii. 24, 31.

Upon this occaſion given, our Saviour makes a difference between their blaſpheming him, and, inſtead of owning him to be the Meſſias, calling him a *deceiver*, a *glutton*, and a *wine-bibber*; of which, upon hearing his



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ART. XVI.

doctrine, and seeing his life, they were still guilty. This was indeed a great sin, but yet there were means left of convincing them of the truth of his being the great prophet sent of God; and by these they might be so far prevailed on as to repent and believe, and so to obtain pardon: but when they had those means set before them; when they saw plain and uncontested miracles done before them; and when, instead of yielding to them, they set up such an opposition to them, which might have been as reasonably said of every miracle that could have been wrought, then it was not possible to convince them. This is an impious rejecting of the highest method that God himself uses for proving a thing to us. The scorn put upon it, as it flows from a nature so depraved, that it cannot be wrought on, so it is a sin not to be pardoned. All things of extreme severity in a doctrine that is so full of grace and mercy as the Gospel is, ought to be restrained as much as may be. From thence we infer, that those dreadful words of our Saviour's ought to be restrained to the subject to which they are applied, and ought not to be carried farther. Since miracles have ceased, no man is any more capable of this sin.

These terms being thus explained, the question in the Article is now to be explained. There are words in St. John's Epistle, and elsewhere, that seem to import, that *men born of God*, that is to say, baptized or regenerated Christians, *sin not: Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not: Whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him: Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, for he is born of God.* This is again repeated in the end of that Epistle, together with these words, *He that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.* As these words seem to import that a true Christian sins not, so in the Epistle to the Hebrews it is said to be *impossible to renew again, by repentance, those who fall away, after they had been once enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly gift, had been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and had tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come.* Upon these expressions, and some others, though not quite of their force, it was, that in the primitive Church, some that fell after baptism were cast out of the communion of the Church; and though they were not cut off from all hopes of the mercy of God, yet they were never restored to the peace of the Church; this was done in Tertullian's time, if what he says on this subject is not to be reckoned as a piece of his *Montanism*.

1 John iii. 6, 9. v. 18.

Heb. vi. 4. 5, 6.

But

ART. XVI.

But ſoon after there were great contéſts upon this head, while the Novatians withdrew from the communion of the Church, and believed it was defiled by the receiving of apoſtates into it: though that was not done ſo eaſily as ſome propoſed, but after a long ſeparation and a ſevere courſe of penance. Upon this followed all thoſe penitentiary Canons concerning the ſeveral meaſures and degrees of penance, and that not only for acts of apoſtaſy from the Chriſtian religion, but for all other crying ſins. According to what has been already ſaid upon the former Articles, it has appeared, that the ſanctification of regenerated men is not ſo perfected in this life, but that there is ſtill a mixture of defects and imperfections left in them: and the ſtate of the new covenant is a continuance of repentance and remiſſion of ſins; for as oft as one ſins, if he repents truly of it, and forſakes his ſins, there is a ſtanding offer of the pardon of all ſins; and therefore Chriſt has taught us to pray daily, *Forgive us our ſins.* If there were but one general pardon offered in baptiſm, this would ſignify little to thoſe who feel their infirmities, and the ſins that do ſo eaſily beſet them, ſo apt to return upon them. It was no wonder if the entertaining this conceit brought in a ſuperſtitious error in practice among the ancient Chriſtians, of delaying baptiſm till death; as hoping that all ſins were then certainly pardoned: a much more dangerous error than even the fatal one of truſting to a death-bed repentance. For baptiſm might have been more eaſily compaſſed; and there was more offered in the way of argument for building upon it, than has been offered at for a death-bed repentance.

St. Peter's denial, his repentance, and his being reſtored to his apoſtolical dignity, ſeem to be recorde partly on this account, to encourage us, even after the moſt heinous offences, to return to God, and never to reckon our condition deſperate, were our ſins ever ſo many, but as we find our hearts hardened in them into an obſtinate impenitency. Our Saviour has made our pardoning the offences that others commit againſt us, the meaſure upon which we may expect pardon from God; and he being aſked, what limits he ſet to the number of the faults that we were bound to pardon, by the day, if ſeven was not enough, he carried it up to *ſeventy times ſeven*, a vaſt number, far beyond the number of offences that any man will in all probability commit againſt another in a day. But if they ſhould grow up to all that vaſt number of 490, yet if our brother ſtill *turns again and repents*, we are ſtill bound to forgive. Now ſince this is Luke xvii. 4.



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ART. XVI.

joined with what he declared, that if we pardoned our brother his offences, *our heavenly Father would alſo forgive us*, then we may depend upon this, that according to the ſincerity of our repentance, our ſins are always forgiven us. And if this is the nature of the new Covenant, then the Church, which is a ſociety formed upon it, muſt proportion the rules both of her communion and cenſure to thoſe ſet in the Goſpel: a heinous ſin muſt give us a deeper ſorrow, and higher degrees of repentance; ſcandals muſt alſo be taken off and forgiven, when the offending perſons have repaired the offence that was given by them, with ſuitable degrees of ſorrow. St. Paul in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, in which it being yet tender and not well known to the world, was more apt to be both blemiſhed and corrupted, did yet order the Corinthians to receive back into their communion the inceſtuous perſon, whom by his own directions they had *delivered to Satan*; they had excommunicated him, and, by way of reverſe to the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt poured out upon all Chriſtians, he was poſſeſſed or haunted with an evil ſpirit: and yet as St. Paul declares that he forgave him, ſo he orders them to forgive him likewiſe; and he gives a reaſon for this conduct, from the common principles of pity and humanity, *leſt he ſhould be ſwallowed up by overmuch ſorrow*. What is in that place mentioned only in a particular inſtance, is extended to a general rule in the Epiſtle to the Galatians: *If any one is overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual reſtore ſuch a one in the ſpirit of meekneſs, conſidering thyſelf, leſt thou alſo be tempted.* Where both the ſuppoſition that is made, and the reaſon that is given, do plainly inſinuate that all men are ſubject to their ſeveral infirmities; ſo that every man may be overtaken in faults. The charge, given to Timothy and Titus to *rebuke and exhort*, does ſuppoſe that Chriſtians, and even Biſhops and Deacons, were ſubject to faults that might deſerve correction.

Matt. xviii. 35.

1 Cor. v. 5.

2 Cor. ii. 7.

Gal. vi. 1.

2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 13.

1 John v. 16.

In that paſſage cited out of St. John's Epiſtle, as mention is made of a *ſin unto death*, for which they were not to *pray*, ſo mention is made both there and in St. James's Epiſtle of *ſins for which they were to pray*, and which upon their prayers were to be forgiven. All which places do not only expreſs this to be the tenor of the new Covenant, that the ſins of regenerated perſons were to be pardoned in it, but they are alſo clear precedents and rules for the Churches to follow them in their diſcipline. And therefore thoſe words in St. John, that *a man born of God doth not and cannot ſin*, muſt be underſtood in a larger ſenſe,

Jam. v. 15, 16.

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ſenſe, of their not living in the practice of known ſins; of their not allowing themſelves in that courſe of life, nor going on deliberately with it. ART. XVI.

By the *ſin unto death*, is meant the ſame thing with that apoſtaſy mentioned in the 6th of the Hebrews. Among the Jews ſome ſins were puniſhed by a total exciſion or cutting off, and this probably gave the riſe to that deſignation of a *ſin unto death*. The words in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews do plainly import thoſe who being not only baptized, but having alſo received a ſhare of the extraordinary effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, had totally renounced the Chriſtian religion, and apoſtatized from the faith, which *was a crucifying of Chriſt anew*. Such apoſtates to Judaiſm were thereby involved in the crime and guilt of the crucifying of Chriſt, and *the putting him to open ſhame*. Now perſons ſo apoſtatizing could not be renewed again by repentance, it not being poſſible to do any thing toward their conviction that had not been already done; and they, hardening themſelves againſt all that was offered for their conviction, were arrived at ſuch a degree in wickedneſs, that it was impoſſible to work upon them; there was nothing left to be tried, that had not been already tried, and proved to be ineffectual. Yet it is to be obſerved, that it was an unjuſtifiable piece of rigour, to apply theſe words to all ſuch as had fallen in a time of trial and perſecution: for as they had not thoſe miraculous means of conviction, which muſt be acknowledged to be the ſtrongeſt, the ſenſibleſt, and the moſt eaſily apprehended of all arguments; ſo they could not ſin ſo heinouſly as thoſe had done, who, after what they had ſeen and felt, revolted from the faith. Heb. vi. 6.

Great difference is alſo to be made between a deliberate ſin, that a man goes into upon choice, and in which he continues; and a ſin, that the fears of death and the infirmities of human nature betray him into, and out of which he quickly recovers himſelf, and for which he mourns bitterly. There was no reaſon to apply what is ſaid in the New Teſtament againſt the wicked apoſtates of that time, to thoſe who were overcome in the perſecution. The latter ſinned grievouſly; yet it was not in the ſame kind, nor are they in any ſort to be compared to the former. All affectations of exceſſive ſeverity look like phariſaical hypocriſy; whereas the Spirit of Chriſt, which is made up of humility and charity, will make us look ſo ſeverely to ourſelves, that on that very account we will be gentle even to the failings of others.

Yet, on the other hand, the Church ought to endea-

ART. XVI.

vour to conform herſelf ſo far to her head, and to his doctrine, as to *note thoſe who obey not the Goſpel, and to have no company with them, that they may be aſhamed: yet not ſo as to hate ſuch a one, or count him as an enemy, but to admoniſh him as a brother.* Into what neglect or proſtitution ſoever any Church may have fallen in this great point of ſeparating offenders, of making them aſhamed, and of keeping others from being corrupted with their ill example and bad influence, that muſt be confeſſed to be a very great defect and blemiſh. The Church of Rome had ſlackened all the ancient rules of diſcipline, and had perverted this matter in a moſt ſcandalous manner; and the world is now ſunk into ſo much corruption, and to ſuch a contempt of holy things, that it is much more eaſy here to find matter for lamentation, than to ſee how to remedy or correct it.

2 Theſſ. iii. 6, 14, 15.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XVII.

### Of Predeſtination and Election.

Predeſtination to life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby (before the foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret to us, to deliver from curſe and damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt unto everlaſting Salvation as veſſels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpoſe, by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon. They through grace obey the calling, they be juſtified freely, they be made Sons of God by Adoption, they be made like the Image of his only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt: They walk religiouſly in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlaſting felicity.

As the godly conſideration of Predeſtination and our Election in Chriſt is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable comfort to godly perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the works of the fleſh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well becauſe it doth greatly eſtabliſh and confirm their Faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So for curious and carnal perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their Eyes the ſentence of God's Predeſtination, is a moſt dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thruſt them either into deſperation, or into wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living, no leſs perilous than deſperation.

Furthermore, We muſt receive God's promiſes in ſuch wiſe, as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture: And in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſsly declared unto us in the Word of God.

THERE

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ART. XVII. THERE are many things in ſeveral of the other Articles which depend upon this; and therefore I will explain it more fully: for as this has given occaſion to one of the longeſt, the ſubtileſt, and indeed the moſt intricate of all the queſtions in divinity; ſo it will be neceſſary to open and examine it as fully as the importance and difficulties of it do require. In treating of it, I ſhall,

Firſt, State the queſtion, together with the conſequences that ariſe out of it.

Secondly, Give an account of the differences that have ariſen upon it.

Thirdly, I ſhall ſet out the ſtrength of the opinions of the contending parties, with all poſſible impartiality and exactneſs.

Fourthly, I ſhall ſhew how far they agree, and how far they differ; and ſhall ſhew what reaſon there is for bearing with one another's opinions in theſe matters; and in the

Fifth and laſt place, I ſhall conſider how far we of this Church are determined by this Article, and how far we are at liberty to follow any of thoſe different opinions.

The whole controverſy may be reduced to this ſingle point as its head and ſource: Upon what views did God form his purpoſes and decrees concerning mankind? Whether he did it merely upon a deſign of advancing his own glory, and for manifeſting his own attributes, in order to which he ſettled the great and univerſal ſcheme of his whole creation and providence? Or whether he conſidered all the free motions of thoſe rational agents that he did intend to create, and according to what he foreſaw they would chooſe and do, in all the various circumſtances in which he might put them, formed his decrees? Here the controverſy begins; and when this is ſettled, the three main queſtions that ariſe out of it will be ſoon determined.

The firſt is, Whether both God and Chriſt intended that Chriſt ſhould only die for that particular number whom God intended to ſave? Or whether it was intended that he ſhould die for all, ſo that every man that would, might have the benefit of his death, and that no man was excluded from it, but becauſe he willingly rejected it?

The ſecond is, Whether thoſe aſſiſtances, that God gives to men to enable them to obey him, are of their own nature ſo efficacious and irreſiſtible, that they never fail of producing the effect for which they are given? Or, whether they are only ſufficient to enable a man to obey God; ſo that their efficacy comes from the freedom of the will,

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will, that either may cooperate with them, or may not, as it pleaſes? ART. XVII.

The third is, Whether ſuch perſons do, and muſt certainly perſevere, to whom ſuch grace is given? Or, whether they may not fall away both entirely and finally from that ſtate?

There are alſo other queſtions concerning the true notion of liberty, concerning the feebleneſs of our powers in this lapſed ſtate, with ſeveral leſſer ones; all which do neceſſarily take their determination from the deciſion of the firſt and main queſtion; about which there are four opinions.

The firſt is of thoſe commonly called Supralapſarians, who think that God does only conſider his own glory in all that he does: and that whatever is done, ariſes as from its firſt cauſe, from the decree of God: that in this decree God, conſidering only the manifeſtation of his own glory, intended to make the world, to put a race of men in it, to conſtitute them under Adam as their fountain and head: that he decreed Adam's ſin, the lapſe of his poſterity, and Chriſt's death, together with the ſalvation or damnation of ſuch men as ſhould be moſt for his own glory: that to thoſe who were to be ſaved he decreed to give ſuch efficacious aſſiſtances, as ſhould certainly put them in the way of ſalvation; and to thoſe whom he rejected he decreed to give ſuch aſſiſtances and means only as ſhould render them inexcuſable: that all men do continue in a ſtate of grace, or of ſin, and ſhall be ſaved or damned, according to that firſt decree: ſo that God views himſelf only, and in that view he deſigns all things ſingly for his own glory, and for the manifeſting of his own attributes.

The ſecond opinion is of thoſe called the Sublapſarians, who ſay, that Adam having ſinned freely, and his ſin being imputed to all his poſterity, God did conſider mankind, thus loſt, with an eye of pity: and having deſigned to reſcue a great number out of this loſt ſtate, he decreed to ſend his Son to die for them, to accept of his death on their account, and to give them ſuch aſſiſtances as ſhould be effectual both to convert them to him, and to make them perſevere to the end: but for the reſt, he framed no poſitive act about them, only he left them in that lapſed ſtate, without intending that they ſhould have the benefit of Chriſt's death, or of efficacious and perſevering aſſiſtances.

The third opinion is of thoſe who are called Remonſtrants, Arminians, or Univerſaliſts, who think that God intended to create all men free, and to deal with them according to the uſe that they ſhould make of their liberty: that

ART. XVII. that therefore he, foreſeeing how every one would uſe it, did upon that decree all things that concerned them in this life, together with their ſalvation and damnation in the next: that Chriſt died for all men; that ſufficient aſſiſtances are given to every man, but that all men may chooſe whether they will uſe them, and perſevere in them, or not.

The fourth opinion is of the Socinians, who deny the certain preſcience of future contingencies; and therefore they think the decrees of God from all eternity were only general; that ſuch as believe and obey the Goſpel ſhall be ſaved, and that ſuch as live and die in ſin ſhall be damned: but that there were no ſpecial decrees made concerning particular perſons, theſe being only made in time, according to the ſtate in which they are: they do alſo think that man is by nature ſo free and ſo entire, that he needs no inward grace; ſo they deny a ſpecial predeſtination from all eternity, and do alſo deny inward aſſiſtances.

This is a controverſy that ariſes out of natural religion: for if it is believed that God governs the world, and that the wills of men are free; then it is natural to enquire which of theſe is ſubject to the other, or how they can be both maintained? whether God determines the will? or if his Providence follows the motions of the will? Therefore all thoſe that believed a Providence have been aware of this difficulty. The Stoics put all things under a fate; even the Gods themſelves: if this fate was a neceſſary ſeries of things, a chain of matter and motion that was fixed and unalterable, then it was plain and downright atheiſm. The Epicureans ſet all things at liberty, and either thought that there was no God, or at leaſt that there was no Providence. The Philoſophers knew not how to avoid this difficulty, by which we ſee Tully and others were ſo differently moved, that it is plain they deſpaired of getting out of it. The Jews had the ſame queſtion among them; for they could not believe their Law, without acknowledging a Providence: and yet the Sadducees among them aſſerted liberty in ſo entire a manner, that they ſet it free from all reſtraints: on the other hand, the Eſſens put all things under an abſolute fate: and the Phariſees took a middle way; they aſſerted the freedom of the will, but thought that all things were governed by a Providence. There are alſo ſubtle diſputes concerning this matter among the Mahometans, one ſect aſſerting liberty, and another fate, which generally prevails among them.

Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 2.—de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 7.

In the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, the Gnoſtics fancied that

ART. XVII.

that the ſouls of men were of different ranks, and that they ſprang from different principles, or Gods, who made them. Some were carnal, that were devoted to perdition; others were ſpiritual, and were certainly to be ſaved; others were animal of a middle order, capable either of happineſs or miſery. It ſeems that the Marcionites and Manichees thought that ſome ſouls were made by the bad God, as others were made by the good. In oppoſition to all theſe, Origen aſſerted, that all ſouls were by nature equally capable of being either good or bad; and that the difference among men aroſe merely from the freedom of the will, and the various uſe of that freedom: that God left men to this liberty, and rewarded and puniſhed them according to the uſe of it; yet he aſſerted a Providence: but as he brought in the Platonical doctrine of preexiſtence into the government of the world; and as he explained God's loving Jacob, and his hating of Eſau, before they were born, and had done either good or evil, by this of a regard to what they had done formerly; ſo he aſſerted the fall of man in Adam, and his being recovered by grace; but he ſtill maintained an unreſtrained liberty in the will. His doctrine, though much hated in Egypt, was generally followed over all the Eaſt, particularly in Paleſtine and at Antioch. St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Baſil drew a ſyſtem of divinity out of his works, in which that which relates to the liberty of the will is very fully ſet forth: that book was much ſtudied in the Eaſt. Chryſoſtom, Iſidore of Damiete, and Theodoret, with all their followers, taught it ſo copiouſly, that it became the received doctrine of the Eaſtern Church. Jerome was ſo much in love with Origen, that he tranſlated ſome parts of him, and ſet Ruffin on tranſlating the reſt. But as he had a ſharp quarrel with the biſhops of Paleſtine, ſo that perhaps diſpoſed him to change his thoughts of Origen: for ever after that, he ſet himſelf much to diſgrace his doctrine; and he was very ſevere on Ruffin for tranſlating him: though Ruffin confeſſes, that, in tranſlating his works, he took great liberties in altering ſeveral paſſages that he diſliked. One of Origen's diſciples was Pelagius, a Scottiſh monk, in great eſteem at Rome, both for his learning, and the great ſtrictneſs of his life. He carried theſe doctrines farther than the Greek Church had done; ſo that he was reckoned to have fallen into great errors both by Chryſoſtom and Iſidore, (as it is repreſented by Janſenius, though that is denied by others, who think they meant another of the ſame name.) He denied that we had ſuffered any harm by the fall of Adam, or that there

Iren. adv. Her. lib. i. c. 1. Epiph. Her. 31. Clem. Al. Pæd. lib. i. c. 6. Orig. Periarchon. l. iii. Philocal. c. 21. Explan. 12. Ep. ad Rom.

Orig. Philocal.

Ruffin. Peror. in Verſ. Com. Orig. in Ep. ad Rom. Chryſ. Ep. 4. ad Olymp. Iſid. Peluſ. Lib. 1. Ep. 514.

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ART. XVII.

there was any need of inward aſſiſtances; and he aſſerted an entire liberty in the will. St. Auſtin, though in his diſputes with the Manichees he had ſaid many things on the ſide of liberty, yet he hated Pelagius's doctrine, which he thought aſſerted a ſacrilegious liberty, and he ſet himſelf to beat down his tenets, which had been but feebly attacked by Jerome. Caſſian, a diſciple of St. Chryſoſtom's, came to Marſeilles about this time, having left Conſtantinople perhaps when his maſter was baniſhed out of it. He taught a middle doctrine, aſſerting an inward grace, but ſubject to the freedom of the will; and that all things were both decreed and done, according to the preſcience of God, in which all future contingents were foreſeen: he alſo taught, that the firſt converſion of the ſoul to God was merely an effect of its free choice; ſo that all preventing grace was denied by him; which came to be the peculiar diſtinction of thoſe who were afterwards called the Semi-Pelagians. Proſper and Hilary gave an account of this ſyſtem to St. Auſtin, upon which he writ againſt it, and his opinions were defended by Proſper, Fulgentius, Oroſius, and others, as Caſſian's were defended by Fauſtus, Vincentius, and Gennadius. In concluſion, St. Auſtin's opinions did generally prevail in the Weſt; only Pelagius, it ſeems, retiring to his own country, he had many followers among the Britains: but German and Lupus, being ſent over once and again from France, are ſaid to have conquered them ſo entirely, that they were all freed from thoſe errors: whatever they did by their arguments, the writers of their legends took care to adorn their miſſion with many very wonderful miracles, of which the gathering all the pieces of a calf, ſome of which had been dreſſed, and the putting them together in its ſkin, and reſtoring it again to life, is none of the leaſt. The ruin of the Roman Empire, and the diſorders that the Weſtern Provinces fell under by their new and barbarous maſters, occaſioned in thoſe ages a great decay of learning: ſo that few writers of fame coming after that time, St. Auſtin's great labours and piety, and the many vaſt volumes that he had left behind him, gave him ſo great a name, that few durſt conteſt what had been ſo zealouſly and ſo copiouſly defended by him: and though it is highly probable, that Celeſtine was not ſatisfied with his doctrine; yet both he and the other Biſhops of Rome, together with many provincial ſynods, have ſo often declared his doctrine in thoſe points to be the doctrine of the Church, that this is very hardly got over by thoſe of that communion.

The

ART. XVII.

The chief and indeed the only material difference that is between St. Auſtin's doctrine and that of the Sublapſarians is, that he, holding that with the ſacrament of baptiſm there was joined an inward regeneration, made a difference between the *regenerate* and the *predeſtinate*, which theſe do not: he thought perſons thus regenerate might have all grace, beſides that of *perſeverance*; but he thought that they not being predeſtinated, were certainly to fall from that ſtate, and from the grace of regeneration. The other differences are but forced ſtrains, to repreſent him and the Calviniſts as of different principles: he thought, that overcoming delectation, in which he put the efficacy of grace, was as irreſiſtible, though he uſed not ſo ſtrong a word for it as the Calviniſts do; and he thought that the decree was as abſolute, and made without any regard to what the free-will would chooſe, as any of theſe do. So in the main points, the abſoluteneſs of the decree, the extent of Chriſt's death, the efficacy of grace, and the certainty of perſeverance, their opinions are the ſame, though their ways of expreſſing themſelves do often differ. But if St. Auſtin's name and the credit of his books went far, yet no book was more read in the following ages than Caſſian's Collations. There was in them a clear thread of good ſenſe, and a very high ſtrain of piety that run through them; and they were thought the beſt inſtitutions for a monk to form his mind, by reading them attentively: ſo they ſtill carried down, among thoſe who read them, deep impreſſions of the doctrine of the Greek Church.

This broke out in the ninth century, in which Godeſcalcus, a monk, was ſeverely uſed by Hincmar, and by the Church of Rhemes, for aſſerting ſome of St. Auſtin's doctrines; againſt which Scotus Erigena wrote; as Bertram, or Ratramne, wrote for them. Remigius, biſhop of Lyons, with his Church, did zealouſly aſſert St. Auſtin's doctrine, not without great ſharpneſs againſt Scotus. After this, the matter ſlept, till the ſchool-divinity came to be in great credit: and Thomas Aquinas being accounted the chief glory of the Dominican order, he not only aſſerted all St. Auſtin's doctrine, but added this to it; that whereas formerly it was in general held, that the providence of God did extend itſelf to all things whatſoever, he thought this was done by God's concurring immediately to the production of every thought, action, motion, or mode; ſo that God was the firſt and immediate cauſe of every thing that was done: and in order to the explaining

ART. XVII.

plaining the joint production of every thing by God as the firſt, and by the creature as the ſecond cauſe, he thought, at leaſt as his followers have underſtood him, that by a phyſical influence the will was predetermined by God to all things, whether good or bad; ſo that the will could not be ſaid to be free in that particular inſtance *in ſenſu compoſito*, though it was in general ſtill free in all its actions *in ſenſu diviſo*: a diſtinction ſo ſacred, and ſo much uſed among them, that I chooſe to give it in their own terms, rather than tranſlate them. To avoid the conſequence of making God the author of ſin, a diſtinction was made between the poſitive act of ſin, which was ſaid not to be evil, and the want of its conformity to the law of God, which being a negation was no poſitive being, ſo that it was not produced. And thus, though the action was produced jointly by God as the firſt cauſe, and by the creature as the ſecond, yet God was not guilty of the ſin, but only the creature. This doctrine paſſed down among the Dominicans, and continues to do ſo to this day. Scotus, who was a Franciſcan, denied this predetermination, and aſſerted the freedom of the will. Durandus denied this immediate concourſe; in which he has not had many followers, except Adola, and ſome few more.

When Luther began to form his opinions into a body, he clearly ſaw, that nothing did ſo plainly deſtroy the doctrine of merit and juſtification by works, as St. Auſtin's opinions: he found alſo in his works very expreſs authorities againſt moſt of the corruptions of the Roman Church: and being of an order that carried his name, and by conſequence was accuſtomed to read and reverence his works, it was no wonder if he, without a ſtrict examining of the matter, eſpouſed all his opinions. Moſt of thoſe of the Church of Rome who wrote againſt him, being of the other perſuaſions, any one reading the books of that age would have thought that St. Auſtin's doctrine was abandoned by the Church of Rome: ſo that when Michael Baius, and ſome others at Louvain, began to revive it, that became a matter of ſcandal, and they were condemned at Rome: yet at the Council of Trent the Dominicans had ſo much credit, that great care was taken, in the penning their decrees, to avoid all reflections upon that doctrine. It was at firſt received by the whole Jeſuit order, ſo that Bellarmine formed himſelf upon it, and ſtill adhered to it: but ſoon after, that order changed their mind, and left their whole body to a full liberty in thoſe points, and went all quickly over to the other hypotheſis, that differed from

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from the Semipelagians only in this, that they allowed a preventing-grace, but such as was subject to the freedom of the will. ART. XVII.

Molina and Fonseca invented a new way of explaining God's foreseeing future contingents, which they called a *middle*, or *mean science*; by which they taught, that as God sees all things as possible in his knowledge of *simple apprehension*, and all things that are certainly future, as present in his knowledge of *vision*; so by this knowledge he also sees the chain of all conditionate futurities, and all the connections of them, that is, whatsoever would follow upon such or such conditions. Great jealousies arising upon the progress that the order of the Jesuits was making, these opinions were laid hold on to mortify them; so they were complained of at Rome for departing from St. Austin's doctrine, which in these points was generally received as the doctrine of the Latin Church: and many conferences were held before Pope Clement the Eighth, and the Cardinals; where the point in debate was chiefly, What was the doctrine and tradition of the Church? The advantages that St. Austin's followers had were such, that before fair judges they must have triumphed over the other: Pope Clement had so resolved; but he dying, though Pope Paul the Fifth had the same intentions, yet he happening then to be engaged in a quarrel with the Venetians about the ecclesiastical immunities, and having put that republic under an *interdict*, the Jesuits who were there chose to be banished, rather than to break the *interdict*: and their adhering so firmly to the Papal authority, when most of the other orders forsook it, was thought so meritorious at Rome, that it saved them the censure: so, instead of a decision, all sides were commanded to be silent, and to quarrel no more upon those heads.

About forty years after that, Jansenius, a doctor of Louvain, being a zealous disciple of St. Austin's, and seeing the progress that the contrary doctrines were making, did with great industry, and an equal fidelity, publish a voluminous system of St. Austin's doctrine in all the several branches of the controversy: and he set forth the Pelagians and the Semipelagians in that work under very black characters; and, not content with that, he compared the doctrines of the modern innovators with theirs. This book was received by the whole party with great applause, as a work that had decided the controversy. But the Author having writ with an extraordinary force against the French pretensions on Flanders, which re-



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ART. XVII.

commended him ſo much to the Spaniſh Court, that he was made a Biſhop upon it: all thoſe in France who followed St. Auſtin's doctrine, and applauded this book, were repreſented by their enemies as being in the ſame intereſts with him, and by conſequence as enemies to the French greatneſs; ſo that the Court of France proſecuted the whole party. This book was at firſt only prohibited at Rome, as a violation of that ſilence that the Pope had enjoined; afterwards articles were picked out of it, and condemned, and all the Clergy of France were required to ſign the condemnation of them. Theſe articles were certainly in his book, and were manifeſt conſequences of St. Auſtin's doctrine, which was chiefly driven at; though it was ſtill declared at Rome, that nothing was intended to be done in prejudice of St. Auſtin's doctrine. Upon this pretence his party have ſaid, that thoſe articles being capable of two ſenſes, the one of which was ſtrained, and was heretical, the other of which was clear, and according to St. Auſtin's doctrine, it muſt be preſumed it was not in that ſecond, but in the other ſenſe, that they were condemned at Rome, and ſo they ſigned the condemnation of them: but then they ſaid, that they were not in Janſenius's book in the ſenſe in which they condemned them.

Upon that followed a moſt extravagant queſtion concerning the Pope's infallibility in matters of fact: it being ſaid on the one ſide, that the Pope having condemned them as Janſenius's opinions, the belief of his infallibility obliged them to conclude that they muſt be in his book: whereas the others with great truth affirmed, that it had never been thought that in matters of fact either Popes or Councils were infallible. At laſt a new ceſſation of hoſtilities upon theſe points was reſolved on; yet the hatred continues, and the war goes on, though more covertly and more indirectly than before.

Nor are the Reformed more of a piece than the Church of Rome upon theſe points. Luther went on long, as he at firſt ſet out, with ſo little diſguiſe, that whereas all parties had always pretended that they aſſerted the *freedom* of the will, he plainly ſpoke out, and ſaid the will was not *free*, but *enſlaved*: yet before he died, he is reported to have changed his mind; for though he never owned that, yet Melanchon, who had been of the ſame opinion, did freely retract it; for which he was never blamed by Luther. Since that time all the Lutherans have gone into the Semipelagian opinions ſo entirely and ſo eagerly, that they will neither tolerate nor hold communion

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munion with any of the other perſuaſion. Calvin not only taught St. Auſtin's doctrine, but ſeemed to go on to the Supralapſarian way; which was more openly taught by Beza, and was generally followed by the Reformed; only the difference between the Supralapſarians and the Sublapſarians was never brought to a deciſion; divines being in all the Calviniſts' Churches left to their freedom as to that point. ART. XVII.

In England the firſt Reformers were generally in the Sublapſarian hypotheſis: but Perkins and others having aſſerted the Supralapſarian way, Arminius, a profeſſor in Leyden, writ againſt him: upon this Gomarus and he had many diſputes; and theſe opinions bred a great diſtraction over all the United Provinces. At the ſame time another political matter occaſioning a diviſion of opinion, whether the war ſhould be carried on with Spain, or if propoſitions for a peace or truce ſhould be entertained? it happened that Arminius's followers were all for a peace, and the others were generally for carrying on the war; which being promoted by the Prince of Orange, he joined to them: and the Arminians were repreſented as men, whoſe opinions and affections leaned to Popery: ſo that this, from being a doctrinal point, became the diſtinction of a party, and by that means the differences were inflamed. A great ſynod met at Dort; to which the divines were ſent from hence, as well as from other Churches. The Arminian tenets were condemned; but the difference between the Supralapſarians and Sublapſarians was not meddled with. The divines of this Church, though very moderate in the way of propoſing their opinions, yet upon the main adhered to St. Auſtin's doctrine. So the breach was formed in Holland: but when the point of ſtate was no more mixed with it, theſe queſtions were handled with leſs heat.

Thoſe diſputes quickly croſſed the ſeas, and divided us: the Abbots adhered to St. Auſtin's doctrine; while Biſhop Overal, but chiefly Archbiſhop Laud, eſpouſed the Arminian tenets. All divines were by proclamation required not to preach upon thoſe heads: but thoſe that favoured the new opinions were encouraged, and the others were depreſſed. And unhappy diſputes falling in at that time concerning the extent of the royal prerogative beyond law, the Arminians having declared themſelves highly for that, they were as much favoured at Court, as they were cenſured in the Parliament: which brought that doctrine under a very hard character over all the nation.



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ART. XVII.

Twiſſe carried it high to the Supralapſarian hypotheſis, which grew to be generally followed by thoſe of that ſide: but that founded harſhly; and Hobbes grafting afterwards a fate and abſolute neceſſity upon it, the other opinions were again revived; and no political intereſts falling in with them, as all prejudices againſt them went off, ſo they were more calmly debated, and became more generally acceptable than they were before. Men are now left to their liberty in them, and all anger upon thoſe heads is now ſo happily extinguiſhed, that diverſity of opinions about them begets no alienation nor animoſity.

So far have I proſecuted a ſhort view of the hiſtory of this controverſy. I come now to open the chief grounds of the different parties: and firſt, for the Supralapſarians.

They lay this down for a foundation, that God is eſſentially perfect and independent in all his acts: ſo that he can conſider nothing but himſelf and his own glory: that therefore he deſigned every thing in and for himſelf: that to make him ſtay his decrees till he ſees what free creatures will do, is to make him decree dependently upon them; which ſeems to fall ſhort of infinite perfection: that he himſelf can be the only end of his counſels; and that therefore he could only conſider the manifeſtation of his own attributes and perfection; that infinite wiſdom muſt begin its deſigns at that which is to come laſt in the execution of them; and ſince the concluſion of all things at the laſt day will be the manifeſtation of the wiſdom, goodneſs, and juſtice of God, we ought to ſuppoſe, that God in the order of things deſigned that firſt, though in the order of time there is no firſt nor ſecond in God, this being ſuppoſed to be from all eternity. After this great deſign was laid, all the means in order to the end were next to be deſigned. Creatures in the ſight of God are as nothing, and by a ſtrong figure are ſaid to be leſs than nothing, and vanity. Now if we in our deſigns do not conſider ants or inſects, not to ſay ſtraws, or grains of ſand and duſt, then what lofty thoughts ſoever our pride may ſuggeſt to us, we muſt be confeſſed to be very poor and inconſiderable creatures before God; therefore he himſelf and his own glory can only be his own end in all that he deſigns or does.

This is the chief baſis of their doctrine, and ſo ought to be well conſidered. They add to this, that there can be no certain preſcience of future contingents. They ſay it involves a contradiction, that things which are not certainly to be, ſhould be certainly foreſeen; for if they are certainly

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ART. XVII.

certainly foreſeen, they muſt certainly be: ſo while they are ſuppoſed to be contingent, they are yet affirmed to be certain, by ſaying that they are certainly foreſeen. When God decrees that any thing ſhall be, it has from that a certain futurition, and as ſuch it is certainly foreſeen by him: an uncertain foreſight is an act of its nature imperfect, becauſe it may be a miſtake, and ſo is inconſiſtent with the divine perfection. And it ſeems to imply a contradiction to ſay that a thing happens freely, that is, may be, or may not be, and yet that it is certainly foreſeen by God. God cannot foreſee things, but as he decrees them, and ſo gives them a futurition, and therefore this preſcience antecedent to his decree, muſt be rejected as a thing impoſſible.

They ſay farther, that conditionate decrees are imperfect in their nature, and that they ſubject the will and acts of God to a creature: that a conditionate decree is an act in ſuſpenſe, whether it ſhall be or not; which is inconſiſtent with infinite perfection. A general will, or rather a willing that all men ſhould be ſaved, has alſo plain characters of imperfection in it: as if God wiſhed ſomewhat that he could not accompliſh, ſo that his goodneſs ſhould ſeem to be more extended than his power. Infinite perfection can wiſh nothing but what it can execute; and if it is fit to wiſh it, it is fit alſo to execute it. Therefore all that ſtyle, that aſcribes paſſions or affections to God, muſt be underſtood in a figure; ſo that when his providence exerts itſelf in ſuch acts as among us men would be the effects of thoſe paſſions, then the paſſions themſelves are in the phraſe of the Scripture aſcribed to God. They ſay we ought not to meaſure the puniſhments of ſin by our notions of juſtice: God afflicts many good men very ſeverely, and for many years in this life, and this only for the manifeſtation of his own glory, for making their faith and patience to ſhine; and yet none think that this is unjuſt. It is a method in which God will be glorified in them: ſome ſins are puniſhed with other ſins, and likewiſe with a courſe of ſevere miſeries: if we transfer this from time to eternity, the whole will be then more conceivable; for if God may do for a little time that which is inconſiſtent with our notions, and with our rules of juſtice, he may do it for a longer duration; ſince it is as impoſſible that he can be unjuſt for a day, as for all eternity.

As God does every thing for himſelf and his own glory, ſo the Scriptures teach us every where to offer up all praiſe and glory to God; to acknowledge that all is of him, and to humble ourſelves as being nothing before



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ART. XVII.

him. Now if we were elected not by a free act of his, but by what he foreſaw that we would be, ſo that his grace is not efficacious by its own force, but by the good uſe that we make of it, then the glory and praiſe of all the good we do, and of God's purpoſes to us, were due to ourſelves: he deſigns, according to the other doctrine, equally well to all men; and all the difference among them will ariſe neither from God's intentions to them, nor from his aſſiſtances, but from the good uſe that he foreſaw they would make of theſe favours that he was to give in common to all mankind: man ſhould have whereof to glory, and he might ſay, that he himſelf made himſelf to differ from others. The whole ſtrain of the Scriptures in aſcribing all good things to God, and in charging us to offer up the honour of all to him, ſeems very expreſsly to favour this doctrine; ſince if all our good is from God, and is particularly owing to his grace, then good men have ſomewhat from God that bad men have not; for which they ought to praiſe him. The ſtyle of all the prayers that are uſed or directed to be uſed in the Scripture, is for a grace that opens our eyes, that turns our hearts, that makes us to go, that leads us not into temptation, but delivers us from evil. All theſe phraſes do plainly import that we deſire more than a power or capacity to act, ſuch as is given to all men, and ſuch as, after we have received it, may be ſtill ineffectual to us. For to pray for ſuch aſſiſtances as are always given to all men, and are ſuch that the whole good of them ſhall wholly depend upon ourſelves, would ſound very oddly; whereas we pray for ſomewhat that is ſpecial, and that we hope ſhall be effectual. We do not and cannot pray earneſtly for that, which we know all men as well as we ourſelves have at all times.

Humility and earneſtneſs in prayer ſeem to be among the chief means of working in us the image of Chriſt, and of deriving to us all the bleſſings of heaven. That doctrine which blaſts both, which ſwells us up with an opinion that all comes from ourſelves, and that we receive nothing from God but what is given in common with us to all the world, is certainly contrary both to the ſpirit and to the deſign of the Goſpel.

To this they add obſervations from Providence. The world was for many ages delivered up to idolatry; and ſince the Chriſtian religion has appeared, we ſee vaſt tracts of countries which have continued ever ſince in idolatry: others are fallen under Mahometaniſm; and the ſtate of Chriſtendom is in the Eaſtern parts of it under ſo much ignorance,

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ignorance, and the greateſt part of the Weſt is under ſo much corruption, that we muſt confeſs the far greateſt part of mankind has been in all ages left deſtitute of the means of grace, ſo that the promulgating the Goſpel to ſome nations, and the denying it to others, muſt be aſcribed to the unſearchable ways of God, that are paſt finding out. If he thus leaves whole nations in ſuch darkneſs and corruption, and freely chooſes others to communicate the knowledge of himſelf to them, then we need not wonder if he ſhould hold the ſame method with individuals, that he does with whole bodies: for the rejecting of whole nations by the lump for ſo many ages, is much more unaccountable than the ſelecting of a few, and the leaving others in that ſtate of ignorance and brutality. And whatever may be ſaid of his extending mercy to ſome few of thoſe who have made a good uſe of that dim light which they had; yet it cannot be denied but their condition is much more deplorable, and the condition of the others is much more hopeful; ſo that great numbers of men are born in ſuch circumſtances, that it is morally impoſſible that they ſhould not periſh in them; whereas others are more happily ſituated and enlightened. ART. XVII.

This argument taken from common obſervation becomes much ſtronger, when we conſider what the Apoſtle ſays, particularly in the Epiſtles to the Romans and Epheſians, even according to the expoſition of thoſe of the other ſide: for if God *loved* Jacob, ſo as to chooſe his poſterity to be his people, and rejected or *hated* Eſau and his poſterity, and if that was according to the *purpoſe* and deſign of his election; if by the ſame purpoſe the Gentiles were to be grafted upon that ſtock, from which the Jews were then to be cut off; and if the counſel or purpoſe of God had appeared in particular to thoſe of Epheſus, though the moſt corrupted both in magic, idolatry, and immorality of any in the Eaſt; then it is plain, that the applying the means of grace, ariſes merely from a great deſign that was long hid in God, which did then break out. It is reaſonable to believe, that there is a proportion between the application of the means, and the decree itſelf concerning the end. The one is reſolved into the unſearchable riches of God's grace, and declared to be free and abſolute. God's chooſing the nation of the Jews in ſuch a diſtinction beyond all other nations, is by Moſes and the Prophets frequently ſaid not to be on their own account, or on the account of any thing that God ſaw in them, but merely from the goodneſs of God to them. From all this it ſeems, ſay they, as reaſonable to believe Rom. ix. 11.

ART. XVII.

lieve that the other is likewiſe free, according to thoſe words of our Saviour's, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto babes:* the reaſon of which is given in the following words, *Even ſo, Father, for it ſeemed good in thy ſight.* What goes before, of Tyre and Sidon, and the land of Sodom, that would have made a better uſe of his preaching, than the towns of Galilee had done, among whom he lived, confirms this, that the means of grace are not beſtowed on thoſe of whom it was foreſeen that they would have made a good uſe of them; or denied to thoſe who, as was foreſeen, would have made an ill uſe of them: the contrary of this being plainly aſſerted in thoſe words of our Saviour's. It is farther obſervable, that he ſeems not to be ſpeaking here of different nations, but of the different ſorts of men of the ſame nation: the more learned of the Jews, the wiſe and prudent, rejected him, while the ſimpler, but better ſort, *the babes*, received him: ſo that the difference between individual perſons ſeems here to be reſolved into the *good pleaſure of God.*

Mat. xi. 25, 26.

Ibid. 21, 22, 23.

It is farther urged, that ſince thoſe of the other ſide confeſs, that God by his preſcience foreſaw what circumſtances might be happy, and what aſſiſtances might prove efficacious to bad men; then his not putting them in thoſe circumſtances, but giving them ſuch aſſiſtances only, which, how effectual ſoever they might be to others, he ſaw would have no efficacy on them, and his putting them in circumſtances, and giving them aſſiſtances, which he foreſaw they would abuſe, if it may ſeem to clear the juſtice of God, yet it cannot clear his infinite holineſs and goodneſs: which muſt ever carry him, according to our notions of theſe perfections, to do all that may be done, and that in the moſt effectual way, to reſcue others from miſery, to make them truly good, and to put them in a way to be happy. Since therefore this is not always done, according to the other opinion, it is plain that there is an unſearchable depth in the ways of God, which we are not able to fathom. Therefore it muſt be concluded, that ſince all are not actually good, and ſo put in a way to be ſaved, that God did not intend that it ſhould be ſo; for *who hath reſiſted his will? The counſel of the Lord ſtandeth faſt, and the thoughts of his heart to all generations.* It is true, his laws are his will in one reſpect: he requires all to obey them: he approves them, and he obliges all men to keep them. All the expreſſions of his deſires that all men ſhould be ſaved, are to be explained of the will

Rom. ix. 19. Pſ. xxxiii. 11.

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will of revelation, commonly called *the ſign of his will.* When it is ſaid, *What more could have been done?* that is to be underſtood of outward means and bleſſings: but ſtill God has a ſecret will of his *good pleaſure*, in which he deſigns all things; and this can never be fruſtrated. ART. XVII. Iſa. v. 4.

From this they do alſo conclude, that though Chriſt's death was to be offered to all Chriſtians; yet that intentionally and actually he only died for thoſe whom the Father had choſen and given to him to be ſaved by him. They cannot think that Chriſt could have *died in vain*, which St. Paul ſpeaks of as a vaſt abſurdity. Now ſince, if he had died for all, he ſhould have *died in vain*, with relation to the far greater part of mankind, who are not to be ſaved by him; they from thence conclude, that all thoſe for whom he died are certainly ſaved by him. Perhaps with relation to ſome ſubaltern bleſſings, which are through him communicated, if not to all mankind, yet to all Chriſtians, he may be ſaid to have died for all: but as to eternal ſalvation, they believe his deſign went no farther than the ſecret purpoſe and election of God, and this they think is implied in theſe words, *all that are given me of my Father: thine they were, and thou gaveſt them me.* He alſo limits his interceſſion to thoſe only; *I pray not for the world, but for thoſe that thou haſt given me; for they are thine: and all thine are mine, and mine are thine.* They believe that he alſo limited to them the extent of his death, and of that ſacrifice which he offered in it. Gal. ii. 21. John xvii. 9, 10.

It is true, the Chriſtian religion being to be diſtinguiſhed from the Jewiſh in this main point, that whereas the Jewiſh was reſtrained to Abraham's poſterity, and confined within one race and nation, the Chriſtian was to be preached to *every creature*; univerſal words are uſed concerning the death of Chriſt: but as the words, *preaching to every creature*, and to *all the world*, are not to be underſtood in the utmoſt extent, for then they have never been verified; ſince the Goſpel has never yet, for aught that appears to us, been preached to every nation under heaven; but are only to be explained generally of a commiſſion not limited to one or more nations; none being excluded from it: the Apoſtles were to execute it in going from city to city, as they ſhould be inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghoſt: ſo they think that thoſe large words, that are applied to the death of Chriſt, are to be underſtood in the ſame qualified manner; that no nation or ſort of men are excluded from it, and that ſome of all kinds and ſorts ſhall be ſaved by him. And this is to be carried no farther, without an imputation on the juſtice of God: for if he Mark xvi. 15.

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ART. XVII.

has received a sufficient oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, it is not reconcileable to justice, that all should not be saved by it, or should not at least have the offer and promulgation of it made them; that so a trial may be made whether they will accept of it or not.

The *grace of God* is set forth in Scripture by such figures and expressions as do plainly intimate its efficacy; and that it does not depend upon us to use it, or not to use it at pleasure. It is said to be a creation; *we are created unto good works, and we become new creatures:* it is called a regeneration, or a *new birth*; it is called a quickening and a resurrection; as our former state is compared to a feebleness, a blindness, and a death. God is said *to work in us both to will and to do: His people shall be willing in the day of his power: He will write his laws in their hearts, and make them to walk in them.* Mankind is compared to a mass of clay in the hand of the *potter*, who of the same lump makes at his pleasure *vessels of honour or of dishonour*. These passages, this last in particular, do insinuate an absolute and a conquering power in grace; and that the love of God constrains us, as St. Paul speaks expressly.

Eph. ii. 10. 2 Cor. v. 17. Phil. ii. 13. Ps. cx. 3. Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27. Rom. ix. 21.

All outward co-action is contrary to the nature of liberty, and all those inward impressions that drove on the Prophets, so that they had not the free use of their faculties, but felt themselves carried they knew not how, are inconsistent with it; yet when a man feels that his faculties go in their method, and that he assents or chooses from a thread of inward conviction and ratiocination, he still acts freely, that is, by an internal principle of reason and thought. A man acts as much according to his faculties, when he assents to a truth, as when he chooses what he is to do: and if his mind were so enlightened, that he saw as clearly the good of moral things, as he perceives speculative truths, so that he felt himself as little able to resist the one as the other, he would be no less a free and a rational creature, than if he were left to a more unlimited range: nay, the more evidently that he saw the true good of things, and the more that he were determined by it, he should then act more suitably to his faculties, and to the excellence of his nature. For though the saints in heaven being made perfect in glory, are no more capable of farther rewards, yet it cannot be denied but they act with a more accomplished liberty, because they see all things in a true light, according to that, *in thy light we shall see light:* and therefore they conclude that such an overcoming degree of grace, by which a man is made willing

Ps. xxxvi. 9.

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willing through the illumination of his underſtanding, and not by any blind or violent impulſe, is no way contrary to the true notion of liberty. ART. XVII.

After all, they think, that if a debate falls to be between the ſovereignty of God, his acts and his purpoſes, and the freedom of man's will, it is modeſt and decent rather to make the abatement on man's part than on God's; but they think there is no need of this. They infer, that beſides the outward enlightening of a man by knowledge, there is an inward enlightening of the mind, and a ſecret forcible conviction ſtamped on it; otherwiſe what can be meant by the prayer of St. Paul for the Epheſians, who had already heard the Goſpel preached, and were inſtructed in it; *that the eyes of their underſtanding being enlightened, they might know what was the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the ſaints, and what was the exceeding greatneſs of his power towards them that believed.* This ſeems to be ſomewhat that is both internal and efficacious. Chriſt compares the union and influence, that he communicates to believers, to that union of a head with the members, and of a root with the branches, which imports an internal, a vital, and an efficacious influence. And though the outward means that are offered may be, and always are, rejected, when not accompanied with this overcoming grace, yet this never returns empty: theſe outward means coming from God, the reſiſting of them is ſaid to be the *reſiſting God,* the *grieving* or *quenching his Spirit*; and ſo in that ſenſe we reſiſt the grace or favour of God: but we can never withſtand him when he intends to overcome us. Eph. i. 17, 18, 19. Acts vii. 51. Eph. iv. 30.

As for perſeverance, it is a neceſſary conſequence of abſolute decrees, and of efficacious grace: for ſince all depends upon God, and that as *of his own will he begat us, there is neither variableneſs nor ſhadow of turning: whom he loves he loves to the end*; and he has promiſed, that *he will never leave nor forſake thoſe to whom he becomes a God:* we muſt from thence conclude, that *the purpoſe and calling of God is without repentance.* And therefore though good men may fall into grievous ſins, to keep them from which there are dreadful things ſaid in Scripture, againſt their falling away, or apoſtaſy; yet God does ſo uphold them, that though he ſuffers them often to feel the weight of their natures, yet of all that are given by the Father to the Son to be ſaved by him, none are loſt. Jam. i. 17, 18. John xiii. 1. Heb. xiii. 5.

Upon the whole matter, they believe that God did in himſelf and for his own glory *foreknow* ſuch a determinate number,

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ART. XVII.

number, whom he pitched upon, to be the persons in whom he would be both sanctified and glorified: that having thus foreknown them, he *predestinated* them to be holy, conformable to the image of his Son: that these were to be *called* not by a general calling in the sense of these words, *many are called, but few are chosen*; but to be *called according to his purpose:* and those he *justified* upon their obeying that calling; and he will in conclusion *glorify* them. Nor are these words only to be limited to the sufferings of good men, they are to be extended to all the effects of the love of God, according to that which follows, that *nothing can separate us from the love of God in Christ.* The whole reasoning in the 9th of the Romans does so plainly resolve all the acts of God's mercy and justice, his *hardening* as well as his *pardoning*, into an absolute freedom, and an unsearchable depth, that more express words to that effect can hardly be imagined.

Mat. xx. 16. Rom. viii. 29, 30. Rom. ix. 18.

Ver. 11. It is in general said, *that the children being yet unborn, neither having done good or evil; that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth; Jacob was loved, and Esau hated*; that *God raised up Pharaoh, that he might shew his power in him*; and when an objection is suggested against all this, instead of answering it, it is silenced with this, *Who art thou, O man, that replies against God?* And all is illustrated with the figure of the potter; and concluded with this solemn question, *What if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction?* This carries the reader to consider what is so often repeated in the book of Exodus, concerning *God's hardening the heart of Pharaoh, so that he would not let his people go.* It is said, that *God has made the wicked man for the day of evil*; as it is written on the other hand, that *as many believed the Gospel, as were appointed to eternal life.* Some are said to *be written in the book of life, of the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world*, or *according to God's purpose before the world began.* *Ungodly men* are said to be *of old ordained to condemnation, and to be given up by God unto vile affections, and to be given over by him to a reprobate mind.* Therefore they think that reprobation is an absolute and free act of God, as well as election, to manifest his holiness and justice in them who are under it, as well as his love and mercy is manifested in the elect. Nor can they think with the Sublapsarians, that reprobation is only God's passing by those whom he does not elect; this is an act unworthy of God, as if he forgot them, which does clearly imply imperfection.

Ver. 11. Ver. 17. Ver. 20. Ver. 22. Exod. iv. 21. x. 20. xi. 10. xiv. 8. Prov. xvi. 4. Acts xiii. 48. Rev. xiii. 8. iii. 5. xx. 12. xxi. 27. Rom. i. 26, 28.

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ART. XVII.

And as for that which is ſaid concerning their being fallen in Adam, they argue, that either Adam's ſin, and the connection of all mankind to him as their head and repreſentative, was abſolutely decreed, or it was not: if it was, then all is abſolute; Adam's ſin and the fall of mankind were decreed, and by conſequence all from the beginning to the end are under a continued chain of abſolute decrees; and then the Supralapſarian and the Sublapſarian hypotheſis will be one and the ſame, only variouſly expreſſed. But if Adam's ſin was only foreſeen and permitted, then a conditionate decree founded upon preſcience is once admitted, ſo that all that follows turns upon it; and then all the arguments either againſt the perfection of ſuch acts, or the certainty of ſuch a preſcience, turn againſt this; for if they are admitted in any one inſtance, then they may be admitted in others as well as in that.

The Sublapſarians do always avoid to anſwer this; and it ſeems they do rather incline to think that Adam was under an abſolute decree; and if ſo, then though their doctrine may ſeem to thoſe, who do not examine things nicely, to look more plauſible; yet really it amounts to the ſame thing with the other. For it is all one to ſay, that God decreed that Adam ſhould ſin, and that all mankind ſhould fall in him, and that then God ſhould chooſe out of mankind, thus fallen by his decree, ſuch as he would ſave, and leave the reſt in that lapſed ſtate to periſh in it; as it is to ſay, that God intending to ſave ſome, and to damn others, did, in order to the carrying this on in a method of juſtice, decree Adam's fall, and the fall of mankind in him, in order to the ſaving of his elect, and the damning of the reſt. All that the Sublapſarians ſay in this particular for themſelves is, that the Scripture has not declared any thing concerning the fall of Adam, in ſuch formal terms, that they can affirm any thing concerning it. A liberty of another kind ſeems to have been then in man, when he was made after the image of God, and before he was corrupted by ſin. And therefore though it is not eaſy to clear all difficulties in ſo intricate a matter, yet it ſeems reaſonable to think, that man in a ſtate of innocency was a purer and a freer creature to good, than now he is. But after all, this ſeems to be only a fleeing from the difficulty, to a leſs offenſive way of talking of it; for if the preſcience of future contingents cannot be certain, unleſs they are decreed, then God could not certainly foreknow Adam's ſin, without he had made an abſolute decree about it; and that, as was juſt now ſaid,

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ART. XVII.

ſaid, is the ſame thing with the Supralapſarian hypotheſis; of which I ſhall ſay no more, having now laid together in a ſmall compaſs the full ſtrength of this argument. I go next to ſet out with the ſame fidelity and exactneſs the Remonſtrants' arguments.

They begin with this, that God is juſt, holy, and merciful: that, in ſpeaking of himſelf in the Scripture with relation to thoſe attributes, he is pleaſed to make appeals to men, to call them to reaſon with him: thus his Prophets did often beſpeak the Jewiſh nation; the meaning of which is, that God acts ſo, that men, according to the notions that they have of thoſe attributes, may examine them, and will be forced to juſtify and approve them. Nay, in theſe God propoſes himſelf to us, as our pattern; we ought to imitate him in them, and by conſequence we may frame juſt notions of them. We are required to be holy and merciful as he is merciful. What then can we think of a juſtice that ſhall condemn us for a fact that we never committed, and that was done many years before we were born? as alſo that deſigns firſt of all to be glorified by our being eternally miſerable, and that decrees that we ſhall commit ſins, to juſtify the previous decree of our reprobation? If thoſe decrees are thus originally deſigned by God, and are certainly effectuated, then it is inconceivable how there ſhould be a juſtice in puniſhing that which God himſelf appointed by an antecedent and irreverſible decree ſhould be done: ſo this ſeems to lie hard upon juſtice. It is no leſs hard upon infinite holi-

Hab. i. 13. neſs, to imagine that a Being of *purer eyes than that it can behold iniquity*, ſhould by an antecedent decree fix our committing ſo many ſins, in ſuch a manner that it is not poſſible for us to avoid them: this is to make us to be born indeed under a neceſſity of ſin; and yet this neceſſity is ſaid to flow from the act and decrees of God: God re-

Ex. xxxiv. 6. preſents himſelf always in the Scriptures as *gracious, merciful, ſlow to anger, and abundant in goodneſs and truth.*

2 Pet. iii. 9. It is often ſaid, that *he deſires that no man ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to the knowledge of the truth:* and this

Ezek. xviii. 32. xxxiii. 11. is ſaid ſometimes with the ſolemnity of an oath; *As I live, ſaith the Lord, I take no pleaſure in the death of ſinners.* They aſk, what ſenſe can ſuch words bear, if we can believe that God did by an abſolute decree reprobate ſo many of them? If all things that happen do ariſe out of the decree of God as its firſt cauſe, then we muſt believe that God takes pleaſure both in his own decrees, and in the execution of them; and, by conſequence, that he takes pleaſure in the death of ſinners, and that in contradiction to

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to the moſt expreſs and moſt ſolemn words of Scripture. Beſides, what can we think of the truth of God, and of the ſincerity of thoſe offers of grace and mercy, with the obteſtations, the exhortations, and expoſtulations upon them, that occur ſo often in Scripture, if we can think that by antecedent acts of God he determined that all theſe ſhould be ineffectual; ſo that they are only ſo many ſolemn words that do indeed ſignify nothing, if God intended that all things ſhould fall out as they do, and if they do ſo fall out only becauſe he intended it? The chief foundation of this opinion lies in this argument as its baſis, that nothing can be believed that contradicts the juſtice, holineſs, the truth, and purity of God; that theſe attributes are in God according to our notions concerning them, only they are in him infinitely more perfect; ſince we are required to imitate them. Whereas the doctrine of abſolute decrees does manifeſtly contradict the cleareſt ideas that we can form of juſtice, holineſs, truth, and goodneſs. ART. XVII.

From the nature of God they go to the nature of man; and they think that ſuch an inward freedom by which a man is the maſter of his own actions, and can do or not do what he pleaſes, is ſo neceſſary to the morality of our actions, that without it our actions are neither good nor evil, neither capable of rewards or puniſhments. Mad men, or men aſleep, are not to be charged with the good or evil of what they do; therefore at leaſt ſome degrees of liberty muſt be left with us, otherwiſe why are we praiſed or blamed for any thing that we do? If a man thinks that he is under an inevitable decree, as he will have little remorſe for all the evil he does, while he imputes it to that inevitable force that conſtrains him, ſo he will naturally conclude that it is to no purpoſe for him to ſtruggle with impoſſibilities: and men being inclined both to throw all blame off from themſelves, and to indulge themſelves in lazineſs and ſloth, theſe practices are too natural to mankind to be encouraged by opinions that favour them. All virtue and religion, all diſcipline and induſtry, muſt ariſe from this as their firſt principle; that there is a power in us to govern our own thoughts and actions, and to raiſe and improve our faculties. If this is denied, all endeavours, all education, all pains either on ourſelves or others, are vain and fruitleſs things. Nor is it poſſible to make a man believe other than this; for he does ſo plainly perceive that he is a free agent; he feels himſelf balance matters in his thoughts, and deliberate about them ſo evidently, that he certainly knows he is a free being.

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ART. XVII.

This is the image of God that is ſtamped upon his nature; and though he feels himſelf often hurried on ſo impetuouſly, that he may ſeem to have loſt his freedom in ſome turns, and upon ſome occaſions; yet he feels that he might have reſtrained that heat in its firſt beginnings; he feels he can divert his thoughts, and maſter himſelf in moſt things, when he ſets himſelf to it: he finds that knowledge and reflection, that good company and good exerciſes do tame and ſoften him, and that bad ones make him wild, looſe, and irregular. From all this they conclude that man is free, and not under inevitable fate, or irreſiſtible motions either to good or evil. All this they confirm from the whole current of the Scripture, that is full of perſuaſions, exhortations, reproofs, expoſtulations, encouragements, and terrors; which are all vain and theatrical things, if there are no free powers in us to which they are addreſſed: to what purpoſe is it to ſpeak to dead men, to perſuade the blind to ſee, or the lame to run? If we are under an impotence till the irreſiſtible grace comes, and if, when it comes, nothing can withſtand it, then what occaſion is there for all thoſe ſolemn diſcourſes, if they can have no effect on us? They cannot render us inexcuſable, unleſs it were in our power to be bettered by them; and to imagine that God gives light and bleſſings to thoſe whom he before intended to damn, only to make them inexcuſable, when they could do them no good, and they will ſerve only to aggravate their condemnation, gives ſo ſtrange an idea of that infinite goodneſs, that it is not fit to expreſs it by thoſe terms which do naturally ariſe upon it.

It is as hard to ſuppoſe two contrary wills in God, the one commanding us our duty, and requiring us with the moſt ſolemn obteſtations to do it, and the other putting a certain bar in our way, by decreeing that we ſhall do the contrary. This makes God look as if he had a *will* and a *will*; though a heart and a heart import no good quality, when applied to men: the one *will* requires us to do our duty, and the other makes it impoſſible for us not to ſin: the *will* for the good is ineffectual, while the will that makes us ſin is infallible. Theſe things ſeem very hard to be apprehended; and whereas the root of true religion is the having right and high ideas of God and of his attributes, here ſuch ideas ariſe as naturally give us ſtrange thoughts of God; and if they are received by us as originals, upon which we are to form our own natures, ſuch notions may make us grow to be ſpiteful, imperious, and without bowels, but do not ſeem proper to inſpire us with love,

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love, mercy, and compaſſion; though God is always propoſed to us in that view. All preaching and inſtruction does alſo ſuppoſe this: for to what purpoſe are men called upon, taught, and endeavoured to be perſuaded, if they are not free agents, and have not a power over their own thoughts, and if they are not to be convinced and turned by reaſon? The offers of peace and pardon that are made to all men are deluſory things, if they are by an antecedent act of God reſtrained only to a few, and all others are barred from them. ART. XVII.

It is farther to be conſidered, ſay they, that God having made men free creatures, his governing them accordingly, and making his own adminiſtration of the world ſuitable to it, is no diminution of his own authority: it is only the carrying on of his own creation according to the ſeveral natures that he has put in that variety of beings of which this world is compoſed, and with which it is diverſified: therefore if ſome of the acts of God, with relation to man, are not ſo free as his other acts are, and as we may ſuppoſe neceſſary to the ultimate perfection of an independent Being, this ariſes not from any defect in the acts of God, but becauſe the nature of the creature that he intended to make free is inconſiſtent with ſuch acts.

The Divine Omnipotence is not leſſened, when we obſerve ſome of his works to be more beautiful and uſeful than others are; and the irregular productions of nature do not derogate from the order in which all things appear lovely to the Divine Mind. So if that liberty, with which he intended to endue thinking beings, is incompatible with ſuch poſitive acts, and ſo poſitive a Providence as governs natural things and this material world, then this is no way derogatory to the ſovereignty of his mind. This does alſo give ſuch an account of the evil that is in the world, as does no way accuſe or leſſen the purity and holineſs of God; ſince he only ſuffers his creatures to go on in the free uſe of thoſe powers that he has given them; about which he exerciſes a ſpecial Providence, making ſome men's ſins to be the immediate puniſhments of their own or of other men's ſins, and reſtraining them often in a great deal of that evil that they do deſign, and bringing out of it a great deal of good that they did not deſign; but all is done in a way ſuitable to their natures, without any violence to them.

It is true, it is not eaſy to ſhew how thoſe future contingencies, which depend upon the free choice of the will, ſhould be certain and infallible. But we are on other accounts certain that it is ſo; for we ſee through the whole



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ART. XVII.

Scriptures a thread of very positive prophecies, the accomplishment of which depended on the free will of man; and these predictions, as they were made very precisely, so they were no less punctually accomplished. Not to mention any other prophecies, all those that related to the death and sufferings of Christ were fulfilled by the free acts of the priests and people of the Jews: they sinned in doing it, which proves that they acted in it with their natural liberty. By these and all the other prophecies that are in both Testaments, it must be confessed, that these things were certainly foreknown; but where to found that certainty, cannot be easily resolved; the infinite perfection of the Divine Mind ought here to silence all objections. A clear idea, by which we apprehend a thing to be plainly contrary to the attributes of God, is indeed a just ground of rejecting it; and therefore they think that they are in the right to deny all such to be in God, as they plainly apprehend to be contrary to justice, truth, and goodness: but if the objection against any thing supposed to be in God lies only against the manner and the unconceivableness of it, there the infinite perfection of God answers all.

It is farther to be considered, that this prescience does not make the effects certain, because they are foreseen; but they are foreseen, because they are to be; so that the certainty of the prescience is not antecedent or causal, but subsequent and eventual. Whatsoever happens, was future before it happened; and since it happened, it was certainly future from all eternity; not by a certainty of fate, but by a certainty that arises out of its being once, from which this truth, that it was future, was eternally certain: therefore the Divine Prescience being only the knowing all things that were to come, that does not infer a necessity or causality.

The Scripture plainly shews on some occasions a conditionate prescience: God answered David, that Saul was come to Keilah, and that the men of Keilah were to deliver him up; and yet both the one and the other was upon the condition of his staying there; and he going from thence, neither the one nor the other ever happened: here was a conditionate prescience. Such was Christ's saying, that those of Tyre and Sidon, Sodom and Gomorrah, would have turned to him, if they had seen the miracles that he wrought in some of the towns of Galilee. Since then this prescience may be so certain, that it can never be mistaken, nor misguide the designs or providence of God; and since by this both the attributes of God are vindicated,

1 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12.

Mat. xi. 21, 23.

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vindicated, and the due freedom of the will of man is aſ- ART. XVII.
ſerted, all difficulties ſeem to be eaſily cleared this way.

As for the giving to ſome nations and perſons the means of ſalvation, and the denying theſe to others, the Scriptures do indeed aſcribe that wholly to the riches and freedom of God's grace; but ſtill they think, that he gives to all men that which is neceſſary to the ſtate in which they are, to anſwer the obligations they are under in it: and that this light and common grace is ſufficient to carry them ſo far, that God will either accept of it, or give them farther degrees of illumination: from which it muſt be inferred, that all men are inexcuſable in his ſight; and that *God is always juſt and clear when he judges*; ſince every man had that which was ſufficient, if not to ſave him, yet at leaſt to bring him to a ſtate of ſalvation. But beſides what is thus ſimply neceſſary, and is of itſelf ſufficient, there are innumerable favours, like largeſſes of God's grace and goodneſs; theſe God gives freely as he pleaſes. Pſal. li. 4.

And thus the great deſigns of Providence go on according to the goodneſs and mercy of God. None can complain, though ſome have more cauſe to rejoice and glory in God than others. What happens to nations in a body may alſo happen to individuals; ſome may have higher privileges, be put in happier circumſtances, and have ſuch aſſiſtances given them as God foreſees will become *effectual*, and not only thoſe, which though they be in their nature *ſufficient*, yet in the event will be *ineffectual*: every man ought to complain of himſelf for not uſing that which was ſufficient, as he might have done; and all good men will have matter of rejoicing in God, for giving them what he foreſaw would prove effectual. After all, they acknowledge there is a depth in this, of God's not giving all nations an equal meaſure of light, nor putting all men into equally happy circumſtances, which they cannot unriddle; but ſtill juſtice, goodneſs, and truth are ſaved; though we may imagine a goodneſs that may do to all men what is abſolutely the beſt for them: and there they confeſs there is a difficulty, but not equal to thoſe of the other ſide.

From hence it is that they expound all thoſe paſſages in the New Teſtament, concerning the *purpoſe*, the *election*, the *foreknowledge*, and the *predeſtination* of God, ſo often mentioned. All thoſe, they ſay, relate to God's deſign of calling the Gentile world to the knowledge of the Meſſias: this was kept ſecret, though hints of it are given in ſeveral of the Prophets; ſo it was a myſtery; but it was then revealed, when according to Chriſt's commiſ-



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ART. XVII.

fion to his Apoſtles, *to go and teach all nations*, they went preaching the Goſpel to the Gentiles. This was a ſtumbling-block to the Jews, and it was the chief ſubject of controverſy betwixt them and the Apoſtles at the time when the Epiſtles were writ: ſo it was neceſſary for them to clear this very fully, and to come often over it. But there was no need of amuſing people in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, and in that firſt infancy of it, with high and unſearchable ſpeculations concerning the decrees of God: therefore they obſerve, that the Apoſtles ſhew how that Abraham at firſt, Iſaac and Jacob afterwards, were choſen by a diſcriminating favour, that they and their poſterity ſhould be in covenant with God: and upon that occaſion the Apoſtle goes on to ſhew, that God had always deſigned to call in the Gentiles, though that was not executed but by their miniſtry.

With this key one will find a plain coherent ſenſe in all St. Paul's diſcourſes on this ſubject, without aſſerting antecedent and ſpecial decrees as to particular perſons. Things that happen under a permiſſive and directing Providence, may be alſo in a largeneſs of expreſſion aſcribed to the will and counſel of God; for a permiſſive and directing will is really a will, though it be not antecedent nor cauſal. The *hardening Pharaoh's heart* may be aſcribed to God, though it is ſaid that his *heart hardened itſelf*; becauſe he took occaſion, from the ſtops God put in thoſe plagues that he ſent upon him and his people, to encourage himſelf, when he ſaw there was a new reſpite granted him: and he who was a cruel and bloody prince, deeply engaged in idolatry and magic, had deſerved ſuch judgments for his other ſins; ſo that he may be well conſidered as actually under his final condemnation, only under a reprieve, not ſwallowed up in the firſt plagues, but preſerved in them, and raiſed up out of them, to be a laſting monument of the juſtice of God againſt ſuch hardened impenitency. *Whom he will he hardeneth*, muſt be ſtill reſtrained to ſuch perſons as that tyrant was.

Exod. vii. 22.
Exod. viii. 15, 19, 32.
Rom. ix. 18.

It is endleſs to enter into the diſcuſſion of all the paſſages cited from the Scripture to this purpoſe; this key ſerving, as they think it does, to open moſt of them. It is plain theſe words of our Saviour concerning thoſe *whom the Father had given him*, are only to be meant of a diſpenſation of Providence, and not of a decree; ſince he adds, *And I have loſt none of them, except the ſon of perdition:* for it cannot be ſaid, that he was in the decree, and yet was loſt. And in the ſame period in which God is ſaid *to work in us both to will and to do*, we are required to

John xvii. 12.
Phil. ii. 13.

work

*work out our own ſalvation with fear and trembling*. The word rendered, *ordained to eternal life*, does alſo ſignify, fitted or prediſpoſed to eternal life. That queſtion, *Who made thee to differ?* ſeems to refer to thoſe gifts which in different degrees and meaſures were poured out on the firſt Chriſtians; in which men were only paſſive, and diſcriminated from one another by the freedom of thoſe gifts, without any thing previous in them to diſpoſe them to them. ART. XVII. Phil. ii. 12. Acts xiii. 48. 1 Cor. iv. 7.

Chriſt is ſaid to be the *propitiation for the ſins of the whole world*; and the wicked are ſaid *to deny the Lord that bought them*; and his death, as to its extent to all men, is ſet in oppoſition to the ſin of Adam; ſo that *as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; ſo by the righteouſneſs of one, the free gift came upon all men to juſtification of life*. The *all* of the one ſide muſt be of the ſame extent with the *all* of the other: ſo ſince *all* are concerned in Adam's ſin, *all* muſt be likewiſe concerned in the death of Chriſt. This they urge farther, with this argument, that all men are obliged to believe in the death of Chriſt, but no man can be obliged to believe a lie; therefore it follows that he muſt have died for *all*. Nor can it be thought that grace is ſo efficacious of itſelf, as to determine us; otherwiſe why are we required *not to grieve God's Spirit?* Why is it ſaid, *Ye do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as your fathers did, ſo do ye. How often would I have gathered you under my wings, but ye would not? What more could I have done in my vineyard, that has not been done in it?* Theſe ſeem to be plain intimations of a power in us, by which we not only can, but often do reſiſt the motions of grace. 1 Joh. ii. 2. 2 Pet. ii. 1. Rom. v. 18. Acts vii. 51. Mat. xxiii. 37. Iſa. v. 4.

If the determining efficacy of grace is not acknowledged, it will be yet much harder to believe that we are efficaciouſly determined to *ſin*. This ſeems to be not only contrary to the purity and holineſs of God, but is ſo manifeſtly contrary to the whole ſtrain of the Scriptures, that charges ſin upon men, that in ſo copious a ſubject it is not neceſſary to bring proofs. *O Iſrael, thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf; but in me is thy help:* and, *Ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life: why will you die, O houſe of Iſrael?* And as for that nicety of ſaying, that the evil of ſin conſiſts in a negation, which is not a poſitive being, ſo that though God ſhould determine men to the action that is ſinful, yet he is not concerned in the ſin of it: they think it is too metaphyſical, to put the honour of God and his attributes upon ſuch a ſubtilty: for in ſins againſt moral laws, there ſeems to be an antecedent immorality in the action itſelf, which is inſeparable from it. But Hoſ. xiii. 9. Joh. v. 40. Ezek. xxxiii. 11.



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ART. XVII.

ſuppoſe that ſin conſiſted in a negative, yet that privation does immediately and neceſſarily reſult out of the action, without any other thing whatſoever intervening: ſo that if God does infallibly determine a ſinner to commit the action to which that guilt belongs, though that ſhould be a ſin only by reaſon of a privation that is dependent upon it, then it does not appear but that he is really the author of ſin; ſince if he is the author of the ſinful action, on which the ſin depends as a ſhadow upon its ſubſtance, he muſt be eſteemed, ſay they, the author of ſin.

And though it may be ſaid, that ſin being a violation of God's law, he himſelf, who is not bound by his law, cannot be guilty of ſin; yet an action that is immoral is ſo eſſentially oppoſite to infinite perfection, that God cannot be capable of it, as being a contradiction to his own nature. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed that he can damn men for that, which is the neceſſary reſult of an action to which he himſelf determined them.

As for perſeverance, the many promiſes made in the Scriptures to them that *overcome*, that continue *ſtedfaſt* and *faithful to the death*, ſeem to inſinuate, that a man may fall from a good ſtate. Thoſe famous words in the ſixth of the Hebrews do plainly intimate, that *ſuch men may ſo fall away, that it may be impoſſible to renew them again by repentance*. And in that Epiſtle where it is ſaid, *The juſt ſhall live by faith*; it is added, *but if he draw back*, (*any man* is not in the original,) *my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him*. And it is poſitively ſaid by the Prophet, *When the righteous turneth away from his righteouſneſs, and committeth iniquity, all his righteouſneſs that he hath done ſhall not be mentioned; in his ſin that he hath ſinned ſhall be die*. Theſe ſuppoſitions, with a great many more of the ſame ſtrain that may be brought out of other places, do give us all poſſible reaſon to believe that a good man may fall from a good ſtate, as well as that a wicked man may turn from a bad one. In concluſion, the end of all things, the final judgment at the laſt day, which ſhall be pronounced according to what men have done, whether good or evil, and their being to be rewarded and puniſhed according to it, ſeems ſo effectually to aſſert a freedom in our wills, that they think this alone might ſerve to prove the whole cauſe.

Rev. ii. and iii.

Heb. vi.

Heb. x. 38.

Ezek. xviii. 24.

So far I have ſet forth the force of the argument on the ſide of the Remonſtrants. As for the Socinians, they make their plea out of what is ſaid by the one and by the other ſide. They agree with the Remonſtrants in all that they ſay againſt abſolute decrees, and in urging all thoſe conſequences that do ariſe out of them: and they do

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do alſo agree with the Calviniſts in all that they urge againſt the poſſibility of a certain preſcience of future contingents: ſo that it will not be neceſſary to ſet forth their plea more ſpecially, nor needs more be ſaid in oppoſition to it, than what was already ſaid as part of the Remonſtrants' plea. Therefore, without dwelling any longer on that, I come now to make ſome reflections upon the whole matter. ART. XVII.

It is at firſt view apparent, that there is a great deal of weight in what has been ſaid of both ſides: ſo much, that it is no wonder if education, the conſtant attending more to the difficulties of the one ſide than of the other, and a temper ſome way proportioned to it, does fix men very ſteadily to either the one or the other perſuaſion. Both ſides have their difficulties, ſo it will be natural to chooſe that ſide where the difficulties are leaſt felt: but it is plain there is no reaſon for either of them to deſpiſe the other, ſince the arguments of both are far from being contemptible.

It is farther to be obſerved, that both ſides ſeem to be chiefly concerned to aſſert the honour of God, and of his attributes. Both agree in this, that whatever is fixed as the primary idea of God, all other things muſt be explained ſo as to be conſiſtent with that. Contradictions are never to be admitted; but things may be juſtly believed, againſt which objections may be formed that cannot be eaſily anſwered.

The one ſide think, that we muſt begin with the idea of infinite perfection, of independency, and abſolute ſovereignty: and if in the ſequel difficulties occur which cannot be cleared, that ought not to ſhake us from this primary idea of God.

Others think, that we cannot frame ſuch clear notions of independency, ſovereignty, and infinite perfection, as we can do of juſtice, truth, holineſs, goodneſs, and mercy: and ſince the Scripture propoſes God to us moſt frequently under thoſe ideas, they think that we ought to fix on theſe as the primary ideas of God, and then reduce all other things to them.

Thus both ſides ſeem zealous for God and his glory; both lay down general maxims that can hardly be diſputed; and both argue juſtly from their firſt principles. Theſe are great grounds for mutual charity and forbearance in theſe matters.

It is certain, that one who has long interwoven his thoughts of infinite perfection, with the notions of abſolute and unchangeable decrees, of carrying on every thing



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ART. XVII.

by a poſitive will, of doing every thing for his own glory, cannot apprehend decrees depending on a foreſeen free-will, a grace ſubject to it, a merit of Chriſt's death that is loſt, and a man's being at one time loved, and yet finally hated of God, without horror. Theſe things ſeem to carry in them an appearance of feebleneſs, of dependence, and of changeableneſs.

On the other hand, a man that has accuſtomed himſelf to think often on the infinite goodneſs and mercy, the long-ſuffering, patience, and ſlowneſs to anger, that appears in God; he cannot let the thought of abſolute reprobation, or of determining men to ſin, or of not giving them the grace neceſſary to keep them from ſin and damnation, enter into his mind, without the ſame horror that another feels in the reverſe of all this.

So that the ſource of both opinions being the different ideas that they have of God, and both theſe ideas being true; men only miſtaking in the extent of them, and in the conſequences drawn from them; here are the cleareſt grounds imaginable for a mutual forbearance, for not judging men imperiouſly, nor cenſuring them ſeverely upon either ſide. And thoſe who have at different times of their lives been of both opinions, and who upon the evidence of reaſon, as it has appeared to them, have changed their perſuaſions, can ſpeak more affirmatively here; for they know, that in great ſincerity of heart they have thought both ways.

Each opinion has ſome practical advantages of its ſide. A Calviniſt is taught, by his opinions, to think meanly of himſelf, and to aſcribe the honour of all to God; which lays in him a deep foundation for humility: he is alſo much inclined to ſecret prayer, and to a fixed dependence on God; which naturally both brings his mind to a good ſtate, and fixes it in it: and ſo though perhaps he cannot give a coherent account of the grounds of his watchfulneſs and care of himſelf; yet that temper ariſes out of his humility, and his earneſtneſs in prayer. A Remonſtrant, on the other hand, is engaged to awaken and improve his faculties, to fill his mind with good notions, to raiſe them in himſelf by frequent reflection, and by a conſtant attention to his own actions: he ſees cauſe to reproach himſelf for his ſins, and to ſet about his duty to purpoſe: being aſſured that it is through his own fault if he miſcarries: he has no dreadful terrors upon his mind; nor is he tempted to an undue ſecurity, or to ſwell up in (perhaps) an imaginary conceit of his being unalterably in the favour of God.

Both

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ART. XVII.

Both ſides have their peculiar temptations as well as their advantages: the Calviniſt is tempted to a falſe ſecurity, and ſloth: and the Arminian may be tempted to truſt too much to himſelf, and too little to God: ſo equally may a man of a calm temper, and of moderate thoughts, balance this matter between both the ſides, and ſo unreaſonable it is to give way to a poſitive and dictating temper in this point. If the Arminian is zealous to aſſert liberty, it is becauſe he cannot ſee how there can be good or evil in the world without it: he thinks it is the work of God, that he has made for great ends; and therefore he can allow of nothing that he thinks deſtroys it. If on the other hand a Calviniſt ſeems to break in upon liberty, it is becauſe he cannot reconcile it with the ſovereignty of God, and the freedom of his grace: and he grows to think that it is an act of devotion to offer up the one to ſave the other.

The common fault of both ſides is, to charge one another with the conſequences of their opinions, as if they were truly their tenets. Whereas they are apprehenſive enough of theſe conſequences, they have no mind to them, and they fancy that by a few diſtinctions they can avoid them. But each ſide thinks the conſequences of the other are both worſe, and more certainly faſtened to that doctrine, than the conſequences that are urged againſt himſelf are. And ſo they think they muſt chooſe that opinion that is the leaſt perplexed and difficult: not but that ingenuous and learned men of all ſides confeſs, that they feel themſelves very often pinched in theſe matters.

Another very indecent way of managing theſe points is, that both ſides do too often ſpeak very boldly of God. Some petulant wits, in order to the repreſenting the contrary opinion as abſurd and ridiculous, have brought in God, repreſenting him, with indecent expreſſions, as acting or decreeing, according to their hypotheſis, in a manner that is not only unbecoming, but that borders upon blaſphemy. From which, though they think to eſcape by ſaying, that they are only ſhewing what muſt follow if the other opinion were believed; yet there is a ſolemnity and gravity of ſtyle, that ought to be moſt religiouſly obſerved, when we poor mortals take upon us to ſpeak of the glory or attributes, the decrees or operations of the great God of heaven and earth: and every thing relating to this, that is put in a burleſque air, is intolerable. It is a ſign of a very daring preſumption, to pretend to aſſign the order of all the acts of God, the ends propoſed in them, and the methods by which they are executed. We, who do not know how our thoughts carry

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ART. XVII.

carry our bodies to obey and ſecond our minds, ſhould not imagine that we can conceive how God may move or bend our wills. The hard thing to digeſt in this whole matter, is reprobation: they who think it neceſſary to aſſert the freedom of election, would fain avoid it: they ſeek ſoft words for it, ſuch as the paſſing by or leaving men to periſh: they ſtudy to put that on Adam's ſin, and they take all the methods they can to ſoften an opinion that ſeems harſh, and that ſounds ill. But howſoever they will bear all the conſequences of it, rather than let the point of abſolute election go.

On the other ſide, thoſe who do once perſuade themſelves that the doctrine of reprobation is falſe, do not ſee how they can deny it, and yet aſcribe a free election to God. They are once perſuaded that there can be no reprobation but what is conditionate, and founded on what is foreſeen concerning men's ſins: and from this they are forced to ſay the ſame thing of election. And both ſides ſtudy to begin the controverſy with that which they think they can the moſt eaſily prove; the one at the eſtabliſhing of election, and the other at the overthrowing of reprobation. Some have ſtudied to ſeek out middle ways: for they obſerving that the Scriptures are writ in a great diverſity of ſtyle, in treating of the good or evil that happens to us, aſcribing the one to God, and imputing the other to ourſelves, teaching us to aſcribe the honour of all that is good to God, and to caſt the blame of all that is evil upon ourſelves, have from thence concluded, that God muſt have a different influence and cauſality in the one, from what he has in the other: but when they go to make this out, they meet with great difficulties; yet they chooſe to bear theſe rather than to involve themſelves in thoſe equally great, if not greater difficulties, that are in either of the other opinions. They wrap up all in two general aſſertions, that are great practical truths, *Let us arrogate no good to ourſelves, and impute no evil to God*, and ſo let the whole matter reſt. This may be thought by ſome the lazier, as well as the ſafer way: which avoids difficulties, rather than anſwers them; whereas they ſay of both the contending ſides, that they are better at the ſtarting of difficulties than at the reſolving of them.

Thus far I have gone upon the general, in making ſuch reflections as will appear but too well grounded to thoſe who have with any attention read the chief diſputants of both ſides. In theſe great points all agree: that mercy is freely

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freely offered to the world in Chriſt Jeſus: that God did freely offer his Son to be our propitiation, and has freely accepted the ſacrifice of his death in our ſtead, whereas he might have condemned every man to have periſhed for his own ſins: that God does, in the diſpenſation of his Goſpel, and the promulgation of it to the ſeveral nations, act according to the freedom of his grace, upon reaſons that are to us myſterious and paſt finding out: that every man is inexcuſable in the ſight of God: that all men are ſo far free as to be praiſe-worthy or blame-worthy for the good or evil that they do: that every man ought to employ his faculties all he can, and to pray and depend earneſtly upon God for his protection and aſſiſtance: that no man in practice ought to think that there is a fate or decree hanging over him, and ſo become ſlothful in his duty, but that every man ought to do the beſt he can, as if there were no ſuch decree, ſince, whether there is or is not, it is not poſſible for him to know what it is: that every man ought to be deeply humbled for his ſins in the ſight of God, without excuſing himſelf by pretending a decree was upon him, or a want of power in him: that all men are bound to obey the rules ſet them in the Goſpel, and are to expect neither mercy nor favour from God, but as they ſet themſelves diligently about that: and finally, that at the laſt day all men ſhall be judged, not according to ſecret decrees, but according to their own works. In theſe great truths, of which the greater part are practical, all men agree. If they would agree as honeſtly in the practice of them, as they do in confeſſing them to be true, they would do that which is much more important and neceſſary, than to ſpeculate and diſpute about niceties; by which the world would quickly put on a new face, and then thoſe few, that might delight in curious ſearches and arguments, would manage them with more modeſty and leſs heat, and be both leſs poſitive and leſs ſupercilious. ART. XVII.

I have hitherto inſiſted on ſuch general reflections as ſeemed proper to theſe queſtions. I come now in the laſt place to examine how far our Church hath determined the matter, either in this Article or elſewhere: how far ſhe hath reſtrained her ſons, and how far ſhe hath left them at liberty. For thoſe different opinions being ſo intricate in themſelves, and ſo apt to raiſe hot diſputes, and to kindle laſting quarrels, it will not be ſuitable to that moderation which our Church hath obſerved in all other things, to ſtretch her words on theſe heads beyond their ſtrict ſenſe. The natural equity or reaſon of things ought rather to carry

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ART. XVII.

carry us, on the other hand, to as great a comprehenſiveneſs of all ſides, as may well conſiſt with the words in which our Church hath expreſſed herſelf on thoſe heads.

It is not to be denied, but that the Article ſeems to be framed according to St. Auſtin's doctrine: it ſuppoſes men to be under a *curſe and damnation*, antecedently to *predeſtination*, from which they are delivered by it; ſo it is directly againſt the Supralapſarian doctrine: nor does the Article make any mention of reprobation, no, not in a hint; no definition is made concerning it. The Article does alſo ſeem to aſſert the efficacy of grace: that in which the knot of the whole difficulty lies, is not defined; that is, whether God's eternal purpoſe or decree was made according to what he foreſaw his creatures would do, or purely upon an abſolute will, in order to his own glory. It is very probable, that thoſe who penned it meant that the decree was abſolute; but yet ſince they have not ſaid it, thoſe who ſubſcribe the Articles do not ſeem to be bound to any thing that is not expreſſed in them: and therefore ſince the Remonſtrants do not deny but that God having foreſeen what all mankind would, according to all the different circumſtances in which they ſhould be put, do or not do, he upon that did by a firm and eternal decree lay that whole deſign in all its branches, which he executes in time; they may ſubſcribe this Article without renouncing their opinion as to this matter. On the other hand, the Calviniſts have leſs occaſion for ſcruple; ſince the Article does ſeem more plainly to favour them. The three cautions, that are added to it, do likewiſe intimate that St. Auſtin's doctrine was deſigned to be ſettled by the Article: for *the danger of men's having the ſentence of God's predeſtination always before their eyes, which may occaſion either deſperation on the one hand, or the wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living on the other*, belongs only to that ſide; ſince theſe miſchiefs do not ariſe out of the other hypotheſis. The other two, of taking *the promiſes of God in the ſenſe in which they are ſet forth to us in holy Scriptures*, and *of following that will of God that is expreſsly declared to us in the word of God*, relate very viſibly to the ſame opinion: though others do infer from theſe cautions, that the doctrine laid down in the Article muſt be ſo underſtood as to agree with theſe cautions; and therefore they argue, that ſince abſolute predeſtination cannot conſiſt with them, that therefore the Article is to be otherwiſe explained. They ſay the natural conſequence of an abſolute decree is either preſumption or deſpair: ſince a man upon that bottom

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tom reckons, that which way ſoever the decree is made, it muſt certainly be accompliſhed. They alſo argue, that becauſe we muſt receive the promiſes of God as conditional, we muſt alſo believe the decree to be conditional; for abſolute decrees exclude conditional promiſes. An offer cannot be ſuppoſed to be made in earneſt by him that has excluded the greateſt number of men from it by an antecedent act of his own. And if we muſt only follow the revealed will of God, we ought not to ſuppoſe that there is an antecedent and poſitive will of God, that has decreed our doing the contrary to what he has commanded. ART. XVII.

Thus the one ſide argues, that the Article as it lies, in the plain meaning of thoſe who conceived it, does very expreſsly eſtabliſh their doctrine: and the other argues, from thoſe cautions that are added to it, that it ought to be underſtood ſo as that it may agree with theſe cautions: and both ſides find in the Article itſelf ſuch grounds, that they reckon they do not renounce their opinions by ſubſcribing it. The Remonſtrant ſide have this farther to add, that the univerſal extent of the death of Chriſt ſeems to be very plainly affirmed in the moſt ſolemn part of all the offices of the Church: for in the office of Communion, and in the Prayer of Conſecration, we own, that Chriſt, *by the one oblation of himſelf once offered, made there a full, perfect, and ſufficient ſacrifice, oblation, and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole world.* Though the others ſay, that by *full, perfect, and ſufficient*, is not to be underſtood that Chriſt's death was intended to be a complete ſacrifice and ſatisfaction for *the whole world*, but that in its own value it was capable of being ſuch. This is thought too great a ſtretch put upon the words. And there are yet more expreſs words in our Church-Catechiſm to this purpoſe; which is to be conſidered as the moſt ſolemn declaration of the ſenſe of the Church, ſince that is the doctrine in which ſhe inſtructs all her children: and in that part of it which ſeems to be moſt important, as being the ſhort ſummary of the Apoſtles' Creed, it is ſaid, *God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind:* where *all* muſt ſtand in the ſame extent of univerſality, as in the precedent and in the following words; *The Father who made me and all the world; the Holy Ghoſt who ſanctifieth me and all the elect people of God*; which being to be underſtood ſeverely, and without exception, this muſt alſo be taken in the ſame ſtrictneſs. There is another argument brought from the office of Baptiſm, to prove that men may fall from a ſtate of grace and regeneration; for in the whole office, more particularly in the Thankſ-

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ART. XVII. Thankſgiving after the Baptiſm, it is affirmed, that the perſon baptized is *regenerated by God's Holy Spirit*, and is *received for his own child by adoption*: now ſince it is certain that many who are baptized fall from that ſtate of grace, this ſeems to import, that ſome of the regenerate may fall away: which though it agrees well with St. Auſtin's doctrine, yet it does not agree with the Calviniſts' opinions.

Thus I have examined this matter in as ſhort a compaſs as was poſſible; and yet I do not know that I have forgot any important part of the whole controverſy, though it is large, and has many branches. I have kept, as far as I can perceive, that indifference which I propoſed to myſelf in the proſecuting of this matter; and have not on this occaſion declared my own opinion, though I have not avoided the doing it upon other occaſions. Since the Church has not been peremptory, but that a latitude has been left to different opinions, I thought it became me to make this explanation of the Article ſuch: and therefore I have not endeavoured to poſſeſs the reader with that which is my own ſenſe in this matter, but have laid the force of the arguments, as well as the weight of the difficulties of both ſides before him, with all the advantages that I had found in the books either of the one or of the other perſuaſion. And I leave the choice as free to my reader, as the Church has done.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE XVIII.

### Of obtaining Eternal Salvation only by the Name of Chriſt.

**They alſo are to be accurſed, that preſume to ſay, That every man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth; ſo that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature. For Holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby men muſt be ſaved.**

THE impiety, that is condemned in this Article, was firſt taught by ſome of the Heathen orators and philoſophers in the fourth century, who, in their addreſſes to the Chriſtian emperors for the tolerance of *paganiſm*, ſtarted this thought, that how lively ſoever it may ſeem, when well ſet off in a piece of eloquence, will not bear a ſevere argument: that God is more honoured by the varieties and different methods of worſhipping and ſerving him, than if all ſhould fall into the ſame way: that this diverſity has a beauty in it, and a ſuitableneſs to the infinite perfections of God; and it does not look ſo like a mutual agreement or concert, as when all men worſhip him one way. But this is rather a flaſh of wit than true reaſoning.

The *Alcoran* has carried this matter farther, to the aſſerting, that all men in all religions are equally acceptable to God, if they ſerve him faithfully in them. The infuſing this into the world, that has a ſhew of mercy in it, made men more eaſy to receive their law; and they took care by their extreme ſeverity to fix them in it, when they were once engaged: for though they uſe no force to make men Muſſelmans, yet they puniſh with all extremity every thing that looks like apoſtaſy from it, if it is once received. The doctrine of Leviathan, that makes *law* to be *religion*, and *religion* to be *law*, that is, that obliges ſubjects to believe that religion to be true, or at leaſt to follow that which is enacted by the laws of their country, muſt be built either on this foundation, that there is no ſuch thing as revealed religion, but that it is only a political contrivance; or that all religions are equally acceptable to God.

Others

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ART. XVIII.

Others having obſerved that it was a very ſmall part of mankind that had the advantages of the Chriſtian religion, have thought it too cruel to damn in their thoughts all thoſe who have not heard of it, and yet have lived morally and virtuouſly, according to their light and education. And ſome, to make themſelves and others eaſy, in accommodating their religion to their ſecular intereſts, to excuſe their changing, and to quiet their conſciences, have ſet up this notion, that ſeems to have a largeneſs both of good nature and charity in it; looks plauſible, and is calculated to take in the greateſt numbers: they therefore ſuppoſe that God in his infinite goodneſs will accept equally the ſervices that all his creatures offer to him, according to the beſt of their ſkill and ſtrength.

In oppoſition to all which, they are here condemned, who think that every man ſhall be ſaved by the *law* or *ſect* which he profeſſeth: where a great difference is to be obſerved between the words *ſaved by the law*, and *ſaved in the law*; the one is condemned, but not the other. To *be ſaved by a law* or *ſect*, ſignifies, that by the virtue of that *law* or *ſect* ſuch men who follow it may be *ſaved*: whereas to be *ſaved in a law* or *ſect*, imports only, that God may extend his compaſſions to men that are engaged in falſe religions. The former is only condemned by this Article, which affirms nothing concerning the other. In ſum; if we have fully proved that the Chriſtian religion was delivered to the world in the name of God, and was atteſted by miracles, ſo that we believe its truth, we muſt believe every part and tittle of it, and by conſequence thoſe paſſages which denounce the wrath and judgments of God againſt impenitent ſinners, and that promiſe mercy and ſalvation only upon the account of Chriſt and his death: *We muſt believe with our hearts, and confeſs it with our mouths: we muſt not be aſhamed of Chriſt, or of his words, leſt he ſhould be aſhamed of us, when he comes in the glory of his Father, with his holy angels.* This, I ſay, being a part of the Goſpel, muſt be as true as the Goſpel itſelf is; and theſe rules muſt bind all thoſe to whom they are propoſed, whether they are enacted by *law* or not: for if we are aſſured that they are a part of the *law of the King of Kings*, we are bound to believe and obey them, whether human laws do favour them or not; it being an evident thing, that no ſubordinate authority can derogate from that which is ſuperior to it: ſo if the laws of God are clearly revealed, and certainly conveyed down to us, we are bound by them, and no human law can diſſolve this obligation. If God

Rom. x. 9, 10. Mark viii. 38.

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God has declared his will to us, it can never be ſuppoſed to be free to us to chooſe whether we will obey it or not, and ſerve him under that or under another form of religion, at our pleaſure and choice. We are limited by what God has declared to us, and we muſt not fancy ourſelves to be at liberty after he has revealed his will to us. ART. XVIII.

As to ſuch to whom the Chriſtian religion is revealed, there no queſtion can be made, for it is certain they are under an indiſpenſable obligation to obey and follow that which is ſo graciouſly revealed to them: they are bound to follow it according to what they are in their conſciences perſuaded is its true ſenſe and meaning. And if for any ſecular intereſt they chooſe to comply with that which they are convinced is an important error, and is condemned in the Scripture, they do plainly ſhew that they prefer lands, houſes, and life, to the authority of God, in whoſe will, when revealed to them, they are bound to acquieſce.

The only difficulty remaining is concerning thoſe who never heard of this religion; whether, or how can they be ſaved? St. Paul having divided the world into Jews and Gentiles, called by him thoſe who were in the law, and who were without law; he ſays, thoſe *who ſinned without law*, that is, out of the Moſaical diſpenſation, *ſhall be judged without law*, that is, upon another foot. For he adds, when *the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law*, (that is, the moral parts of it,) *theſe, having not the law, are a law unto themſelves*; (that is, their conſciences are to them inſtead of a written law;) *which ſhew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts the mean while accuſing or elſe excuſing one another*. This implies that there are either ſeeds of knowledge and virtue laid in the nature of man, or that ſuch notions paſs among them, as are carried down by tradition. The ſame St. Paul ſays, *How can they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how can they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how can they hear without a preacher?* Which ſeems plainly to intimate, that men cannot be bound to believe, and by conſequence cannot be puniſhed for not believing, unleſs the Goſpel is preached to them. St. Peter ſaid to Cornelius, *Of a truth I perceive that God is no reſpecter of perſons; but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted of him*. Thoſe places ſeem to import, that thoſe who make the beſt uſe they can of that ſmall meaſure

Rom. ii. 12, 14, 15.

Rom. x. 14.

Acts x. 34, 35.



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ART. XVIII.

ſure of light that is given them, ſhall be judged according to it; and that God will not require more of them than he has given them. This alſo agrees ſo well with the ideas which we have both of juſtice and goodneſs, that this opinion wants not ſpecial colours to make it look well. But on the other hand, the pardon of ſin, and the favour of God, are ſo poſitively limited to the believing in Chriſt Jeſus, and it is ſo expreſsly ſaid, that *there is no ſalvation in any other*; and that *there is none other name* (or authority) *under heaven given among men, whereby we muſt be ſaved*; that the diſtinction which can only be made in this matter is this, that it is only on the account, and in the conſideration of the death of Chriſt, that ſin is pardoned, and men are ſaved.

Acts iv. 12.

This is the only ſacrifice in the ſight of God; ſo that whoſoever are received into mercy, have it through Chriſt as the channel and conveyance of it. But it is not ſo plainly ſaid, that no man can be ſaved, unleſs he has an explicit knowledge of this, together with a belief in it. Few in the old diſpenſation could have that: infants and innocents, or ideots, have it not; and yet it were a bold thing to ſay, that they may not be ſaved, by it. So it does not appear to be clearly revealed, that none ſhould be ſaved by the death of Chriſt, unleſs they do explicitly both know it, and believe in it: ſince it is certain, that God may pardon ſin only upon that ſcore, without obliging all men to believe in it, eſpecially when it is not revealed to them. And here another diſtinction is to be made, which will clear this whole matter, and all the difficulties that ariſe out of it.

A great difference is to be made between a fœderal certainty of ſalvation, ſecured by the promiſes of God, and of this new covenant in Chriſt Jeſus, and the extent to which the goodneſs and mercy of God may go. None are in the fœderal ſtate of ſalvation but Chriſtians: to them is given the covenant of grace, and to them the promiſes of God are made and offered; ſo that they have a certainty of it upon their performing thoſe conditions that are put in the promiſes. All others are out of this promiſe, to whom the tidings of it were never brought; but yet a great difference is to be made between them, and thoſe who have been invited to this covenant, and admitted to the outward profeſſion, and the common privileges of it, and that yet have in effect rejected it: theſe are under ſuch poſitive denunciations of wrath and judgment, that there is no room left for any charitable thoughts or hopes concerning them: ſo that if any part of the

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the Gospel is true, that must be also true, that they are under condemnation, for *having loved darkness more than light*, when the light shone upon them, and visited them. But as for them whom God has left in darkness, they are certainly out of the covenant, out of those promises and declarations that are made in it. So that they have no fœderal right to be saved, neither can we affirm that they shall be saved: but on the other hand, they are not under those positive denunciations, because they were never made to them: therefore since God has not declared that they shall be damned, no more ought we to take upon us to damn them. ART. XVIII. John iii. 19.

Instead of stretching the severity of justice by an inference, we may rather venture to stretch the mercy of God, since that is the attribute which of all others is the most magnificently spoken of in the Scriptures: so that we ought to think of it in the largest and most comprehensive manner. But indeed the most proper way is, for us to stop where the revelation of God stops; and not to be wise beyond what is written; but to leave the secrets of God as mysteries too far above us to examine, or to sound their depth. We do certainly know on what terms we ourselves shall be saved or damned: and we ought to be contented with that, and rather study *to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling*, than to let our minds run out into uncertain speculations concerning the measures and the conditions of God's uncovenanted mercies: we ought to take all possible care that we ourselves come not into condemnation, rather than to define positively of others who must, or who must not, be condemned.

It is therefore enough to fix this according to the design of the Article, that it is not free to men to choose at pleasure what religion they will, as if that were left to them, or that all religions were alike; which strikes at the foundation, and undermines the truth of all revealed religion. None are within the covenant of grace but true Christians; and all are excluded out of it, to whom it is offered, who do not receive and believe it, and live according to it. So, in a word, all that are saved, are saved through Christ; but whether all these shall be called to the explicit knowledge of him, is more than we have any good ground to affirm. Nor are we to go into that other question; whether any that are only in a state of nature, live fully up to its light? This is that about which we can have no certainty, no more than whether there may be a common grace given to them all, proportioned to their state, and to the obligations of it. This in general may be



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ART. XVIII.

ſafely believed, that God will never be wanting to ſuch as do their utmoſt endeavours in order to the ſaving of their ſouls: but that, as in the caſe of Cornelius, an angel will be ſent, and a miracle be wrought, rather than ſuch a perſon ſhall be left to periſh. But whether any of them do ever arrive at that ſtate, is more than we can determine; and it is a vain attempt for us to endeavour to find it out.

ARTICLE

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# ARTICLE XIX.

## Of the Church.

**The Viſible Church of Chriſt is a Congregation of faithful Men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly adminiſtred according to Chriſt's Ordinance, in all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame.**

**As the Church of** Jeruſalem, Alexandria, **and** Antioch **have erred, ſo alſo the Church of** Rome **hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but alſo in matters of Faith.**

THIS Article, together with ſome that follow it, relates to the fundamental difference between us and the Church of Rome: they teaching that we are to judge of doctrines by the authority and the deciſions of the Church; whereas we affirm, that we are firſt to examine the doctrine, and according to that to judge of the purity of a Church. Somewhat was already ſaid on the ſixth Article relating to this matter: what remains is now to be conſidered.

The whole queſtion is to be reduced to this point, whether we ought to examine and judge of matters of religion, according to the light and faculty of judging that we have; or if we are bound to ſubmit in all things to the deciſion of the Church? Here the matter muſt be determined againſt private judgment, by very expreſs and clear authorities, otherwiſe the other ſide proves itſelf. For we having naturally a faculty of judging for ourſelves, and uſing it in all other things, this freedom being the greateſt of all our other rights, muſt be ſtill aſſerted, unleſs it can be made appear that God has in ſome things put a bar upon it by his ſupreme authority.

That authority muſt be very expreſs, if we are required to ſubmit to it in a point of ſuch vaſt importance to us. We do alſo ſee that men are apt to be miſtaken, and are apt likewiſe willingly to miſtake, and to miſlead others; and that particularly in matters of religion the world has been ſo much impoſed upon and abuſed, that we cannot be bound to ſubmit to any ſort of perſons implicitly, without very good and clear grounds that do aſſure us of their infallibility: otherwiſe we have juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that in matters of religion, chiefly in points in which human intereſts are concerned, men may either through



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ART. XIX.

ignorance, and weakneſs, or corruption, and on deſign, abuſe and miſlead us. So that the authorities or proofs of this infallibility muſt be very expreſs; ſince we are ſure no man nor body of men can have it among them, but by a privilege from God; and a privilege of ſo extraordinary a nature muſt be given, if at all, in very plain, and with very evident characters; ſince without theſe human nature cannot and ought not to be ſo tame as to receive it. We muſt not draw it from an inference, becauſe we think we need it, and cannot be ſafe without it, that therefore it muſt be ſo, becauſe, if it were not ſo, great diſorders would ariſe from the want of it. This is certainly a wrong way of arguing. If God has clearly revealed it, we muſt acquieſce in it, becauſe we are ſure, if he has lodged infallibility any where, he will certainly maintain his own work, and not require us to believe any one implicitly, and not at the ſame time preſerve us from the danger of being deceived by him. But we muſt not preſume, from our notions of things, to give rules to God. It were, as we may think, very neceſſary that miracles ſhould be publicly done from time to time, for convincing every age and ſucceſſion of men; and that good men ſhould be ſo aſſiſted as generally to live without ſin: theſe and ſeveral other things may ſeem to us extremely convenient, and even neceſſary; but things are not ſo ordered for all that. It is alſo certain, that if God has lodged ſuch an infallibility on earth, it ought not to be in ſuch hands as do naturally heighten our prejudices againſt it. It will go againſt the grain to believe it, though all outward appearances looked ever ſo fair for it: but it will be an inconceivable method of Providence, if God ſhould lodge ſo wonderful an authority in hands that look ſo very unlike it, that of all others we ſhould the leaſt expect to find it with them.

If they have been guilty of notorious impoſtures, to ſupport their own authority, if they have committed great violences to extend it, and have been for ſome ages together engaged in as many falſe, unjuſt, and cruel practices, as are perhaps to be met with in any hiſtory; theſe are ſuch prejudices, that at leaſt they muſt be overcome by very clear and unqueſtionable proofs: and finally, if God has ſettled ſuch a power in his Church, we muſt be diſtinctly directed to thoſe in whoſe hands it is put, ſo that we may fall into no miſtake in ſo important a matter. This will be the more neceſſary, if there are different pretenders to it: we cannot be ſuppoſed to be bound to believe an infallibility in general, unleſs we have an equal evidence directing us to thoſe with whom it reſts, and who

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who have the diſpenſing of it. Theſe general conſiderations are of great weight in deciding this queſtion, and will carry us far into ſome preliminaries, which will appear to be indeed great ſteps towards the concluſion of the matter. ART. XIX.

There are three ways by which it may be pretended that infallibility can be proved: the one is the way of Moſes and the Prophets, of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, who by clear and unqueſtionable miracles publicly done and well atteſted, or by expreſs and circumſtantiated prophecies of things to come, that came afterwards to be verified, did evidently demonſtrate that they were ſent of God: whereſoever we ſee ſuch characters, and that a miracle is wrought by men who ſay they are ſent of God, which cannot be denied nor avoided; and if what ſuch perſons deliver to us is neither contrary to our ideas of God, and of morality, nor to any thing already revealed by God; there we muſt conclude that God has lodged an infallible authority with them, as long and as far as that character is ſtamped upon it.

That is not pretended here: for though they ſtudy to perſuade the world that miracles are ſtill among them, yet they do not ſo much as ſay that the miracles are wrought by thoſe with whom this infallibility is lodged, and that they are done to prove them to be infallible. For though God ſhould beſtow the gift of miracles upon ſome particular perſons among them, that is no more an argument that their Church is infallible, than the miracles that Elijah or Eliſha wrought were arguments to prove that the Jewiſh Church was infallible. Indeed the public miracles that belonged to the whole body, ſuch as the cloud of glory, the anſwers by the Urim and Thummim, the trial of jealouſy, and the conſtant plenty of the ſixth year, as preparatory to the ſabbatical year, ſeem more reaſonably to infer an infallibility; becauſe theſe were given to that whole church and nation. But yet the Jewiſh Church was far from being infallible all that while; for we ſee they fell all in a body into idolatry upon ſeveral occaſions: thoſe public miracles proved nothing but that for which they were given, which was, that Moſes was ſent of God, and that his law was from God, which they ſaw was ſtill atteſted in a continuance of extraordinary characters. If infallibility had been promiſed by that law, then the continuance of the miracles might have been urged to prove the continuance of the infallibility; but that not being promiſed, the miracles were only a ſtanding proof of the authority of their law, and of God's being



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ART. XIX.

ſtill among them. And thus though we ſhould not diſpute the truth of the many legends that ſome are daily bringing forth, which yet we may well do, ſince they are believed to be true by few among themſelves, they being conſidered among the greater part of the knowing men of that Church, as arts to entertain the credulity and devotion of the people, and to work upon their fears and hopes, but chiefly upon their purſes: all theſe, I ſay, when confeſſed, will not ſerve to prove that there is an infallibility among them, unleſs they can prove that theſe miracles are wrought to prove this infallibility.

The ſecond ſort of proofs that they may bring, is from ſome paſſages in Scripture, that ſeem to import that it was given by Chriſt to the Church. But though in this diſpute all theſe paſſages ought to be well conſidered and anſwered, yet they ought not to be urged to prove this infallibility, till ſeveral other things are firſt proved; ſuch as, that the Scriptures are the word of God; that the book of the Scriptures is brought down pure and uncorrupted to our hands; and that we are able to underſtand the meaning of it: for before we can argue from the parts of any book, as being of divine authority, all theſe things muſt be previouſly certain, and be well made out to us: ſo that we muſt be well aſſured of all thoſe particulars, before we may go about to prove any thing by any paſſages drawn out of the Scriptures. Further, theſe paſſages ſuppoſe that thoſe to whom this infallibility belongs are a Church: we muſt then know what a Church is, and what makes a body of men to be a Church, before we can be ſure that they are that ſociety to whom this infallibility is given: and ſince there may be, as we know that in fact there are, great differences among ſeveral of thoſe bodies of men called Churches, and that they condemn one another as guilty of error, ſchiſm, and hereſy; we are ſure that all theſe cannot be infallible: for contradictions cannot be true. So then we muſt know which of them is that ſociety where this infallibility is to be found. And if in any one ſociety there ſhould be different opinions about the ſeat of this infallibility, thoſe cannot be all true, though it is very poſſible that they may be all falſe: we muſt be then well aſſured in whom this great privilege is veſted, before we can be bound to acknowledge it, or to ſubmit to it. So here a great many things muſt be known, before we can either argue from, or apply thoſe paſſages of Scripture in which it is pretended that infallibility is promiſed to the Church: and if private judgment is to be truſted in the enquiries that ariſe about all

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all these particulars, they being the most important and most difficult matters that we can search into, then it will be thought reasonable to trust it yet much further. ART. XIX.

It is evident, by their proceeding this way, that both the authority and the sense of the Scriptures must be known antecedently to our acknowledging the authority or the infallibility of any Church. For it is an eternal principle and rule of reason, never to prove one thing by another, till that other is first well proved: nor can any thing be proved afterwards by that which was proved by it. This is as impossible, as if a father should beget a son, and should be afterwards begotten by that son. Therefore the Scriptures cannot prove the infallibility of the Church, and be afterwards proved by the testimony of the Church. So the one or the other of these must be first settled and proved, before any use can be made of it to prove the other by it.

The last way they take to find out this Church by, is from some notes that they pretend are peculiar to her, such as the name *catholic*; *antiquity*; *extent*; *duration*; *succession of bishops*; *union among themselves, and with their head*; *conformity of doctrine with former times*; *miracles*; *prophecy*; *sanctity of doctrine*; *holiness of life*; *temporal felicity*; *curses upon their enemies*; *and a constant progress or efficacy of doctrine*; *together with the confession of their adversaries:* and they fancy, that whersoever we find these, we must believe that body of men to be infallible. But upon all this, endless questions will arise, so far will it be from ending controversies, and settling us upon infallibility. If all these must be believed to be the marks of the infallible Church, upon the account of which we ought to believe it, and submit to it, then two enquiries upon every one of these notes must be discussed, before we can be obliged to acquiesce in the infallibility: First, whether that is a true mark of infallibility, or not? And next, whether it belongs to the Church which they call infallible, or not? And then another very intricate question will arise upon the whole, whether they must be all found together? or, how many, or which of them together, will give us the entire characters of the infallible Church? Bellar. Contr. Tom. 2. l. 4.

In discussing the questions, whether every one of these is a true mark, or not, no use must be made of the Scriptures; for if the Scriptures have their authority from the testimony, or rather the decisions of the infallible Church, no use can be made of them till that is first fixed. Some of these notes are such as did not at all agree to the Church in

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ART. XIX.

in the beſt and pureſt times; for then ſhe had but a little extent, a ſhort-lived duration, and no temporal felicity; and ſhe was generally reproached by her adverſaries. But out of which of theſe topics can one hope to fetch an aſſurance of the infallibility of ſuch a body? Can no body of men continue long in a conſtant ſeries, and with much proſperity, but muſt they be concluded to be infallible? Can it be thought that the aſſuming a name can be a mark? Why is not the name *Chriſtian* as ſolemn as *Catholic?* Might not the Philoſophers have concluded from hence againſt the firſt Chriſtians, that they were, by the confeſſion of all men, the *true lovers of wiſdom*; ſince they were called Philoſophers much more unanimouſly than the Church of Rome is called Catholic?

If a conformity of doctrine with former times, and a ſanctity of doctrine, are notes of the Church, theſe will lead men into enquiries of ſuch a nature, that if they are once allowed to go ſo far with their private judgment, they may well be ſuffered to go much further. Some ſtandard muſt be fixed on, by which the ſanctity of doctrine may be examined; they muſt alſo be allowed to examine what was the doctrine of former times: and here it will be natural to begin at the firſt times, the age of the Apoſtles. It muſt therefore be firſt known what was the doctrine of that age, before we can examine the conformity of the preſent age with it. A ſucceſſion of biſhops is confeſſed to be ſtill kept up among corrupted Churches. An union of the Church with its head cannot be ſuppoſed to be a note, unleſs it is firſt made out by ſome other topics, that this Church muſt have a head; and that he is infallible: for unleſs it is proved by ſome other argument, that ſhe ought to have a head, ſhe cannot be bound to adhere to him, or to own him; and unleſs it is alſo proved that he is infallible, ſhe cannot be bound abſolutely, and without reſtrictions, to adhere to him. Holineſs of life cannot be a mark, unleſs it is pretended that thoſe in whom the infallibility is are all holy. A few holy men here and there are indeed an honour to any body; but it will ſeem a ſtrange inference, that becauſe ſome few in a ſociety are eminently holy, that therefore others of that body who are not ſo, but are perhaps as eminently vicious, ſhould be infallible. Somewhat has been already ſaid concerning miracles: the pretence to prophecy falls within the ſame conſideration; the one being as wonderful a communication of omniſcience, as the other is of omnipotence. For the confeſſion of adverſaries, or ſome curſes on them; theſe cannot ſignify much,

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much, unleſs they were univerſal. Fair enemies will acknowledge what is good among their adverſaries: but as that Church is the leaſt apt of any ſociety we know, to ſpeak good of thoſe who differ from her, ſo ſhe has not very much to boaſt as to others ſaying much good of her. And if ſignal providences have now and then happened, theſe are ſuch things, and they are carried on with ſuch a depth, that we muſt acquieſce in the obſervation of the wiſeſt men of all ages, that *the race is not to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong: but that time and chance happeneth to all things.* ART. XIX. Eccl. ix. 11.

And thus it appears, that theſe pretended notes, inſtead of giving us a clear thread to lead us up to infallibility and to end all controverſies, do ſtart a great variety of queſtions, that engage us into a labyrinth, out of which it cannot be eaſy for any to extricate themſelves. But if we could ſee an end of this, then a new ſet of queſtions will come on, when we go to examine all Churches by them: whether the Church of Rome has them all? And if ſhe alone has them ſo, that no other Church has them equally with her or beyond her?

If all theſe muſt be diſcuſſed before we can ſettle this queſtion, which is the true infallible Church? a man muſt ſtay long ere he can come to a point in it.

Therefore there can be no other way taken here, but to examine firſt, what makes a particular Church: and then, ſince the Catholic Church is an united body of all particular Churches, when the true notion of a particular Church is fixed, it will be eaſy from that to form a notion of the Catholic Church.

It would ſeem reaſonable by the method of all Creeds, in particular of that called the Apoſtles' Creed, that we ought firſt to ſettle our faith as to the great points of the Chriſtian religion, and from thence go to ſettle the notion of a true Church: and that we ought not to begin with the notion of a Church, and from thence go to the doctrine.

The doctrine of Chriſtianity muſt be firſt ſtated, and from this we are to take our meaſures of all Churches; and that chiefly with reſpect to that doctrine, which every Chriſtian is bound to believe: here a diſtinction is to be made between thoſe capital and fundamental Articles, without which a man cannot be eſteemed a true Chriſtian, nor a Church a true Church; and other truths, which being delivered in Scripture, all men are indeed obliged to believe them, yet they are not of that nature that the ignorance of them, or an error in them, can exclude from ſalvation.

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ART. XIX.

To make this ſenſible; it is a propoſition of another ſort, that Chriſt died for ſinners, than this, that he died at the third or at the ſixth hour. And yet if the ſecond propoſition is expreſsly revealed in Scripture, we are bound to believe it, ſince God has ſaid it, though it is not of the ſame nature with the other.

Here a controverſy does naturally ariſe that wiſe people are unwilling to meddle with, what Articles are fundamental, and what are not?

The defining of fundamental Articles ſeems, on the one hand, to deny ſalvation to ſuch as do not receive them all, which men are not willing to do.

And on the other hand, it may ſeem a leaving men at liberty, as to all other particulars that are not reckoned up among the fundamentals.

But after all, the covenant of grace, the terms of ſalvation, and the grounds on which we expect it, ſeem to be things of another nature than all other truths, which, though revealed, are not of themſelves the means or conditions of ſalvation. Whereſoever true baptiſm is, there it ſeems the eſſentials of this covenant are preſerved: for if we look on baptiſm as a fœderal admiſſion into Chriſtianity, there can be no baptiſm where the eſſence of Chriſtianity is not preſerved. As far then as we believe that any ſociety has preſerved that, ſo far we are bound to receive her baptiſm, and no further. For unleſs we conſider baptiſm as a ſort of a charm, that ſuch words joined with a waſhing with water make one a Chriſtian; which ſeems to be expreſsly contrary to what St. Peter ſays of it, that *it is not the waſhing away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God that ſaves us*; we muſt conclude, that baptiſm is a fœderal thing, in which after that the ſponſions are made, the ſeal of regeneration is added.

1 Pet. iii. 21.

From hence it will follow, that all who have a true baptiſm, that makes men believers and Chriſtians, muſt alſo have the true faith as to the eſſentials of Chriſtianity; the fundamentals of Chriſtianity ſeem to be all that is neceſſary to make baptiſm true and valid. And upon this a diſtinction is to be made, that will diſcover and deſtroy a ſophiſm that is often uſed on this occaſion. A true Church is, in one ſenſe, a ſociety that preſerves the eſſentials and fundamentals of Chriſtianity: in another ſenſe it ſtands for a ſociety, all whoſe doctrines are true, that has corrupted no part of this religion, nor mixed any errors with it. A true man is one who has a ſoul and a body, that are the eſſential conſtituents of a man: whereas,

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ART. XIX.

in another ſenſe, a man of ſincerity and candour is called a true man. Truth in the one ſenſe imports the eſſential conſtitution, and in the other it imports only a quality that is accidental to it. So when we acknowledge that any ſociety is a true Church, we ought to be ſuppoſed to mean no other, than that the covenant of Grace in its eſſential conſtituent parts is preſerved entire in that body; and not that it is true in all its doctrines and deciſions.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in a Church is, their aſſociation together in the uſe of the ſacraments. For theſe are given by Chriſt to the ſociety, as the rites and badges of that body. That which makes particular men believers, is their receiving the fundamentals of Chriſtianity; ſo that which conſtitutes the body of the Church, is the profeſſion of that faith, and the uſe of thoſe ſacraments, which are the rites and diſtinctions of thoſe who profeſs it.

In this likewiſe a diſtinction is to be made between what is eſſential to a ſacrament, and what is the exact obſervance of it according to the inſtitution. Additions to the ſacraments do not annul them, though they corrupt them with that adulterate mixture. Therefore where the ſponſions are made, and a waſhing with water is uſed with the words of Chriſt, there we own that there is a true baptiſm: though there may be a large addition of other rites, which we reject as ſuperſtitious, though we do not pretend that they null the baptiſm. But if any part of the inſtitution is cut off, there we do not own the ſacrament to be true: becauſe it being an inſtitution of Chriſt's, it can no more be eſteemed a true ſacrament, than as it retains all that, which by the inſtitution appears to be the main and eſſential parts of the action.

Upon this account it is, that ſince Chriſt appointed bread and wine for his other ſacrament, and that he not only bleſſed both, but diſtributed both, with words appropriated to each kind, we do not eſteem that to be a true ſacrament, in which either the one or the other of theſe kinds is withdrawn.

But in the next place, there may be many things neceſſary in the way of precept and order, both with relation to the ſacraments, and to the other public acts of worſhip, in which though additions or defects are erroneous and faulty, yet they do not annul the ſacraments.

We think none ought to baptize but men dedicated to the ſervice of God, and ordained according to that conſtitution that was ſettled in the Church by the Apoſtles; and yet baptiſm by laics, or by women, ſuch as is moſt commonly practiſed in the Roman Church, is not eſteemed null

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ART. XIX.

null by us, nor is it repeated: becauſe we make a difference between what is eſſential to a ſacrament, and what is requiſite in the regular way of uſing it.

None can deny this among us, but thoſe who will queſtion the whole Chriſtianity of the Roman Church, where the midwives do generally baptize: but if this invalidates the baptiſm, then we muſt queſtion all that is done among them: perſons ſo baptized, if their baptiſm is void, are neither truly ordained, nor capable of any other act of Church-communion. Therefore men's being in orders, or their being duly ordained, is not neceſſary to the eſſence of the ſacrament of baptiſm, but only to the regularity of adminiſtering it: and ſo the want of it does not void it, but does only prove ſuch men to be under ſome defects and diſorder in their conſtitution.

Thus I have laid down thoſe diſtinctions that will guide us in the right underſtanding of this Article. If we believe that any ſociety retains the fundamentals of Chriſtianity, we do from that conclude it to be a true Church, to have a true baptiſm, and the members of it to be capable of ſalvation. But we are not upon that bound to aſſociate ourſelves to their communion: for if they have the addition of falſe doctrines, or any unlawful parts of worſhip among them, we are not bound to join in that which we are perſuaded is error, idolatry, or ſuperſtition.

If the ſacraments that Chriſt has appointed are obſerved and miniſtered by any Church as to the main of them, according to his inſtitution, we are to own thoſe for valid actions: but we are not for that bound to join in communion with them, if they have adulterated theſe with many mixtures and additions.

Thus a plain difference is made between our owning that a Church may retain the fundamentals of Chriſtianity, a true baptiſm, and true orders, which are a conſequent upon the former, and our joining with that Church in ſuch acts as we think are ſo far vitiated, that they become unlawful to us to do them. Purſuant to this, we do neither repeat the baptiſm, nor the ordinations of the Church of Rome: we acknowledge that our forefathers were both baptized and ordained in that communion: and we derive our preſent Chriſtianity or baptiſm, and our orders from thence: yet we think that there were ſo many unlawful actions, even in thoſe rituals, beſides the other corruptions of their worſhip, that we cannot join in ſuch any more.

The being baptized in a Church does not tie a man to every

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ART. XIX.

every thing in that Church; it only ties him to the covenant of Grace. The ſtipulations which are made in baptiſm, as well as in ordination, do only bind a man to the Chriſtian faith, or to the faithful diſpenſing of that Goſpel, and of thoſe ſacraments, of which he is made a miniſter: ſo he who, being convinced of the errors and corruptions of a Church, departs from them, and goes on in the purity of the Chriſtian religion, does purſue the true effect both of his baptiſm, and of his ordination vows. For theſe are to be conſidered as ties upon him only to God and Chriſt, and not to adhere to the other dictates of that body, in which he had his birth, baptiſm, and ordination.

The great objection againſt all this is, that it ſets up a private judgment, it gives particular perſons a right of judging Churches: whereas the natural order is, that private perſons ought to be ſubject and obedient to the Church.

This muſt needs feed pride and curioſity, it muſt break all order, and caſt all things looſe, if every ſingle man, according to his reading and preſumption, will judge of Churches and Communions.

On this head it is very eaſy to employ a great deal of popular eloquence, to decry private men's examining of Scriptures, and forming their judgments of things out of them, and not ſubmitting all to the judgment of the Church. But how abſurd ſoever this may ſeem, all parties do acknowledge that it muſt be done.

Thoſe of the Church of Rome do teach, that a man born in the Greek Church, or among us, is bound to lay down his error, and his communion too, and to come over to them; and yet they allow our baptiſm, as well as they do the ordinations of the Greek Church.

Thus they allow private men to judge, and that in ſo great a point, as what Church and what Communion ought to be choſen or forſaken. And it is certain, that to judge of Churches and Communions is a thing of that intricacy, that if private judgment is allowed here, there is no reaſon to deny it its full ſcope as to all other matters.

God has given us rational faculties to guide and direct us; and we muſt make the moſt of theſe that we can: we muſt judge with our own reaſons, as well as ſee with our own eyes: neither can we, or ought we to reſign up our underſtandings to any others, unleſs we are convinced that God has impoſed this upon us, by his making them infallible, ſo that we are ſecured from error if we follow them.

All

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ART. XIX.

All this we muſt examine, and be well aſſured of it, otherwiſe it will be a very raſh, unmanly, and baſe thing in us, to muffle up our own underſtandings, and to deliver our reaſon and faith over to others blindfold. Reaſon is God's image in us; and as the uſe and application of our reaſon, as well as of the freedom of our wills, are the higheſt excellencies of the rational nature; ſo they muſt be always claimed, and ought never to be parted with by us, but upon clear and certain authorities in the name of God, putting us implicitly under the dictates of others.

We may abuſe the uſe of our reaſon, as well as the liberty of our will; and may be damned for the one as well as the other. But when we ſet ourſelves to make the beſt uſe we can of the freedom of our wills, we may and do upon that expect ſecret aſſiſtances. We have both the like promiſes, direction to the like prayers, and reaſon to expect the ſame illumination, to make us *ſee*, know, and comprehend the truths of religion, that we have to expect that our powers ſhall be inwardly ſtrengthened to love and obey them. David prays that God may *open his eyes*, as well as that he may *make him to go in his ways*. The promiſes in the Prophets concerning the Goſpel-diſpenſation carry in them the being taught of God, as well as the being made to walk in his ways; and *the enlightening the mind, and the eyes of the mind* to know, is prayed for by St. Paul, as well as that *Chriſt may dwell in their hearts*.

Pſ. cxix. 18, 35.

Epheſ. i. 18. iii. 17.

Since then there is an aſſiſtance of the Divine grace given to fortify the underſtanding, as well as to enable the will, it follows that our underſtanding is to be employed by us in order to the finding out of the truth, as well as our will in order to the obeying of it. And though this may have very ill conſequences, it does not follow from thence, that it is not true. No conſequences can be worſe than the corruption that is in the world, and the damnation that follows upon ſin; and yet God permits it, becauſe he has made us free creatures. Nor can any reaſon be given why we ſhould be leſs free in the uſe of our underſtanding, than we are in the uſe of our will; or why God ſhould make it to be leſs poſſible for us to fall into errors, than it is to commit ſins. The wrath of God is as much denounced againſt men that *hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs*, as againſt other ſins; and it is reckoned among the heavieſt of curſes, *to be given up to ſtrong deluſions, to believe a lie*. Upon all theſe reaſons therefore it ſeems clear, that our underſtandings are left free to us as well as our wills; and if we obſerve the ſtyle and method of

Rom. i. 18, 24, 26. 2 Theſſ. ii. 11.

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of the Scriptures, we ſhall find in them all over a conſtant appeal to a man's reaſon, and to his intellectual faculties. ART. XIX.

If the mere dictates of the Church, or of infallible men, had been the reſolution or foundation of faith, there had been no need of ſuch a long thread of reaſoning and diſcourſe, as both our Saviour uſed while on earth, and as the Apoſtles uſed in their writings. We ſee the way of authority is not taken, but explanations are offered, proofs and illuſtrations are brought to convince the mind; which ſhews that God, in the cleareſt manifeſtation of his will, would deal with us as with reaſonable creatures, who are not to believe but upon perſuaſion; and are to uſe our reaſons in order to the attaining that perſuaſion. And therefore upon the whole matter we ought not to believe doctrines to be true, becauſe the Church teaches them; but we ought *to ſearch the Scriptures*, and then, according as we find the doctrine of any Church to be true in the fundamentals, we ought to believe her to be a true Church; and if, beſides this, the whole extent of the doctrine and worſhip, together not only with the eſſential parts of the ſacraments, but the whole adminiſtration of them and the other rituals of any Church, are pure and true; then we ought to account ſuch a Church true in the largeſt extent of the word *true*; and by conſequence we ought to hold communion with it.

Another queſtion may ariſe out of the firſt words of this Article, concerning the viſibility of this Church; Whether it muſt be always viſible? According to the diſtinction hitherto made uſe of, the reſolution of this will be ſoon made. There ſeem to be promiſes in the Scriptures, of a perpetual duration of the Chriſtian Church: *I will be with you always, even to the end of the world*: and, *The gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church*. The Jewiſh religion had a period prefixed, in which it was to come to an end: but the prophecies that are among the prophets, concerning the new diſpenſation, ſeem to import not only its continuance, but its being continued ſtill viſible in the world. But as the Jewiſh diſpenſation was long continued, after they had fallen generally into ſome very groſs errors; ſo the Chriſtian Church may be viſible ſtill, though not infallible. God may preſerve the ſucceſſion of a true Church, as to the eſſentials and fundamentals of faith, in the world, even though this ſociety ſhould fall into error. So a viſible ſociety of Chriſtians in a true Church, as to the eſſentials of our faith, is not controverted by us. We do only deny the infallibility of this true Church: and therefore we are not afraid of that

Matth. xxviii. 20. Matth. xvi. 18.



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ART. XIX.

queſtion, *Where was your Church before Henry the Eighth?* We anſwer, It was where it is now, here in England, and in the other kingdoms of the world: only it was then corrupted, and it is now pure. There is therefore no ſort of inconvenience in owning the conſtant viſibility of a conſtant ſucceſſion and Church of *true* Chriſtians; *true* as to the eſſentials of the covenant of grace, though not *true* in all their doctrines. This ſeems to be a part of the glory of the Meſſias, and of his kingdom, that he ſhall be ſtill viſibly worſhipped in the world by a body of men called by his name. But when viſibility is thus ſeparated from infallibility, and it is made out that a Church may be a true Church, though ſhe has a large allay of errors and corruptions mixed in her conſtitution and deciſions; there will be no manner of inconvenience in owning a conſtant viſibility, even at the ſame time that we charge the moſt eminent part of this viſible body with many errors, and with much corruption.

So far has the firſt part of this Article been treated of: from it we paſs to the ſecond, which affirms, that as the other Patriarchal and Apoſtolical Churches, ſuch as Jeruſalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, ſo the Church of Rome has likewiſe erred, and that not only in their living, and manner of ceremonies, but alſo in matters of *faith*.

It is not queſtioned but that the other Patriarchal Churches have erred; both that where our Saviour himſelf firſt taught, and which was governed by two of the Apoſtles ſucceſſively, and thoſe which were founded by St. Peter in perſon, or by proxy, as Church-hiſtory repreſents Alexandria and Antioch to have been. Thoſe of the Church of Rome, by whom they are at this day condemned both of hereſy and ſchiſm, do not diſpute this. Nor do they diſpute that many of their Popes have led bad and flagitious lives: they deny not that the canons, ceremonies, and government of the Church are very much changed by the influence and authority of their Popes: but the whole queſtion turns upon this, Whether the See of Rome has erred in matters of faith, or not? In this thoſe of that communion are divided: ſome, by the Church or See of Rome, mean the Popes perſonally; ſo they maintain, that they never have, and never can fall into error: whereas others, by the See of Rome, mean that whole *body* that holds communion with Rome, which they ſay cannot be tainted with error; and theſe ſeparate this from the perſonal infallibility of *Popes*: for if a Pope ſhould err, they think that a General Council has authority

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rity to proceed againſt him, and to deprive him: and thus, though he ſhould err, the *See* might be kept free from *error*. I ſhall upon this Article only conſider the firſt opinion, reſerving the conſideration of the ſecond to the Article concerning General Councils.

As to the Popes their being ſubject to error, that muſt be confeſſed, unleſs it can be proved, that, by a clear and expreſs privilege granted them by God, they are excepted out of the common condition of human nature. It is further highly probable that there is no ſuch privilege, ſince the Church continued for many ages, before it was ſo much as pretended to; and that in a time when that See was not only claiming all the rights that belonged to it, but challenging a great many that were flatly denied and rejected: ſuch as the right of receiving appeals from the African Churches; in which reiterated inſtances, and a bold claim upon a ſpurious canon, pretended to be of the Council of Nice, were long purſued: but thoſe Churches aſſerted their authority of ending all matters within themſelves. In all this conteſt infallibility was never claimed; no more than it had been by Victor, when he excommunicated the Aſian Churches for obſerving Eaſter on the fourteenth day of the moon, and not on the Lord's-day after, according to the cuſtom of the Roman, as well as of other Churches.

When Pope Stephen quarrelled with St. Cyprian about the rebaptizing of heretics, Cyprian and Firmilian were ſo far from ſubmitting to his authority, that they ſpake of him with a freedom uſed by equals, and with a ſeverity that ſhewed they were far from thinking him infallible. When the whole Eaſt was diſtracted with the diſputes occaſioned by the Arian controverſy, there was ſo much partiality in all their councils, that it was decreed, that appeals ſhould be made to Pope Julius, and afterwards to his ſucceſſors; though here was an occaſion given to aſſert this infallibility, if it had been thought on, yet none ever ſpoke of it. Great reverence was paid to that Church, both becauſe they believed it was founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and chiefly becauſe it was the imperial city; for we ſee that all other ſees had that degree of dignity given them, which by the conſtitution of the Roman empire was lodged in their cities: and ſo when Byzance was made the imperial city, and called New Rome, though more commonly Conſtantinople, it had a patriarchal dignity beſtowed on it; and was in all things declared equal to Old Rome, only the point of rank and order excepted. This was decreed in two General Councils, the ſecond

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. v. c. 23, 24, 25. Cypr. Ep. 74. et 75. Firmil. Con. Sard. C. 3. et 7.



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ART. XIX.

and the fourth, in ſo expreſs a manner, that it alone before equitable judges would fully ſhew the ſenſe of the Church in the fourth and fifth century upon this head. When Pope Liberius condemned Athanaſius, and ſubſcribed to Semi-Arianiſm, this was never conſidered as a new deciſion in that matter, ſo that it altered the ſtate of it. No uſe was made of it, nor was any argument drawn from it. Liberius was univerſally condemned for what he had done; and when he repented of it and retracted it, he was again owned by the Church.

Con. Conſt. Can. 3. Con. Chalced. C. 28.

We have in the ſixth century a moſt undeniable inſtance of the ſenſe of the whole Church in this matter. Pope Honorius was by the Sixth General Council condemned as a Monothelite; and this in the preſence of the Pope's legates, and he was anathematized by ſeveral of the ſucceeding Popes. It is to no purpoſe here to examine whether he was juſtly or unjuſtly condemned; it is enough that the ſenſe both of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Church appeared evidently in that age upon theſe two points; that a Pope might be a heretic; and that, being ſuch, he might be held accurſed for it: and in that time there was not any one that ſuggeſted, that either he could not fall into hereſy, ſince our Saviour had prayed that St. Peter's *faith might not fail*; or that, if he had fallen into it, he muſt be left to the judgment of God; but that the holy See (according to the fable of P. Marcellin) could be judged by no body. The confuſions that followed for ſome ages in the weſtern parts of Europe, more particularly in Italy, gave occaſion to the biſhops of Rome to extend their authority.

Con. Sinueſſ. An. 303. —Tom. 1. Conc.

The emperors at Conſtantinople, and their exarchs at Ravenna, ſtudied to make them ſure to their intereſts, yet ſtill aſſerting their authority over them. The new conquerors ſtudied alſo to gain them to their ſide; and they managed their matters ſo dexterouſly, that they went on ſtill increaſing and extending their authority; till being much ſtraitened by the kings of the Lombards, they were protected by a new conquering family, that aroſe in France in the eighth century; who, to give credit both to their uſurpation of that crown, and to the extending their dominions into Italy, and the aſſuming the empire of the Weſt, did both protect and enrich them, and enlarged their authority; the greatneſs of which they reckoned could do them no hurt, as long as they kept the confirmation of their election to themſelves. That family became quickly too feeble to hold that power long, and then an impoſture was publiſhed, of a volume of the *Decretal Epiſtles*

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*Epiſtles* of the Popes of the firſt ages, in which they were repreſented as acting according to thoſe high claims to which they were then beginning to pretend. Thoſe ages were too blind and too ignorant to be capable of ſearching critically into the truth of this collection; it quickly paſſed for current; and though ſome in the beginning diſputed it, yet that was ſoon borne down, and the credit of that work was eſtabliſhed. It furniſhed them with precedents that they were careful enough not only to follow, but to outdo. Thus a work, which is now as univerſally rejected by the learned men of their own body as ſpurious, as it was then implicitly taken for genuine, gave the chief foundation during many ages to their unbounded authority: and this furniſhes us with a very juſt prejudice againſt it, that it was managed with ſo much fraud and impoſture; to which they added afterwards much *cruelty* and *violence*; the two worſt characters poſſible, and the leaſt likely to be found joined with infallibility: for it is reaſonable enough to apprehend, that, if God had lodged ſuch a privilege any where, he would have ſo influenced thoſe who were the depoſitaries of it, that they ſhould have appeared ſomewhat like that authority to which they laid claim; and that he would not have forſaken them ſo, that for above eight hundred years the Papacy, as it is repreſented by their own writers, is perhaps the worſt ſucceſſion of men that is to be found in hiſtory. ART. XIX.

But now to come more cloſe, to prove what is here aſſerted in this part of the Article. If all thoſe doctrines which were eſtabliſhed at Trent, and that have been confirmed by Popes, and moſt of them brought into a new Creed, and made parts of it, are found to be groſs errors; or if but any one of them ſhould be found to be an error, then there is no doubt to be made but that the Church of Rome hath erred; ſo the proof brought againſt every one of theſe is likewiſe a proof againſt their infallibility. But I ſhall here give one inſtance of an error, which will not be denied by the greater part of the Church of Rome. They have now for above ſix hundred years aſſerted, that they had an authority over princes, not only to convict and condemn them of hereſy, and to proceed againſt them with Church-cenſures; but that they had a power to depoſe them, to abſolve their ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to transfer their dominions to ſuch perſons as ſhould undertake to execute their ſentences. This they have often put in execution, and have conſtantly kept up their claim to it to this day. It will not ſerve them to get clear here, to ſay, that theſe were the violent practices



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ART. XIX.

of ſome Popes: what they did in many particular inſtances may be ſo turned off, and left as a blemiſh on the memories of ſome of them. But the point at preſent in queſtion is, whether they have not laid claim to this, as a right belonging to their See, as a part of St. Peter's authority deſcended to them? Whether they have not founded it on his being *Chriſt's Vicar*, who was the *King of kings, and Lord of lords; to whom all power in heaven and in earth was given?* Whether they have not founded it on Jeremy's *being ſet over nations and kingdoms, to root out, pluck down, and to deſtroy?* and on other places of Scripture; not forgetting, that the firſt words of the Bible are, *In the beginning*, and not *In the beginnings*; from which they inferred, that there is but one principle, from whence all power is derived: and that God made *two great lights, the Sun to rule by day*; which they applied to themſelves.

Dict. Papæ, l. 1. Ep. Greg. 7. poſt Ep. 55. Extravag. de Major. et Obed. c. 1.

This, I ſay, is the queſtion: Whether they did not aſſume this authority as a power given them by God? As for the applying it to particular inſtances, to thoſe kings and emperors whom they depoſed, that is, indeed, a perſonal thing, whether they were guilty of hereſy, or of being favourers of it, or not? And whether the Popes proceeded againſt them with too much violence or not?

The point now in queſtion is, Whether they declared this to be a doctrine, that there was an authority lodged with their See for doing ſuch things, and whether they alleged Scripture and Tradition for it?

Conc. Lat. 3. cap. 27. Con. Lar. 4. Can. 3. Con. Lug.

Now this will appear evident to thoſe who will read their bulls: in the preambles of which thoſe quotations will be found, as ſome of them are in the body of the Canon Law: and it is decreed in it, that the belief of this is *abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation.*

This was purſued in a courſe of many ages. General Councils, as they are eſteemed among them, have concurred with the Popes both in general decrees aſſerting this power to be in them, and in ſpecial ſentences againſt Princes: this became the univerſally received doctrine of thoſe ages: *No univerſity nor nation declaring againſt it; not ſo much as one divine, civilian, canoniſt, or caſuiſt writ againſt it*, as Card. Perron truly ſaid. It was ſo certainly believed, that thoſe writers, whom the depoſed Princes got to undertake their defence, do not in any of their books pretend to call the doctrine in general in queſtion.

Card. Perron Haranguc au tiers eſtat.

Two things were diſputed: one was, Whether Popes had a direct power in temporals over Princes; ſo that they were as much ſubject to them as feudatory Princes were to their ſuperior Lords? This, to which Boniface the

VIIIth

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VIIIth laid claim, was indeed contradicted. The other point was, Whether thoſe particulars for which Princes had been depoſed, ſuch as the giving the inveſtiture to biſhoprics, were hereſies or not? This was much conteſted: but the power, in the caſe of manifeſt hereſy, or of favouring it, to depoſe Princes, and transfer their crowns to others, was never called in queſtion. This was certainly a definition made in the chair, *ex cathedra:* for it was addreſſed to all their community, both Laity and Clergy: plenary pardons were beſtowed with it on thoſe who executed it: the Clergy did generally preach the Croiſades upon it. Princes, that were not concerned in him that was depoſed, gave way to the publication of thoſe bulls, and gave leave to their ſubjects to take the Croſs, in order to the executing of them: and the people did in vaſt multitudes gather about the ſtandards that were ſet up for leading on armies to execute them; while many learned men writ in defence of this power, and not one man durſt write againſt it. ART. XIX.

This argument lies not only againſt the infallibility of Popes, but againſt that of General Councils likewiſe; and alſo againſt the authority of oral tradition: for here, in a ſucceſſion of many ages, the tradition was wholly changed from the doctrine of former times, which had been, that the Clergy were ſubject to Princes, and had no authority over them, or their crowns. Nor can it be ſaid, that that was a point of diſcipline; for it was founded on an article of doctrine, whether there was ſuch a power in the Popes or not? The prudence of executing or not executing it, is a point of diſcipline and of the government of the Church: but it is a point of doctrine, whether Chriſt has given ſuch an authority to St. Peter and his followers. And thoſe points of ſpeculation, upon which a great deal turns as to practice, are certainly ſo important, that in them, if in any thing, we ought to expect an infallibility: for in this caſe a man is diſtracted between two contrary propoſitions: the one is, that he muſt obey the civil powers, as ſet over him by an ordinance of God; ſo that if he reſiſts them, he ſhall receive in himſelf damnation: the other is, that the Pope being Chriſt's Vicar, is to be obeyed when he abſolves him from his former oath and allegiance; and that the new Prince ſet up by him, is to be obeyed under the pain of damnation likewiſe.

Here a man is brought into a great ſtrait, and therefore he muſt be guided by infallibility, if in any thing.

So the whole argument comes to this head; that we muſt either believe that the *depoſing power* is lodged by



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ART. XIX.

Chriſt in the See of Rome; or we muſt conclude, with the Article, that they have erred; and by conſequence, that they are not infallible: for the erring in any one point, and at any one time, does quite deſtroy the claim of *infallibility*.

Before this matter can be concluded, we muſt conſider what is brought to prove it: what was laid down at firſt muſt be here remembered, that the proofs brought for a thing of this nature muſt be very expreſs and clear. A privilege of ſuch a ſort, againſt which the appearances and prejudices are ſo ſtrong, muſt be very fully made out, before we can be bound to believe it: nor can it be reaſonable to urge the authority of any paſſages from Scripture, till the grounds are ſhewn for which the Scriptures themſelves ought to be believed.

Thoſe who think that it is in general well proved, that there muſt be an infallibility in the Church, conclude from thence, that it muſt be in the Pope: for if there muſt be a living ſpeaking judge always ready to guide the Church, and to decide controverſies, they ſay this cannot be in the diffuſive body of Chriſtians; for theſe cannot meet to judge. Nor can it be in a General Council, the meeting of which depends upon ſo many accidents, and on the conſent of ſo many Princes, that the infallibility will lie dormant for ſome ages, if the General Council is the ſeat of it. Therefore they conclude, that ſince it is certainly in the Church, and can be no where elſe but in the Pope, therefore it is lodged in the See of Rome. Whereas we, on the other hand, think this is a ſtrong argument againſt the infallibility in general, that it does not appear in whom it is veſted: and we think that every ſide does ſo effectually confute the other, that we believe them all as to that; and think they argue much ſtronger when they prove where it cannot be, than when they pretend to prove where it muſt be.

This, in the point now in hand, concerning the Pope, ſeems as evident as any thing can poſſibly be: it not appearing, that, after the words of Chriſt to St. Peter, the other Apoſtles thought the point was thereby decided, who among them ſhould be the greateſt. For that debate was ſtill on foot, and was canvaſſed among them in the very night in which our Saviour was betrayed. Nor does it appear, that after the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, which certainly inſpired them with the full underſtanding of Chriſt's words, they thought there was any thing peculiarly given to St. Peter beyond the reſt. He was queſtioned upon his baptizing Cornelius: he was not

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ART. XIX.

singly appealed to in the great question of subjecting the Gentiles to the yoke of the Mosaical Law; he delivered his opinion as one of the Apostles: after which St. James summed up the matter, and settled the decision of it. He was charged by St. Paul as guilty of dissimulation in that matter, for which St. Paul withstood him to his face: and he justifies that in an Epistle that is confessed to be writ by divine inspiration. St. Paul does also in the same Epistle plainly assert the equality of his own authority with his; and that he received no authority from him, and owed him no dependence: nor was he ever appealed to in any of the points that appear to have been disputed in the times that the Epistles were written. So that we see no characters of any special infallibility that was in him, besides that which was the effect of the inspiration, that was in the other Apostles as well as in him: nor is there a tittle in the Scripture, not so much as by a remote intimation, that he was to derive that authority, whatsoever it was, to any successor, or to lodge it in any particular city or see.

The silence of the Scripture in this point seems to be a full proof, that no such thing was intended by God: otherwise we have all reason to believe that it would have been clearly expressed. St. Peter himself ought to have declared this: and since both Alexandria and Antioch, as well as Rome, pretend to derive from him, and that the succession to those sees began in him, this makes a decision in this point so much the more necessary.

When St. Peter writ his second Epistle, in which he mentions a revelation that he had from Christ, of his *approaching dissolution*, though that was a very proper occasion for declaring such an important matter, he says nothing that relates to it, but gives only a new attestation of the truth of Christ's divine mission, and of what he himself had been a witness to in the Mount, when he saw *the excellent glory, and heard the voice out of it.* He leaves a provision in writing for the following ages, but says nothing of any succession or see: so that here the greatest of all privileges is pretended to be lodged in a succession of bishops, without any one passage in Scripture importing it. 2 Pet. i. 17.

Another set of difficulties arise, concerning the persons who have a right to choose these Popes in whom this right is vested, and what number is necessary for a canonical election: how far simony voids it, and who is the competent judge of that; or who shall judge in the case of two different elections, which has often happened.

We

ART. XIX. We muſt alſo have a certain rule to know when the Popes judge as private perſons, and when they judge infallibly: with whom they muſt conſult, and what ſolemnities are neceſſary to make them ſpeak *ex cathedra*, or *infallibly*. For if this infallibility comes as a privilege from a grant made by Chriſt, we ought to expect, that all thoſe neceſſary circumſtances to direct us, in order to the receiving and ſubmitting to it, ſhould be fixed by the ſame authority that made the grant. Here then are very great difficulties: let us now ſee what is offered to make out this great and important claim.

Matth. xvi. 16, 18, 19. The chief proof is brought from theſe words of our Saviour, when upon St. Peter's confeſſing, that *he was the Chriſt, the ſon of the living God*; he ſaid to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on earth ſhall be bound in heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on earth ſhall be looſed in heaven.* This begins with an alluſion to his name; and diſcourſes built upon ſuch alluſions are not to be underſtood ſtrictly or grammatically. By the *Rock* upon which Chriſt promiſes *to build his Church*, many of the Fathers have underſtood the *perſon of Chriſt*, others have underſtood the *confeſſion of him, or faith in him*, which indeed is but a different way of expreſſing the ſame thing. And it is certain that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the *Church* can only be ſaid to be founded upon Chriſt, and upon his doctrine. But in a ſecondary ſenſe it may be ſaid to be founded upon the Apoſtles, and upon St. Peter as the firſt in order; which is not to be diſputed.

Now though this is a ſenſe which was not put on theſe words for many ages; yet when it ſhould be allowed to be their true ſenſe, it will not prove any thing to have been granted to St. Peter, but what was common to the other Apoſtles; who are all called the *foundations upon which the Church is built*. That which follows, of the *gates of hell* not being able *to prevail againſt the Church*, may be either underſtood of death, which is often called *the gate to the grave*; which is the ſenſe of the word that is rendered *hell*: and then the meaning of theſe words will be, that the Church, which Chriſt was to raiſe, ſhould never be extinguiſhed, nor die, or come to a period, as the Jewiſh religion then did: or, according to the cuſtom of the Jews, of holding their courts and councils about their gates, by the gates of hell may be underſtood, the deſigns and contrivances of the powers of darkneſs,

Eph. ii. 20. Rev. xxi. 14.

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ART. XIX.

ness, which should never prevail over the *Church* to root it out, and destroy it; for the word rendered *prevail*, does signify an entire victory: this only imports, that the Church should be still preserved against all the attempts of hell, but does not intimate that no error was ever to get into it.

By the words *kingdom of heaven*, generally through the whole Gospel, the dispensation of the Messias is understood. This appears evidently from the words with which both St. John Baptist and our Saviour began their preaching, *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*: Mat. iii. 2. and the many parables and comparisons that Christ gave of iv. 17. the kingdom of heaven, can only be understood of the preaching of the Gospel. This being then agreed to, the most natural and the least forced exposition of those words must be, that St. Peter was to open the dispensation of the Gospel. The proper use of a key is to open a door: and as this agrees with these words, *he that hath the key of the* Rev. iii. 7. *house of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth*; and with the phrase of the *key of* Luke xi. 52. *knowledge*, by which the lawyers are described; for they had a key with writing-tables given them, as the badges of their profession: so it agrees with the accomplishment of this promise in St. Peter, who first opened the Gospel to the Jews, after the wonderful effusion of the Holy Ghost: and more eminently when he first opened the door to the Gentiles, preaching to Cornelius, and baptizing him, and his household, to which the phrase of the *kingdom of heaven* seems to have a more particular relation. This dispensation was committed to St. Peter, and seems to be claimed by him as his peculiar privilege in the council at Jerusalem. This is a clear and plain sense of these words. For those who would carry them further, and understand by the kingdom of heaven our eternal happiness, must use many distinctions; otherwise, if they expound them literally, they will ascribe to St. Peter that which certainly could only belong to our Saviour himself. Though at the same time it is not to be denied, but that, under the figure of keys, the power of discipline, and the conduct and management of Christians, may be understood. But as to this, all the pastors of the Church have their share in it; nor can it be appropriated to any one person. As for that of *binding* and *loosing*, and the confirming in *heaven* what he should do in *earth*, whatever it may signify, it is no special grant to St. Peter: for the same words are spoken by our Saviour elsewhere to all the Apostles: so this is given equally to them all.

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ART. XIX.

The words *binding* and *loosing* are used by the Jewish writers, in the sense of affirming or denying the obligation of any precept of the Law that might be in dispute. So according to this common form of speech, and the sense formerly given to the words, *kingdom of heaven*, the meaning of these words must be, that Christ committed to the Apostles the dispensing his Gospel to the world, by which he authorised them to dissolve the obligation of the Mosaical laws; and to give other laws to the Christian Church, which they should do under such visible characters of a divine authority, impowering and conducting them in it, that it should be very evident, that what they did on earth was also ratified in heaven. These words, thus understood, carry in them a clear sense, which agrees with the whole design of the Gospel. But whatsoever their sense may be, it is plain that there was nothing given peculiarly to St. Peter by them, which was not likewise given to the rest of the Apostles. Nor do these words of our Saviour to St. Peter import any thing of a successive infallibility that was to be derived from him with any distinction beyond the other Apostles: unless it were a priority of order and dignity; and whatever that was, there is not so much as a hint given, that it was to descend from him to any see or succession of Bishops.

Luke xxii. 32. John xxi. 15, 16, 17.

As for our Saviour's praying that St. Peter's *faith might not fail*; and his restoring him to his apostolical function, by a thrice repeated charge, *feed my sheep, feed my lambs*, that has such a visible relation to his fall, and to his denying him, that it does not seem necessary to enlarge further on the making it out, or on shewing that these words are capable of no other signification, and cannot be carried further.

The importance of this argument, rather than the difficulty of it, has made it necessary to dwell fully upon it: so much depends upon it, and the missionaries of the Church of Rome are so well instructed in it, that it ought to be well considered; for how little strength soever there may be in the arguments brought to prove this infallibility, yet the colours are specious, and they are commonly managed both with much art, and great confidence.

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## ARTICLE XX.

### Of the Authority of the Church.

**The Church hath Power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Matters of Faith. And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church be a Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.**

THIS Article consists of two parts; the first asserts a power in the Church both to decree rites and ceremonies, and to judge in matters of faith: the second limits this power over matters of faith to the Scriptures: so that it must neither contradict them, nor add any articles as necessary to salvation to those contained in them. This is suitable to some words that were once in the Fifth Article, but were afterwards left out; instead of which the first words of this Article were put in this place, according to the printed editions; though they are not in the original of the Article signed by both Houses of Convocation, that are yet extant.

As to the first part of the Article, concerning the power of the Church, either with relation to ceremonies or points of faith, the dispute lies only with those who deny all Church power, and think that Churches ought to be in all things limited by the rules set in Scripture; and that where the Scriptures are silent, there ought to be no rules made, but that all men should be left to their liberty; and in particular, that the appointing new ceremonies, looks like a reproaching of the Apostles, as if their constitutions had been so defective, that those defects must be supplied by the inventions of men: which they oppose so much the more, because they think that all the corruptions of Popery began at some rites which seemed at first not only innocent, but pious; but were afterwards abused to superstition and idolatry, and swelled up to that bulk as to oppress and stifle true religion with their number and weight.

A great part of this is in some respect true; yet that we may

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ART. XX.

may examine the matter methodically, we ſhall firſt conſider, what power the Church has in thoſe matters; and then, what rules ſhe ought to govern herſelf by in the uſe of that power. It is very viſible, that in the Goſpels and Epiſtles there are but few rules laid down as to ritual matters: in the Epiſtles there are ſome general rules given, that muſt take in a great many caſes; ſuch as, *Let all things be done to edification, to order, and to peace:* and in the Epiſtles to Timothy and Titus, many rules are given in ſuch general words, as, *Lay hands ſuddenly on no man,* that in order to the guiding of particular caſes by them, many diſtinctions and ſpecialities were to be interpoſed to the making them practicable and uſeful. In matters that are merely ritual, the ſtate of mankind in different climates and ages is apt to vary; and the ſame things that in one ſcene of human nature may look grave, and ſeem fit for any ſociety, may in another age look light, and diſſipate men's thoughts. It is alſo evident that there is not a ſyſtem of rules given in the New Teſtament about all theſe; and yet a due method in them is neceſſary to maintain the order and decency that become divine things. This ſeems to be a part of the Goſpel *liberty*, that it is not a *law of ordinances*; theſe things being left to be varied according to the diverſities of mankind.

Rom. xiv. 19. 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

Gal. ii. 4. —iv. 9. —v. 1.

The Jewiſh religion was delivered to one nation, and the main parts of it were to be performed in one place; they were alſo to be limited in rituals, leſt they might have taken ſome practices from their neighbours round about them, and ſo by the uſe of their rites have rendered idolatrous practices more familiar and acceptable to them: and yet they had many rites among them in our Saviour's time, which are not mentioned in any part of the Old Teſtament; ſuch was the whole conſtitution of their ſynagogues, with all the ſervice and officers that belonged to them: they had a Baptiſm among them, beſides ſeveral rites added to the Paſchal ſervice. Our Saviour reproved them for none of theſe; he hallowed ſome of them to be the fœderal rites of his new diſpenſation; he went to their ſynagogues; and though he reproved them for overvaluing their rites, for preferring them to the laws of God, and making theſe void by their traditions, yet he does not condemn them for the uſe of them. And while of the greater precepts he ſays, *Theſe things ye ought to have done*; he adds concerning their rites and leſſer matters, and *not to have left the other undone.*

Matt. xxiii. 23.

If then ſuch a liberty was allowed in ſo limited a religion, it ſeems highly ſuitable to the ſublimer ſtate of the Chriſtian

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Chriſtian liberty, that there ſhould be room left for ſuch appointments or alterations as the different ſtate of times and places ſhould require. In hotter countries, for inſtance, there is no danger in dipping; but if it is otherwiſe in colder climates, then ſince *mercy is better than even ſacrifice*, a more ſparing uſe may be made of water; aſperſion may anſwer the true end of baptiſm. A ſtricter or gentler diſcipline of offenders muſt be alſo proportioned to what the times will bear, and what men can be brought to ſubmit to. The dividing of Chriſtians into ſuch diſtricts, that they may have the beſt conveniencies to aſſemble themſelves together for worſhip, and for keeping up of order; the appointing the times as well as the places of worſhip, are certainly to be fixed with the beſt regard to preſent circumſtances that may be. The bringing Chriſtian aſſemblies into order and method, is neceſſary for their ſolemnity, and for preventing that diſſipation of thought that a diverſity of behaviour might occaſion. And though a *kiſs of peace*, and an order of deaconeſſes, were the practices of the apoſtolical time; yet when the one gave occaſion to raillery, and the other to ſcandal, all the world was, and ſtill is, ſatisfied with the reaſons of letting both fall.

ART. XX.

Hoſ. vi. 6. Matt. xii. 7.

Now if Churches may lay aſide apoſtolical practices in matters that are ritual, it is certainly much eaſier to juſtify their making new rules for ſuch things; ſince it is a higher attempt to alter what was ſettled by the Apoſtles themſelves, than to ſet up new rules in matters which they left untouched. Habits and poſtures are the neceſſary circumſtances of all public meetings: the times of faſting and of prayer, the days of thankſgiving and communions, are all of the ſame nature. The public confeſſion of ſins by ſcandalous perſons; the time and manner of doing it; the previous ſteps that ſome Churches have made for the trial of thoſe who were to be received into holy orders, that ſo by a longer inſpection into their behaviour, while in lower orders, they might diſcover how fit they were to be admitted into the ſacred ones; and chiefly the preſcribing ſtated forms for the ſeveral acts of religious worſhip, and not leaving that to the capacities or humours, to the inventions, and often to the extravagancies of thoſe who are to officiate: all theſe things, I ſay, fall within thoſe general rules given by the Apoſtles to the Churches in their time: where we find that the *Apoſtles* had their *cuſtoms*, as well as *the Churches of God*; which were then oppoſed to the innovating and the contentious humours of ſome factious men. And ſuch a pattern have the Apoſtles ſet us of complying

1 Cor. xii. 16.

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ART. XX.

plying with those things that are regularly settled, wherefoever we are, that we find *they became all things to all men: to the Jews they became Jews*; though that was a religion then extinguished in its obligation, by the promulgation of the Gospel; and was then fallen under great corruption: yet, in order to the gaining of some of them, such was the spirit of charity and edification with which the Apostles were acted, that while they were among them, they complied in the practice of those abrogated rites; though they asserted both the liberty of the Gentiles, and even their own, in that matter: it was only a compliance, and not a submission to their opinions, that made them *observe days*, and distinguish *meats*, while among them. If then such rites, and the rites of such a Church, were still complied with by inspired men, this is an infallible pattern to us; and lets us see, upon how much stronger reasons we, who are under those obligations to unity and charity with all Christians, ought to maintain the *unity of the body*, and the decency and order that is necessary for *peace, and mutual edification*.

1 Cor. ix. 19 to 23.

Therefore since there is not any one thing that Christ has enjoined more solemnly and more frequently than love and charity, union and agreement amongst his disciples; since we are also required to assemble ourselves together, to constitute ourselves in a body, both for worshipping God jointly, and for maintaining of order and love among the society of Christians, we ought to acquiesce in such rules as have been agreed on by common consent, and which are recommended to us by long practice, and that are established by those who have the lawful authority over us. Nor can we assign any other bounds to our submission in this case, than those that the Gospel has limited. *We must obey God, rather than man*; and we must in the first place *render to God the things that are God's*, and then *give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*. So that if either Church or State have power to make rules and laws in such matters, they must have this extent given them, that till they break in upon the laws of God and the Gospel, we must be bound to obey them. A mean cannot be put here; either they have no power at all, or they have a power that must go to every thing that is not forbid by any law of God. This is the only measure that can be given in this matter.

Heb. x. 25.

Acts v. 29. Matt. xxii. 21.

But a great difference is here to be made between those rules that both Church and State ought to set to themselves in their enacting of such matters, and the measures of the obedience of subjects: the only question in the point of obedience

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obedience muſt be, lawful or unlawful. For expedient or inexpedient ought never to be brought into queſtion, as to the point of obedience; ſince no inexpediency whatſoever can balance the breaking of order, and the diſſolving the conſtitution and ſociety. This is a conſideration that ariſes out of a man's apprehenſions of the fitneſs or uſefulneſs of things; in which though he might be in the right as to the antecedent fitneſs of them, and yet even there he may be in the wrong, and in common modeſty every man ought to think that it is more likely that he ſhould be in the wrong, than the governors and rulers of the ſociety; yet, I ſay, allowing all this, it is certain that order and obedience are, both in their own nature, and in their conſequences, to be preferred to all the particular conſiderations of expediency or inexpediency. Yet ſtill thoſe in whoſe hands the making of thoſe rules is put, ought to carry their thoughts much further: they ought to conſider well the genius of the Chriſtian religion, and therefore they are to avoid every thing that may lead to idolatry, or feed ſuperſtition; every thing that is apt to be abuſed to give falſe ideas of God, or to make the world think that ſuch inſtituted practices may balance the violation of the laws of God. They ought not to overcharge the worſhip of God with too great a number of them: the rites ought to be grave, ſimple, and naturally expreſſive of that which is intended by them. Vain pomp and indecent levity ought to be guarded againſt; and next to the honour of God and religion, the peace and edification of the ſociety ought to be chiefly conſidered. Due regard ought to be had to what men can bear, and what may be moſt ſuitable to the preſent ſtate of the whole; and finally, a great reſpect is due to ancient and eſtabliſhed practices. Antiquity does generally beget veneration; and the very changing of what has been long in uſe, does naturally ſtartle many, and diſcompoſe a great part of the body. So all changes, unleſs the expediency of making them is upon other accounts very viſible, labour under a great prejudice with the more ſtaid ſort of men; for this very reaſon, becauſe they are changes. But in this matter, no certain or mathematical rules can be given: every one of theſe that has been named is capable of that variety, by the diverſity of times and other circumſtances; that ſince prudence and diſcretion muſt rule the uſe that is to be made of them, that muſt be left to the conſcience and prudence of every perſon who may be concerned in the management of this authority. He muſt act as he will anſwer it to God and to the Church; for he muſt be at

ART. XX.



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ART. XX.

liberty in applying thoſe general rules to particular times and caſes. And a temper muſt be obſerved: we muſt avoid a ſullen adhering to things becauſe they were once ſettled, as if points of honour were to be maintained here; and that it looked like a reproaching a conſtitution, or the wiſdom of a former age, to alter what they did; ſince it is certain that what was wiſely ordered in one time, may be as wiſely changed in another: as, on the other hand, all men ought to avoid the imputation of a deſultory levity; as if they loved changes for changes ſake. This might give occaſion to our adverſaries to triumph over us, and might alſo fill the minds of the weaker among ourſelves with apprehenſions and ſcruples.

The next particular aſſerted in this Article is, *That the Church hath authority in matters of faith.* Here a diſtinction is to be made between an authority that is abſolute, and founded on infallibility, and an authority of order. The former is very formally diſclaimed by our Church; but the ſecond may be well maintained, though we aſſert no unerring authority. Every ſingle man has a right to ſearch the Scriptures, and to take his faith from them; yet it is certain that he may be miſtaken in it. It is therefore a much ſurer way for numbers of men to meet together, and to examine ſuch differences as happen to ariſe; to conſider the arguments of all hands, with the importance of ſuch paſſages of Scripture as are brought into the controverſy; and thus to enquire into the whole matter: in which as it is very natural to think that a great company of men ſhould ſee further than a leſs number; ſo there is all reaſon to expect a good iſſue of ſuch deliberations, if men proceed in them with due ſincerity and diligence; if pride, faction, and intereſt, do not ſway their councils, and if they ſeek for truth more than for victory.

But what abuſes ſoever may have crept ſince into the public conſultations of the Clergy, the Apoſtles at firſt met and conſulted together upon that controverſy which was then moved concerning the impoſing the Moſaical Law upon the Gentiles: they ordered the paſtors of the Church to be able to convince gainſayers, and not to reject a man as a heretic, till after a firſt and a ſecond admonition. The moſt likely method both to find out the truth, and to bring ſuch as are in error over to it, is to conſult of theſe matters in common; and that openly and fairly. For if every good man, that prays earneſtly to God for the aſſiſtance and direction of his Spirit, has reaſon to look for it; much more may a body of paſtors, brought together

Titus i. 9. — iii. 10.

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together to ſeek out the truth, in any point under debate, look for it, if they bring with them ſincere and unprejudiced minds, and do pray earneſtly to God. In that caſe, they may expect to be directed and aſſiſted of him. But this depends upon the purity of their hearts, and the earneſtneſs of their endeavours and prayers. ART. XX.

When any ſynod of the Clergy has ſo far examined a point, as to ſettle their opinions about it, they may certainly decree that ſuch is their doctrine: and as they judge it to be more or leſs important, they may either reſtrain any other opinion, or may require poſitive declarations about it, either of all in their communion, or at leaſt of all whom they admit to miniſter in holy things.

This is only an authority of order for the maintaining of union and edification: and in this a body does no more as it is a body, than what every ſingle individual has a right to do for himſelf. He examines a doctrine that is laid before him, he forms his own opinion upon it, and purſuant to that he muſt judge with whom he can hold communion, and from whom he muſt ſeparate.

When ſuch definitions are made by the body of the paſtors of any Church, all perſons within that Church do owe great reſpect to their deciſion. Modeſty muſt be obſerved in deſcanting upon it, and in diſputing about it. Every man that finds his own thoughts differ from it, ought to examine the matter over again, with much attention and care, freeing himſelf all he can from prejudice and obſtinacy; with a juſt diſtruſt of his own underſtanding, and an humble reſpect to the judgment of his ſuperiors.

This is due to the conſiderations of peace and union, and to that authority which the Church has to maintain it. But if, after all poſſible methods of enquiry, a man cannot maſter his thoughts, or make them agree with the public deciſions, his conſcience is not under bonds; ſince this authority is not abſolute, nor grounded upon a promiſe of infallibility.

This is a tenet that, with relation to national Churches and their deciſions, is held by the Church of Rome, as well as by us: for they place infallibility either in the Pope, or in the univerſal Church: but no man ever dreamt of infallibility in a particular or national Church: and the point in this Article is only concerning particular Churches; for the head of General Councils comes in upon the next. *That no Church can add any thing as neceſſary to ſalvation*, has been already conſidered upon the ſixth Article.

It is certain, that as we owe our hopes of ſalvation only



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ART. XX. to Christ, and to what he has done for us; so also it can belong only to him who procured it to us, to fix the terms upon which we may look for it: nor can any power on earth clog the offers that he makes us in the Gospel, with new or other terms than those which we find made there to us. There can be no dispute about this: for unless we believe that there is an infallible authority lodged in the Church, to explain the Scripture, and to declare tradition; and unless we believe that the Scriptures are both obscure and defective, and that the one must be helped by an infallible commentary, and the other supplied by an authentical declarer of tradition; we cannot ascribe an authority to the Church, either to contradict the Scripture, or to add necessary conditions of salvation to it.

We own, after all, that the Church is the depository of the whole Scriptures, as the Jews were of the Old Testament: but in that instance of the Jews, we may see that a body of men may be faithful in the copying of a book exactly, and in the handing it down without corrupting it; and yet they may be mistaken in the true meaning of that which they preserve so faithfully. They are expressly
Rom. iii. 2. called *the Keepers of the oracles of God*; and are no where reproved for having attempted upon this *Depositum*: and yet for all that fidelity they fell into great errors about some of the most important parts of their religion; which exposed them to the rejecting the Messias, and to their utter ruin.

The Church's being called the witness of holy writ, is not to be resolved into any judgment that they pass upon it as a body of men that have authority to judge and give sentence, so that the canonicalness or the uncanonicalness of any book shall depend upon their testimony: but is resolved into this, that such successions and numbers of men, whether of the laity or clergy, have in a course of many ages had these books preserved and read among them; so that it was not possible to corrupt that upon which so many men had their eyes, in all the corners and ages of Christendom.

And thus we believe the Scriptures to be a book written by inspired men, and delivered by them to the Church, upon the testimony of the Church that at first received it; knowing that those great matters of fact, contained and appealed to in it, were true: and also upon the like testimony of the succeeding ages, who preserved, read, copied, and translated that book, as they had received it from the first.

The

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ART. XX.

The Church of Rome is guilty of a manifeſt circle in this matter: for they ſay they believe the Scriptures upon the authority of the Church, and they do again believe the authority of the Church, becauſe of the teſtimony of the Scripture concerning it.

This is as falſe reaſoning as can be imagined: for nothing can be proved by another authority, till that authority is firſt fixed and proved: and therefore if the teſtimony of the Church is believed to be ſacred, by virtue of a divine grant to it, and that from thence the Scriptures have their credit and authority, then the credit due to the Church's teſtimony is antecedent to the credit of the Scripture; and ſo muſt not be proved by any paſſages brought from it; otherwiſe that is a manifeſt circle. But no circle is committed in our way, who do not prove the Scriptures from any ſuppoſed authority in the Church, that has handed them down to us; but only as they are vaſt companies of men, who cannot be preſumed to have been guilty of any fraud in this matter; it appearing further to be morally impoſſible for any that ſhould have attempted a fraud in it, to have executed it. When therefore the Scripture itſelf is proved by moral arguments of this kind, we may, according to the ſtricteſt rules of reaſoning, examine what authority the Scripture gives to the paſtors of the Church met in leſſer or greater Councils.



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## ARTICLE XXI.

### Of the Authority of General Councils.

**General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of Men whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometime have erred even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unless it may be declared that they are taken out of Holy Scriptures.**

THERE are two particulars settled in this Article: the one is, the power of calling of Councils, at least, an assertion that they cannot be called without the will of Princes: the other is, the authority of General Councils, that they are not infallible, and that some have erred: and therefore the inference is justly made, that whatever authority they may have in the rule and government of the Church, their decisions in matters necessary to salvation ought to be examined by the word of God, and are not to be submitted to, unless it appears that they are conform to the Scripture.

The first of these is thus proved: Clergymen are subject to their Princes, according to these words, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:* if they are then subject to them, they cannot be obliged to go out of their dominions upon the summons of any other; their persons being under the laws and authority of that country to which they belong.

Rom. xiii. 1.

This is plain, and seems to need no other proof. It is very visible how much the peace of kingdoms and states is concerned in this point: for if a foreign power should call their Clergy away at pleasure, they might be not only left in a great destitution as to religious performances, but their Clergy might be practised upon, and sent back to them with such notions, and upon such designs, that, chiefly supposing the immunity of their persons, they might become, as they often were in dark and ignorant ages, the incendiaries of the world, and the disturbers and betrayers of their countries. This is confirmed by the

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the practice of the first ages, after the Church had the protection of Christian magistrates: in these the Roman Emperors called the first General Councils, which is expressly mentioned not only in the Histories of the Councils, but in their Acts; where we find both the writs that summoned them, and their letters, sometimes to the Emperors, and sometimes to the Churches, which do all set forth their being summoned by the sacred authority of their Emperors, without mentioning any other. In calling some of these Councils, it does not appear that the Popes were much consulted: and in others we find Popes indeed supplicating the Emperors to call a Council, but nothing that has so much as a shadow of their pretending to an authority to summon it themselves. ART. XXI.

This is a thing so plain, and may be so soon seen into by any person who will be at the pains to turn to the editions of the first four General Councils made by themselves, not to mention those that followed in the Greek Church, that the confidence with which it has been asserted, that they were summoned by the Popes, is an instance to shew us that there is nothing at which men, who are once engaged, will stick when their cause requires it. But even since the Popes have got this matter into their own hands, though they summon the Council, yet they do not pretend to it, nor expect that the world would receive a Council as general, or submit to it, unless the Princes of Christendom should allow of it, and consent to the publication of the bull. So that, by reason of this, Councils are now become almost unpracticable things.

When all Christendom was included within the Roman empire, then the calling of a Council lay in the breast and power of one man; and, during the ages of ignorance and superstition, the world was so subjected to the Pope's authority, that Princes durst seldom oppose their summons, or deny their Bishops leave to go when they were so called. But after the scandalous schism in the Popedom, in which there were for a great while two Popes, and at last three at a time, Councils began to pretend that the power of governing the Church, and of censuring, depriving, and making of Popes, was radically in them, as *representing the universal Church*: so they fell upon methods to have frequent Councils, and that whether both Popes and Princes should oppose it or not; for they declared both the one and the other to be fallen from their dignity, that should attempt to hinder it. Yet they carried the claim of the freedom of elections, and

ART. XXI.

of the other eccleſiaſtical immunities, ſo high, that all that followed upon this was, that the Popes being terrified with the attempts begun at Conſtance, and proſecuted at Baſil and Piſa, took pains to have Princes on their ſide, and then made bargains and *concordates* with them, by which they divided all the rights of the Church, at leaſt the pretenſions to them, between themſelves and the Princes. Matters of gain and advantage were reſerved to the See of Rome; but the points of power and juriſdiction were generally given up to the Princes. The temporal authority has by that means prevailed over the ſpiritual, as much as the ſpiritual authority had prevailed over the temporal for ſeveral ages before. Yet the pretence of a General Council is ſtill ſo ſpecious, that all thoſe in the Roman communion that do not acknowledge the infallibility of their Popes, do ſtill ſupport this pretenſion, that the infallibility is given by Chriſt to his Church; and that in the interval of Councils it is in the community of the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church; and that when a Council meets, then the infallibility is lodged with it; according to that, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us*.

Acts xv. 28.

The firſt thing to be ſettled in every queſtion is the meaning of the terms: ſo we muſt begin and examine what makes a General Council; whether all the Biſhops muſt be preſent in perſon, or by proxy? And what ſhare the laity, or the Princes that are thought to repreſent their people, ought to have in a Council? It is next to be conſidered, whether a general citation is enough to make a Council general, were the appearance of the Biſhops ever ſo ſmall at their firſt opening? It is next to be conſidered, whether any come thither and ſit there as repreſenting others; and if votes ought to be reckoned according to the numbers of the Biſhops, or of the others who depute and ſend them? And whether nations ought to vote in a body as integral parts of the Church; or every ſingle Biſhop by himſelf? And finally, whether the deciſions of Councils muſt be unanimous, before they can be eſteemed infallible? or whether the major vote, though exceeding only by one, or if ſome greater inequality is neceſſary; ſuch as two thirds, or any other proportion? That there may be juſt cauſe of raiſing ſcruples upon every one of theſe, is apparent at firſt view. It is certain, a bare name cannot qualify a number of Biſhops ſitting together, to be this General Council. The number of Biſhops does it not neither. A hundred and fifty was a ſmall number at Conſtantinople: even the famous three hun-

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hundred and eighteen at Nice were far exceeded by thoſe at Arimini. All the firſt General Councils were made up for the moſt part of Eaſtern Biſhops; there being a very inconſiderable number of the Weſtern among any of them; ſcarce any at all being to be found in ſome. If this had been the body to whom Chriſt had left this infallibility, it cannot be imagined but that ſome definition or deſcription of the conſtitution of it would have been given us in the Scripture: and the profound ſilence that is about it gives juſt occaſion to think, that how wiſe and how good ſoever ſuch a conſtitution may be, if well purſued, yet it is not of a divine inſtitution; otherwiſe ſomewhat concerning ſo important a head as this is muſt have been mentioned in the Scripture. ART. XXI.

The natural idea of a General Council, is a meeting of all the Biſhops of Chriſtendom, or at leaſt of proxies inſtructed by them and their Clergy. Now if any will ſtand to this deſcription, then we are very ſure that there was never yet a true General Council: which will appear to every one that reads the ſubſcriptions of the Councils. Therefore we muſt conclude, that General Councils are not conſtituted by a divine authority; ſince we have no direction given us from God, by which we may know what they are, and what is neceſſary to their conſtitution. And we cannot ſuppoſe that God has granted any privileges, much leſs infallibility, which is the greateſt of all, to a body of men, of whom, or of whoſe conſtitution, he has ſaid nothing to us. For ſuppoſe we ſhould yield that there were an infallibility lodged in general in the Church diffuſive, ſo that the Church in ſome part or other ſhall be always preſerved from error; yet the reſtraining this to the greater number of ſuch Biſhops as ſhall happen to come to a Council, they living perhaps near it, or being more capable and more forward to undertake a journey, being healthier, richer, or more active than others; or, which is as probable, becauſe it has often fallen out, they being picked out by parties or princes to carry on cabals, and manage ſuch intrigues as may be on foot at the Council: the reſtraining the infallibility, I ſay, to the greater number of ſuch perſons, unleſs there is a divine authority for doing it, is the transferring the infallibility from the whole body to a ſelect number of perſons, who of themſelves are the leaſt likely to conſent to the engroſſing this privilege to the majority of their body, it being their intereſt to maintain their right to it, free from intrigue or management.

We need not wonder if ſuch things have happened in the

ART. XXI.

the latter ages, when Nazianzen laments the corruptions, the ambition, and the contentions that reigned in thoſe aſſemblies in his own time; ſo that he never deſired to ſee any more of them. He was not only preſent at one of the General Councils, but he himſelf felt the effects of jealouſy and violence in it.

Further, it will appear a thing incredible, that there is an infallibility in Councils becauſe they are called General, and are aſſembled out of a great many kingdoms and provinces; when we ſee them go backward and forward, according to the influences of courts, and of intereſts directed from thence. We know how differently Councils decreed in the Arian controverſies; and what a variety of them Conſtantius ſet up againſt that at Nice. So it was in the Eutychian hereſy, approved in the ſecond Council at Epheſus, but ſoon after condemned at Chalcedon. So it was in the buſineſs of images, condemned at Conſtantinople in the Eaſt; but ſoon after upon another change at court maintained in the ſecond at Nice; and not long after condemned in a very numerous Council at Francfort. And in the point in hand, as to the authority of Councils, it was aſſerted at Conſtance and Baſil; but condemned in the Lateran; and was upon the matter laid aſide at Trent. Here were great numbers of all hands; both ſides took the name of General Councils.

It will be a further prejudice againſt this, if we ſee great violence and diſorders entering into the management of ſome Councils; and craft and artifice into the conduct of others. Numbers of factious and furious monks came to ſome Councils, and drove on matters by their clamours: ſo it was at Epheſus. We ſee groſs fraud in the ſecond at Nice, both in the perſons ſet up to repreſent the abſent patriarchs, and in the books and authorities that were vouched for the worſhip of images. The intrigues at Trent, as they are ſet out even by Cardinal Pallavicini, were more ſubtile, but not leſs apparent, nor leſs ſcandalous. Nothing was truſted to a ſeſſion, till it was firſt canvaſſed in congregations; which were what a committee of the whole houſe is in our Parliaments; and then every man's vote was known; ſo that there was hereby great occaſion given for practice. This alone, if there had been no more, ſhewed plainly that they themſelves knew they were not guided by the ſpirit of God, or by infallibility; ſince a ſeſſion was not thought ſafe to be ventured on, but after a long previous canvaſſing.

Another queſtion remains yet to be cleared, concerning their

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their manner of proceeding; whether the infallibility is affixed to their vote, whatſoever their proceedings may be? Or whether they are bound to diſcuſs matters fully? The firſt cannot be ſaid, unleſs it is pretended that they vote by a ſpecial inſpiration. If the ſecond is allowed, then we muſt examine both what makes a full diſcuſſion; and whether they have made it? ART. XXI.

If we find opinions falſely repreſented; if books that are ſpurious have been relied on; if paſſages of Scripture, or of the Fathers, on which it appears the ſtreſs of the deciſion has turned, have been manifeſtly miſunderſtood and wreſted, ſo that in a more enlightened age no perſon pretends to juſtify the authority that determined them, can we imagine that there ſhould be more truth in their concluſions, than we do plainly ſee was in the premiſes out of which they were drawn? So it muſt either be ſaid, that they vote by an immediate inſpiration, or all perſons cannot be bound to ſubmit to their judgment till they have examined their methods of proceeding, and the grounds on which they went: and when all is done, the queſtion comes, concerning the authority of ſuch decrees after they are made; whether it follows immediately upon their being made, or muſt ſtay for the confirmatory bulls? If it muſt ſtay for the bull, then the infallibility is not in the Council: and that is only a more ſolemn way of preparing matters in order to the laying them before the Pope. If they are infallible before the confirmation, then the infallibility is wholly in the Council; and the ſubſequent bull does, inſtead of confirming their decrees, derogate much from them: for to pretend to confirm them, imports that they wanted that addition of authority, which deſtroys the ſuppoſition of their infallibility, ſince what is infallible cannot be made ſtronger; and the pretending to add ſtrength to it, implies that it is not infallible. Human conſtitutions may be indeed ſo modelled, that there muſt be a joint concurrence before a law can be made: and though it is the laſt conſent that ſettles the law, yet the previous conſents were neceſſary ſteps to the giving it the authority of a law.

And thus it is not to be denied, but that, as to the matters of government, the Church may caſt herſelf into ſuch a model, that as by a decree of the Council of Nice the Biſhops of a province might conclude nothing without the conſent of the Metropolitan; ſo another decree might even limit a General Council to ſtay for the conſent of one or more Patriarchs. But this muſt only take place in matters of order and government, which are left to

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ART. XXI.

to the diſpoſal of the Church, but not in decifions about matters of faith. For if there is an infallibility in the Church, it muſt be derived from a ſpecial grant made by Chriſt to his Church: and it muſt go according to the nature of that grant, unleſs it can be pretended that there is a clauſe in that grant, empowering the Church to diſpoſe of it, and model it at pleaſure. For if there is no ſuch power, as it is plain there is not, then Chriſt's grant is either to a ſingle perſon, or to the whole community: if to a ſingle perſon, then the infallibility is wholly in him, and he is to manage it as he thinks beſt: for if he calls a Council, it is only an act of his humility and condeſcenſion, to hear the opinions of many in different corners of the Church, that ſo he may know all that comes from all quarters: it may alſo ſeem a prudent way to make his authority to be the more eaſily borne and ſubmitted to, ſince what is gently managed is beſt obeyed: but after all, theſe are only prudential and diſcreet methods. The infallibility muſt be only in him, if Chriſt has by the grant tied him to ſuch a ſucceſſion. Whereas on the other hand, if the infallibility is granted to the whole community, or to their repreſentatives, then all the applications that they may make to any one *See* muſt only be in order to the execution of their decrees, like the addreſſes that they make to Princes for the civil ſanction. But ſtill the infallibility is where Chriſt put it. It reſts wholly in their deciſion, and belongs only to that: and any other confirmation that they deſire, unleſs it be reſtrained ſingly to the execution of their decrees, is a wound given by themſelves to their own infallibility, if not a direct diſclaiming of it.

When the confirmation of the Council is over, a new difficulty ariſes concerning the receiving the decrees: and here it may be ſaid, that if Chriſt's grant is to the whole community, ſo that a Council is only the authentical declarer of the tradition, the whole body of the Church that is poſſeſſed of the tradition, and conveys it down, muſt have a right to examine the deciſion that the Council has made, and ſo is not bound to receive it, but as it finds it to be conformable to tradition.

Here it is to be ſuppoſed, that every Biſhop, or at the leaſt all the Biſhops of any national Church, know beſt the tradition of their own Church and Nation: and ſo they will have a right to re-examine things after they have been adjudged in a General Council.

This will entirely deſtroy the whole pretenſion to infallibility: and yet either this ought to have been done afte th

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the Councils at Arimini, or the ſecond of Epheſus, or elſe the world muſt have received Semi-Arianiſm, or Eutychianiſm, implicitly from them. It is alſo no ſmall prejudice againſt this opinion, that the Church was conſtituted, the Scriptures were received, many hereſies were rejected, and the perſecutions were gone through in a courſe of three centuries; in all which time there was nothing that could pretend to be called a General Council. And when the ages came, in which Councils met often, neither the Councils themſelves, who muſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand their own authority beſt, nor thoſe who wrote in defence of their decrees, who muſt be ſuppoſed to be inclined enough to magnify their authority, being of the ſame ſide; neither of theſe, I ſay, ever pretended to argue for their opinions, from the infallibility of thoſe Councils that decreed them. ART. XXI.

They do indeed ſpeak of them with great reſpect, as of bodies of men that were guided by the ſpirit of God: and ſo do we of our reformers, and of thoſe who prepared our Liturgy: but we do not aſcribe infallibility to them, and no more did they. Nor did they lay the ſtreſs of their arguments upon the authority of ſuch deciſions; they knew that the objection might have been made as ſtrong againſt them, as they could put the argument for them; and therefore they offered to wave the point, and to appeal to the Scripture, ſetting aſide the definitions that had been made in Councils both ways.

To conclude this argument.

If the infallibility is ſuppoſed to be in Councils, then the Church may juſtly apprehend that ſhe has loſt it: for as there has been no Council that has pretended to that title, now during one hundred and thirty years, ſo there is no great probability of our ever ſeeing another. The charge and noiſe, the expectations and diſappointments of that at Trent, has taught the world to expect nothing from one: they plainly ſee that the management from Rome muſt carry every thing in a Council: neither princes nor people, no nor the biſhops themſelves, deſire or expect to ſee one.

The claim ſet up at Rome for infallibility makes the demand of one ſeem not only needleſs there, but to imply a doubting of their authority, when other methods are looked after, which will certainly be always unacceptable to thoſe who are in poſſeſſion, and act as if they were infallible: nor can it be apprehended, that they will deſire a Council to reform thoſe abuſes in diſcipline, which are all

ART. XXI.

all occaſioned by that abſolute and univerſal authority of which they are now poſſeſſed.

So by all the judgments that can be made from the ſtate of things, from the intereſts of men, and the laſt management at Trent, one may without a ſpirit of prophecy conclude, that, unleſs Chriſtendom puts on a new face, there will be no more General Councils. And ſo here infallibility is at an end, and has left the Church at leaſt for a very long interval.

It remains that thoſe paſſages ſhould be conſidered that are brought to ſupport this authority. Chriſt ſays, *Tell the Church; and if he neglects to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and a publican.*

Matth. xviii. 17.

Theſe words in themſelves, and ſeparated from all that went before, ſeem to ſpeak this matter very fully: but when the occaſion of them, and the matter that is treated of in them, are conſidered, nothing can be plainer than that our Saviour is ſpeaking of ſuch private differences as may ariſe among men, and of the practice of forgiving injuries, and compoſing their differences. *If thy brother ſin againſt thee*; firſt, private endeavours were to be uſed; then the interpoſition of friends was to be tried; and finally, the matter was to be referred to the body, or aſſembly, to which they belonged: and thoſe who could not be gained by ſuch methods, were no more to be eſteemed brethren, but were to be looked on as very bad men, like heathens. They might upon ſuch refractorineſs be excommunicated, and proſecuted afterwards in temporal courts, ſince they had by their perverſeneſs forfeited all ſort of right to that tenderneſs and charity that is due to true Chriſtians.

This expoſition does ſo fully agree to the occaſion and ſcope of theſe words, that there is no colour of reaſon to carry them further.

The character given to the Church of Epheſus, in St. Paul's Epiſtle to Timothy, that it was *the pillar and ground of truth*, is a figurative expreſſion: and it is never ſafe to build upon metaphors, much leſs to lay much weight upon them.

1 Tim. iii. 15.

The Jews deſcribed their ſynagogues by ſuch honourable characters, in which it is known how profuſe all the Eaſtern nations are. Theſe are by St. Paul applied to the Church of Epheſus: for he there ſpeaks of the Church where Timothy was then, in which he inſtructs him to behave himſelf well. It has viſibly a relation to thoſe inſcriptions that were made on pillars which reſted upon firm

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firm pedeſtals: but whatſoever the ſtrict importance of the metaphor may be, it is a metaphor, and therefore it can be no argument. Chriſt's promiſe of the Spirit to his Apoſtles, that *ſhould lead them into all truth*, relates viſibly to that extraordinary inſpiration by which they were to be acted, and that was *to ſhew them things to come*; ſo that a ſucceſſion of prophecy may be inferred from theſe words, as well as of infallibility. ART. XXI. Joh. xvi. 13.

Thoſe words of our Saviour, with which St. Matthew concludes his Goſpel, *Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world*, infer no infallibility, but only a promiſe of aſſiſtance and protection: which was a neceſſary encouragement to the Apoſtles, when they were ſent upon ſo laborious a commiſſion, that was to involve them in ſo much danger. God's *being with any, his walking with them, his being in the midſt of them, his never leaving nor forſaking them*, are expreſſions often uſed in the Scripture, which ſignify no more but God's watchful providence, guiding, ſupporting, and protecting his people: all this is far from infallibility. Matth. xxviii. 20. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Heb. xiii. 5.

The laſt objection to be propoſed is that which ſeems to relate moſt to the point in hand, taken from the decree made by a Council at Jeruſalem, which begins, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us:* from which they infer, that the Holy Ghoſt is preſent with Councils, and that what ſeems good to them is alſo approved by the Holy Ghoſt. But it will not be eaſy to prove that this was ſuch a Council, as to be a pattern to ſucceeding ones to copy after it. We find *Brethren* are here joined with the Apoſtles themſelves: now ſince theſe were no other than the laity, here an inference will be made, that will not eaſily go down. If they ſate and voted with the Apoſtles, it will ſeem ſtrange to deny them the ſame privilege among Biſhops. By *Elders* here it ſeems *Preſbyters* are meant, and this will give them an entrance into a General Council, out of which they cannot be well excluded, if the laity are admitted. But here was no citation, no time given to all Churches to ſend their Biſhops or proxies: it was an occaſional meeting of ſuch of the Apoſtles as happened to be then at Jeruſalem, who called to them the *Elders* or *Preſbyters*, and other Chriſtians at Jeruſalem: for the Holy Ghoſt was then poured out ſo plentifully on ſo many, that no wonder if there were then about that truly *mother Church* a great many of both ſorts, who were of ſuch eminence, that the Apoſtles might deſire them to meet and to join with them. Acts xv. 28.

The Apoſtles were divinely aſſiſted in the delivering that

ART. XXI.

that commiſſion which our Saviour gave them in charge, *To preach to every creature*; and ſo were infallibly aſſiſted in the executing of it: yet when other matters fell in, which were no parts of that commiſſion, they, no doubt, did as St. Paul, who ſometimes *writ by permiſſion*, as well as at other times *by commandment*: of which he gives notice, by ſaying, *It is I, and not the Lord*: he ſuggeſted advices, which to him, according to his prudence and experience, ſeemed to be well founded; and he offered them with great ſincerity; for though he had ſome reaſon to think that what he propoſed, flowed from the *Spirit of the Lord*, from that inſpiration that was acting him; yet becauſe that did not appear diſtinctly to him, he ſpeaks with reſerves, and ſays, he *gives his judgment as one that had obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful*. So the Apoſtles here, receiving no inſpiration to direct them in this caſe, but obſerving well what St. Peter put them in mind of, concerning God's ſending him by a ſpecial viſion to preach to the Gentiles, and that God had poured out the Holy Ghoſt on them, even as he had done upon the Apoſtles, who were Jews by nature, and that *he did put no difference in that between Jews and Gentiles; purifying the hearts of the Gentiles by faith*: they upon this did by their judgment conclude from thence, that what God had done in the particular inſtance of Cornelius, was now to be extended to all the Gentiles. So by this we ſee that thoſe words, *ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt*, relate to the caſe of Cornelius; and thoſe words, *ſeemed good to us*, import that they reſolved to extend that to be a general rule to all the Gentiles.

Mark xvi. 15.
1 Cor. vii. 6, 12.
Ver. 40.
Ver. 25.
Acts xv. 9.

This gives the words a clear and diſtinct ſenſe, which agrees with all that had gone before; whereas it will otherwiſe look very ſtrange to ſee them add their authority to that of the Holy Ghoſt; which is too abſurd to ſuppoſe: nor will it be eaſy to give any other conſiſting ſenſe to theſe words.

Here is no precedent of a Council, much leſs of a General one: but a deciſion is made by men that were in other things divinely inſpired, which can have no relation to the judgments of other Councils. And thus it appears that none of thoſe places, which are brought to prove the infallibility of Councils, come up to the point: for ſo great and ſo important a matter as this is, muſt be ſuppoſed to be either expreſsly declared in the Scriptures, or not at all.

The Article affirming, that *ſome General Councils have erred*, muſt be underſtood of Councils that paſs for ſuch an

ART. XXI.

and that may be called General Councils, much better than many others that go by that name: for that at Arimini was both very numerous, and was drawn out of many different provinces. As to the ſtrict notion of a General Council, there is great reaſon to believe that there was never any aſſembly to which it will be found to agree. And for the four General Councils, which this Church declares ſhe receives, they are received only becauſe we are perſuaded from the Scriptures that their deciſions were made according to them: that the Son is truly God, of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father. That the Holy Ghoſt is alſo truly God. That the divine nature was truly united to the human in Chriſt; and that in one perſon. That both natures remained diſtinct; and that the human nature was not ſwallowed up of the divine. Theſe truths we find in the Scriptures, and therefore we believe them. We reverence thoſe Councils for the ſake of their doctrine; but do not believe the doctrine for the authority of the Councils. There appeared too much of human frailty in ſome of their other proceedings, to give us ſuch an implicit ſubmiſſion to them, as to believe things only becauſe they ſo decided them.



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# ARTICLE XXII.

## Of Purgatory.

**The Romiſh Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relicks, and alſo Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented and grounded upon no Warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.**

THERE are two ſmall variations in this Article, from that publiſhed in King Edward's reign. What is here called the *Romiſh doctrine*, is there called the *doctrine of ſchoolmen*. The plain reaſon of this is, that theſe errors were not ſo fully eſpouſed by the body of the Roman Church, when thoſe Articles were firſt publiſhed, ſo that ſome writers that ſoftened matters threw them upon the ſchoolmen; and therefore the Article was cautiouſly worded, in laying them there: but before theſe that we have now were publiſhed, the *decree* and *canons* concerning the *maſs* had paſſed at Trent, in which moſt of the heads of this Article are either affirmed or ſuppoſed; though the formal decree concerning them was made ſome months after theſe Articles were publiſhed. This will ſerve to juſtify that diverſity. The ſecond difference is only the leaving out of a ſevere word. *Perniciouſly repugnant to the Word of God*, was put at firſt; but *perniciouſly* being conſidered to be only a hard word, they judged very right in the ſecond edition of them, that it was enough to ſay *repugnant to the Word of God*.

There are in this Article five particulars, that are all ingredients in the doctrine and worſhip of the Church of Rome; Purgatory, Pardons, the Worſhip of Images, and of Relics, and the Invocation of Saints; that are rejected not only as ill-grounded, brought in and maintained without good warrants from the Scripture, but as contrary to it.

The firſt of theſe is Purgatory; concerning which, the doctrine of the Church of Rome is, that every man is liable both to temporal and to eternal puniſhment for his ſins; that God, upon the account of the death and interceſſion of Chriſt, does indeed pardon ſin as to its eternal puniſhment; but the ſinner is ſtill liable to temporal puniſhment,

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ART. XXII.

puniſhment, which he muſt expiate by acts of penance and ſorrow in this world, together with ſuch other ſufferings as God ſhall think fit to lay upon him: but if he does not expiate theſe in this life, there is a ſtate of ſuffering and miſery in the next world, where the ſoul is to bear the temporal puniſhment of its ſins; which may continue longer or ſhorter, till the day of judgment. And in order to the ſhortening this, the prayers and ſupererogations of men here on earth, or the interceſſion of the ſaints in heaven, but above all things, the ſacrifice of the maſs, are of great efficacy. This is the doctrine of the Church of Rome, aſſerted in the Councils of Florence and Trent. What has been taught among them concerning the nature and the degrees of thoſe torments, though ſupported by many pretended apparitions and revelations, is not to be imputed to the whole body; and is indeed only the doctrine of ſchoolmen, though it is generally preached and infuſed into the conſciences of the people. Therefore I ſhall only examine that which is the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the whole Roman Church. And firſt as to the foundation of it, that ſins are only pardoned, as to their eternal puniſhment, to thoſe *who being juſtified by faith have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*: there is not a colour for it in the Scriptures. Remiſſion of ſins is in general that with which the preaching of the Goſpel ought always to begin; and this is ſo often repeated, without any ſuch reſerve, that it is a high aſſuming upon God, and his attributes of goodneſs and mercy, to limit theſe when he has not limited them; but has expreſsly ſaid, that this is a main part of the new covenant, that *he will remember our ſins and iniquities no more*. Now it ſeems to be a maxim, not only of the law of nations, but of nature, that all offers of pardon are to be underſtood in the full extent of the words, without any ſecret reſerves or limitations; unleſs they are plainly expreſſed. An indemnity being offered by a prince to perſuade his ſubjects to return to their obedience, in the fulleſt words poſſible, without any reſerves made in it, it would be looked on as a very perfidious thing, if when the ſubjects come in upon it, truſting to it, they ſhould be told that they were to be ſecured by it againſt capital puniſhments; but that, as to all inferior puniſhments, they were ſtill at mercy. We do not diſpute whether God, if he had thought fit ſo to do, might not have made this diſtinction; nor do we deny that the grace of the Goſpel had been infinitely valuable, if it had offered us only the pardon of ſin with relation to its eternal puniſhment, and had left the temporal puniſh-

Rom. v. 1.

Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 12.



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ART. XXII.

ment on us, to be expiated by ourſelves. But then we ſay, this ought to have been expreſſed: the diſtinction ought to have been made between temporal and eternal: and we ought not to have been drawn into a covenant with God, by words that do plainly import an entire pardon and oblivion, upon which there lay a limited ſenſe, that was not to be told the world till it was once well engaged in the Chriſtian religion. Upon theſe reaſons it is that we conclude, that this doctrine not being contained in the Scriptures, is not only without any warrant in them, but that it is contrary to thoſe full offers of mercy, peace, and oblivion, that are made in the Goſpel; it is contrary to the truth and veracity, and to the juſtice and goodneſs of God, to affirm that there are reſerves to be underſtood for puniſhments, when the offers and promiſes are made to us in ſuch large and unlimited expreſſions.

Thus we lay our foundation in this matter, which does very fully overthrow theirs. We do not deny but that God does in this world puniſh good men for thoſe ſins, which yet are forgiven them through Chriſt, according to thoſe words in the Pſalm, *Thou waſt a God that forgaveſt them, though thou tookeſt vengeance of their inventions:* but this is a conſideration quite of another nature. God, in the government of this world, thinks fit, by his Providence, ſometimes to interpoſe in viſible bleſſings, as well as judgments, to ſhew how he protects and favours the good, and puniſhes the bad; and that the bad actions of good men are odious to him, even though he has received their perſons into his favour. He has alſo in the Goſpel plainly excepted the government of this world, and the ſecret methods of his Providence, out of the mercy that he has promiſed, by the warnings that are given to all Chriſtians to prepare for croſſes and afflictions in this life. He has made faith and patience in adverſities a main condition of this New Covenant; he has declared, that theſe are not the puniſhments of an angry God, but the chaſtiſements of a kind and merciful Father, who deſigns by them both to ſhew to the world the impartiality of his juſtice in puniſhing ſome crying ſins in a very ſignal manner, and to give good men deep impreſſions of their odiouſneſs, to oblige them to a ſeverer repentance for them, and to a greater watchfulneſs againſt them; as alſo to give the world ſuch examples of reſignation and patience under them, that they may edify others by that, as much as by their ſins they may have offended them. So that, upon all theſe accounts, it ſeems abundantly clear,

Pſalm xcix. 8.

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ART. XXII.

clear, that no argument can be drawn from the temporal puniſhments of good men for their ſins in this world, to a reſerve of others in another ſtate. The one are clearly mentioned and reſerved in the offers of mercy that are made in the Goſpel, whereas the others are not. This being the moſt plauſible thing that they ſay for this diſtinction of thoſe twofold puniſhments, it is plain that there is no foundation for it.

As for thoſe words of Chriſt's, *ye ſhall not come out till ye have paid the uttermoſt farthing*; from which they would infer, that there is a ſtate in which, after we ſhall be caſt into priſon, we are paying off our debts; this, if an argument at all, will prove too much; that in hell the damned are clearing ſcores; and that they ſhall be delivered when all is paid off. For by *priſon* there, that only can be meant, as appears by the whole contexture of the diſcourſe, and by other parables of the like nature. It is a figure taken from a man impriſoned for a great debt; and the continuance of it, till the laſt farthing is paid, does imply their perpetual continuance in that ſtate, ſince the debt is too great to be ever paid off. From a phraſe in a parable, no conſequence is to be drawn, beyond that which is the true ſcope of the parable, which in this particular is only intended by our Saviour, to ſhew the ſevere puniſhment of thoſe who hate implacably, which is a ſin that does certainly deſerve Hell, and not Purgatory. Matth. v. 26.

Our Saviour's words concerning the *ſin* againſt *the Holy Ghoſt*, that *it is neither forgiven in this life, nor in that which is to come*; is alſo urged to prove, that ſome ſins are pardoned in the next life, which are not pardoned in this. But ſtill this will ſeem a ſtronger argument againſt the eternity of Hell-torments, than for Purgatory; and will rather import, that the damned may at laſt be pardoned their ſins, ſince theſe are the only perſons whoſe ſins are not pardoned in this world; for of thoſe who are juſtified, it cannot be ſaid, that their ſins are not forgiven them, and ſuch only go to Purgatory: therefore, either this is only a general way of ſpeaking, to exclude all hopes of pardon, and to imply that God's judgments will purſue ſuch blaſphemers, both in this life, and in the next; or, if we will underſtand them more critically, by *this life*, or *this age*, and the *next*, according to a common opinion and phraſe of the Jews, which is founded on the prophecies, are to be underſtood the *diſpenſation of the Law*, and the *diſpenſation of the Meſſias*; the *age to come* being a common phraſe for the times of the Meſſias; according to Mat. xii. 32.



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ART. XXII.

those words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, *He hath not put in subjection to angels the world to come.* By the Mosaical Law, sacrifices were only received, and by consequence pardon was offered for sins of a less heinous nature; but those that were more heinous were to be punished by death, or by *cutting off* without mercy; whereas a full promise of the pardon of all sins is offered in the Gospel: so that the meaning of these words of Christ's is, that such a blasphemy was a sin not only beyond the pardon offered in the Law of Moses, which was the *age* that then was; but that it was a sin beyond that pardon which was to be offered by the Messias in the *age to come*, that is, in the kingdom of heaven, that was then at hand. But these words can by no means be urged to prove this distinction of temporal and eternal punishment; therefore we must conclude, that since *repentance and remission of sins* are joined together in the first commission to preach the Gospel; and since life, peace, and salvation, are promised to such as believe, that all this is to be understood simply and plainly, without any other limitation or exception than that which is expressed, which is only of such chastisements as God thinks fit to exercise good men with in this life.

Heb. ii. 5.

Luke xxiv. 47.

In the next place, we shall consider what reason we have to reject the doctrine of Purgatory; as we have already seen how weak the foundation is upon which it is built. The Scripture speaks to us of two states after this life, of happiness, and misery; and as it divides all mankind into good and bad, into those that do good and those that do evil, into believers and unbelievers, righteous and sinners; so it proposes always the end of the one to be everlasting happiness, and the end of the other to be everlasting punishment, without the least hint of any middle state after death. So that it is very plain there is nothing said in Scripture of men too good to be damned, but not so good as to be immediately saved. Now, if there had been yet a great deal to be suffered after death, and that there were many very effectual ways to prevent and avoid, or at least to shorten those sufferings; and if the Apostles knew this, and yet said not a word of it, neither in their first sermons, nor in their epistles; here was a great treachery in the discharge of their function, and that to the souls of men, not to warn them of their danger, nor to direct them to the proper methods of avoiding it; but on the contrary, to speak and write to them, just as we can suppose impostors would have done, to terrify those who would not receive their Gospel, with eternal damnation,

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damnation, but not to say a word to those who received it, of their danger, in case they lived not up to that exactness that their religion required, and yet upon the main adhered to it, and followed it. This is a method that does not agree with common honesty, not to say Inspiration. A fair way of proceeding, is to make men sensible of dangers of all sorts, and to shew them how to avoid them: the Apostles told their converts, that *through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of heaven*; they assured them, that *their present sufferings were not worthy to be compared to the glory that was to be revealed: and that those light afflictions, which are for a moment, wrought for them a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.* Here, if they knew any thing of Purgatory, a powerful consideration was passed over in silence, that by these afflictions they should be delivered from those torments.

ART. XXII.

Acts xiv. 22. Rom. viii. 18. 2 Cor. iv. 17.

This argument goes further than mere silence; though that is very strong. The Scriptures speak always as if the one did immediately follow the other; and that the saints, or true Christians, pass from the miseries of this state, to the glories of the next. So does our Saviour represent the matter in the parable of Lazarus and the rich Glutton; whose souls were presently carried to their different abodes; the one to be *comforted*, as the other was *tormented*. He promised also to the repenting Thief, *To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*. St. Paul comforts himself in the apprehension of his dissolution that was approaching, with the prospect of the *crown of righteousness that should be given him* after death; and so he states these two as certain consequents one of another, *to be dissolved and to be with Christ, to be absent from the body, and present with the Lord:* and he makes it appear that it was no peculiar privilege that he promised to himself, but that which all Christians had a right to expect; for he says in general, *this we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.* In the Epistle to the Hebrews the patriarchs under the Old Dispensation are represented as *looking for that city whose builder and founder is God:* though in that state the manifestations of another life were more imperfect than in this; in which *life and immortality are brought to light*; they being veiled and darkened in that state. And finally, St. John heard a voice commanding him to write, *Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord* (that is, being true Christians) *from hence-*

Luke xxiii. 43. 2 Tim. iv. 8. Phil. i. 23. 2 Cor. v. 6, 8. v. 1, 2. Heb. xi. 10. Rev. xiv. 13.



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ART. XXII.

*forth* (or immediately); *yea, ſaith the ſpirit, that they may reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them.* From the ſolemnity with which theſe words are delivered, they carry in them an evidence ſufficient to determine the whole matter. So that we muſt have very hard thoughts of the ſincerity of the writers of the New Teſtament, and very much diſparage their credit, not to ſay their inſpiration, if we can imagine that there are ſcenes of ſuffering, and thoſe very diſmal ones, to be gone through, of which they gave the world no ſort of notice; but ſpoke in the ſame ſtyle that we do, who believe no ſuch diſmal interval between the death of good men and their final bleſſedneſs. The Scriptures do indeed ſpeak of a *full reward*, and of different degrees of glory, *as one ſtar exceeds another*. They do alſo repreſent the day of judgment upon the reſurrection of the body, as that which gives the full and entire poſſeſſion of bleſſedneſs; ſo that from hence ſome have thought, upon very probable grounds, that the bleſſed, though admitted to happineſs immediately upon their death, yet were not ſo completely happy as they ſhall be after the reſurrection: and in this there aroſe a diverſity of opinions, which is very natural to all who will go and form ſyſtems out of ſome general hints. Some thought that the ſouls of good men were at reſt, and in a good meaſure happy, but that they did not ſee God before the reſurrection. Others thought that Chriſt was to come down and reign viſibly upon earth a thouſand years before the end of the world; and that the ſaints were to riſe and to reign with him, ſome ſooner and ſome later. Some thought that the laſt conflagration was ſo to affect all, that every one was to paſs through it, and that it was to give the laſt and higheſt purification to thoſe bodies that were then to be glorified; but that the better Chriſtians that any had been, they ſhould feel the leſs of the pain of that laſt fire. Theſe opinions were very early entertained in the Church: an itch of intruding too far into things which men did not thoroughly underſtand, concerning angels, began to diſturb the Church even in the days of the Apoſtles: which made St. Paul charge the Coloſſians to beware of vain philoſophy. Plato thought there was a middle ſort of men, who though they had ſinned, yet had repented of it, and were in a curable condition, and that they went down for ſome time into hell, to be purged and abſolved by grievous torments. The Jews had alſo a conceit, that the ſouls of ſome men continued for a year, going up and down

2 Ep. John, ver. 8.

1 Cor. xv. 41.

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down in a ſtate of purgation. From theſe opinions ſomewhat of a curioſity in deſcribing the degrees of the next ſtate began pretty early to enter into the Church. ART. XXII.

As for that opinion of the Platoniſts, and the fictions of Homer and Virgil, ſetting forth the complaints of ſouls departed, for their not being relieved by prayers and ſacrifices, though theſe perhaps are the true ſources of the doctrine of Purgatory, and of redeeming ſouls out of it, yet we are not ſo much concerned in them, as in what is repreſented to us by the author of the ſecond book of the Maccabees, concerning the ſacrifice that was offered by Judas Maccabeus, for thoſe, about whom, after they were killed, they found ſuch things as ſhewed that they had defiled themſelves with the idolatry of the heathens. All this is of leſs authority with us, who do not acknowledge that book to be canonical: according to what was ſet out in its proper place. And although we ſet a due value upon ſome of the apocryphal books, yet others are of a lower character. The firſt book of Maccabees is a very grave hiſtory, writ with much exactneſs and a true judgment; but the ſecond is the work of a mean writer: he was an abridger of a larger work; and as he has the modeſty to aſk his readers pardon for his defects, ſo it is very plain to every one that reads him, that he needs often many grains of allowance. So that this book is one of the leaſt valuable pieces of the Apocrypha; and there are very probable reaſons to queſtion the truth of that relation, concerning thoſe who were thus prayed for. But becauſe that would occaſion too long a digreſſion, we are to make a difference between the ſtory that he relates, and the author's own reflections upon it; for as we ought not to make any great account of his reflections, theſe being only his private thoughts, who might probably have imbibed ſome of the principles of the Greek philoſophy, as ſome of the Jews had done, or he might have believed that notion which is now very generally received by the Jews, that every Jew ſhall have a ſhare in the world to come, but that ſuch as have lived ill muſt be purged before they arrive at it. It is of much more importance to conſider what Judas Maccabeus did; which even by that relation ſeems to be no more than this, that he finding ſome things conſecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, about the bodies of thoſe who were killed, concluded that to have been the cauſe of their death: and upon this he and all his men betook themſelves to prayer, and beſought God that the ſin might be wholly put out of remembrance: he exhorted his people to keep themſelves, by

2 Maccab. xii. 40.

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ART. XXII.

by that example, from the like ſin; and he made a collection of a ſum of money, and ſent it to Jeruſalem to offer a ſin-offering before the Lord. So far the matter agrees well enough with the Jewiſh diſpenſation. It had appeared in the days of Joſhua, how much guilt the ſin of Achan, though but one perſon, had brought upon the whole congregation; and their law had upon another occaſion preſcribed a ſin-offering for the whole congregation, to expiate blood that was ſhed, when the murderer could not be diſcovered: that ſo the judgments of God might not come upon them, by reaſon of the cry of that blood. And by a parity of reaſon, Judas might have offered ſuch an offering to free himſelf and his men from the guilt which the idolatry of a few might have brought upon greater numbers; ſuch a ſacrifice as this might, according to the nature of that law, have been offered: but to offer a *ſin-offering* for the dead, was a new thing without ground, or any intimation of any thing like it in their law. So there is no reaſon to doubt, but that, if the ſtory is true, Judas offered this ſin-offering for the living, and not for the dead. If they had been alive then, by their law no ſin-offering could have been made for them; for idolatry was to be puniſhed by *cutting off*, and not to be expiated by ſacrifice: what then could not have been done for them if alive, could much leſs be done for them after their death. So we have reaſon to conclude that Judas offered this ſacrifice only for the living: and we are not much concerned in the opinion which ſo ſlight a writer, as the author of that book, had concerning it. But whatever might be his opinion, it was far from that of the Roman Church. By this inſtance of the Maccabees, men who died in a ſtate of mortal ſin, and that of the higheſt nature, had ſacrifices offered for them: whereas, according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, Hell, and not Purgatory, is to be the portion of all ſuch: ſo this will prove too much, if any thing at all, that ſacrifices are to be offered for the damned. The deſign of Judas's ſending to make an offering for them, as that writer ſtates it, was, that their ſins might be forgiven, and that they might have a happy reſurrection. Here is nothing of redeeming them out of miſery, or of ſhortening or alleviating their torments: ſo that the author of that book ſeems to have been poſſeſſed with that opinion, received commonly among the Jews, that no Jew could finally periſh; as we find St. Jerome expreſſing himſelf with the like partiality for all Chriſtians. But whatever the author's opinion was, as that book is of no authority, it is highly probable

Joſhua vii.

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probable that Judas's deſign in that oblation was miſunderſtood by the hiſtorian; and we are ſure that even his ſenſe of it differs totally from that of the Church of Rome. ART. XXII.

A paſſage in the New Teſtament is brought as a full proof of the fire of Purgatory. When St. Paul in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians is reflecting on the diviſions that were among them, and on that diverſity of teachers that formed men into different principles and parties, he compares them to different builders. Some raiſed upon a rock an edifice like the temple at Jeruſalem, of *gold* and *ſilver*, and noble *ſtones*, called *precious ſtones*; whereas others upon the ſame rock raiſed a mean hovel of *wood*, *hay*, *and ſtubble*; of both, he ſays, *every man's work ſhall be made manifeſt. For the day ſhall reveal it; becauſe it ſhall be revealed by fire; for the fire ſhall try every man's work of what ſort it is.* And he adds, *If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he ſhall receive a reward; and if any man's work ſhall be burnt, he ſhall ſuffer loſs; but he himſelf ſhall be ſaved, yet ſo as by fire.* From the firſt view of theſe words it will not be thought ſtrange if ſome of the ancients, who were too apt to expound places of Scripture according to their firſt appearance, might fancy, that at the laſt day all were to paſs through a great fire; and to ſuffer more or leſs in it: but it is viſible that that opinion is far enough from the doctrine of Purgatory. Theſe words relate to a fire that was ſoon to appear, and that was to try every man's work. It was to be revealed, and in it every man's work was to be made manifeſt. So this can have no relation to a ſecret Purgatory fire. The meaning of it can be no other, but that whereas ſome with the Apoſtles were building up the Church, not only upon the foundation of Jeſus Chriſt, and the belief of his doctrine, but were teaching men doctrines and rules that were virtuous, good, and great: others at the ſame time were daubing with a profane mixture, both of Judaiſm and Gentiliſm, joining theſe with ſome of the precepts of Chriſtianity; a *day* would ſoon appear, which probably is meant of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and of the Jewiſh nation; or it may be applied to the perſecution that was ſoon to break out; in that day thoſe who had true notions, generous principles, and ſuitable practices, would weather that ſtorm: whereas others that were entangled with weak and ſuperſtitious conceits, would then run a great riſk, though their firm believing that Jeſus was the Meſſias would preſerve them: yet the weakneſs and folly of thoſe teachers

1 Cor. iii. from ver. 10. to 16.

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ART. XXII.

teachers would appear, their opinions would involve them in ſuch danger, that their eſcaping would be difficult; like one that gets out of a houſe that is all on fire round about him. So that theſe words cannot poſſibly belong to Purgatory; but muſt be meant of ſome ſignal diſcrimination that was to be made, in ſome very dreadful appearances which would diſtinguiſh between the true and the falſe Apoſtles; and that could be no other but either in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, or in the perſecution that was to come on the Church; though the firſt is the more probable.

It were eaſy to purſue this argument further, and to ſhew, that the doctrine of Purgatory, as it is now in the Roman Church, was not known in the Church of God for the firſt ſix hundred years; that then it began to be doubtfully received. But in an ignorant age, viſions, legends, and bold ſtories prevailed much; yet the Greek Church never received it. Some of the Fathers ſpeak indeed of the laſt probatory fire; but though they did not think the ſaints were in a ſtate of conſummate bleſſedneſs, enjoying the viſion of God, yet they thought they were in a ſtate of eaſe and quiet, and that in heaven. St. Auſtin ſpeaks in this whole matter very doubtfully; he varies often from himſelf; he ſeems ſometimes very poſitive only for two ſtates; at other times as he aſſerts the laſt probatory fire, ſo he ſeems to think that good ſouls might ſuffer ſome grief in that ſequeſtered ſtate before the laſt day, upon the account of ſome of their paſt ſins, and that by degrees they might ariſe up to their conſummation. All theſe conteſts were propoſed very doubtfully before Gregory the Great's days; and even then ſome doubts ſeem to have been made: but the legends were ſo copiouſly played upon all thoſe doubts, that this remnant of paganiſm got at laſt into the Weſtern Church. It was no wonder, that the opinions formerly mentioned, which began to appear in the ſecond age, had produced in the third the practice of praying for the dead; of which we find ſuch full evidence in Tertullian and St. Cyprian's writings, that the matter of fact is not to be denied. This appears alſo in all the ancient Liturgies: and Epiphanius charges Aerius with this of rejecting all prayers for the dead, aſking, why were they prayed for? The opinions that they fell into concerning the ſtate of departed ſouls, in the interval between their death and the day of judgment, gave occaſion enough for prayer; they thought they were capable of making a progreſs, and of having an early reſurrection. They alſo had this notion among them;

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 21. c. 18. ad 22. Enchir. c. 67, 68, 69. Ad Dulcid. quæſt. prima.

Tertul. de Cor. Mil. c. 3. de Exhor. c. 13. Cypr. Ep. 34, 37. Epiph. Hær. 75. l. 3. n. 3.

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them; that it was the peculiar privilege of Jesus Christ to be above all our prayers; but that no men, not excepting the Apostles, nor the blessed Virgin, were above the prayers of the Church. They thought this was an act of church-communion, that we were to hold even with the saints in heaven, to pray for them. Thus in the apostolical constitutions, in the books of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and in the Liturgies that are ascribed to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, they offer unto God these prayers, which they thought their reasonable service, for those who were at rest in the faith, their forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, religious persons, and for every spirit perfected in the faith; especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary. Particular instances might also be given of this, out of St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, Nazianzen, and St. Austin; who in that famous and much cited passage concerning his mother, Monica, as he speaks nothing of any temporal pains that she suffered, so he plainly intimates his belief that God had done all that he desired. Thus it will appear to those, who have examined all the passages which are brought out of the Fathers, concerning their prayers for the dead, that they believed they were then in heaven, and at rest; and by consequence, though these prayers for the dead did very probably give the chief rise to the doctrine of Purgatory; yet, as they then made them, they were utterly inconsistent with that opinion. Tertullian, who is the first that is cited for them, says, we make oblations for the dead, and we do it for that second nativity of theirs (*Natalitia*) once a year. The signification of the word *Natalitia*, as they used it, was the Saint's day of death, in which they reckoned he was born again to heaven: so, though they judged them there, yet they offered up prayers for them: and when Epiphanius brings in Aerius asking, why those prayers were made for the dead? though it had been very natural, and indeed unavoidable, if he had believed Purgatory, to have answered, that it was to deliver them from thence: yet he makes no such answer, but only asserts, that it had been the practice of the Church so to do. The Greek Church retains that custom, though she has never admitted of Purgatory. Here then an objection may be made to our constitution, that in this of praying for the dead, we have departed from the practice of the ancients: we do not deny it, both the Church of Rome and we in another practice, of equal antiquity, of giving the Eucharist to infants,

ART. XXII.

Dion. de Eccl. Hier. cap. 7.

Aug. Conf. l. 9. c. 19.

Supra.

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ART. XXII.

fants, have made changes, and let that cuſtom fall. The curioſities in the ſecond century ſeem to have given riſe to thoſe prayers in the third; and they gave the riſe to many other diſorders in the following centuries. Since, therefore, God has commanded us, while we are on earth, to pray for one another, and has made that a main act of our charity and church-communion, but has no where directed us to pray for thoſe that have finiſhed their courſe; and ſince the only pretence that is brought from Scripture, of St. Paul's praying, that *Oneſiphorus might find mercy in the day of the Lord*, cannot be wrought up into an argument, for it cannot be proved that he was then dead; and ſince the Fathers reckon this of praying for the dead only as one of their cuſtoms, for which they vouch no other warrant but practice; ſince, alſo, this has been groſsly abuſed, and has been applied to ſupport a doctrine totally different from theirs; we think that we have as good a plea for not following them in this, as we have for not giving infants the ſacrament, and therefore we think it no imputation on our Church, that we do not in this follow a groundleſs and a much abuſed precedent, though ſet us in ages which we highly reverence.

The greateſt corruption of this whole matter comes in the laſt place to be conſidered; which is, the methods propoſed for redeeming ſouls out of Purgatory. If this doctrine had reſted in a ſpeculation, we muſt ſtill have conſidered it as derogatory to the death of Chriſt, and the truth of the Goſpel: but it raiſes our zeal a little more, when we conſider the uſe that was made of it; and that fears and terrors being by this means infuſed into men's minds, new methods were propoſed to free them from theſe. The chief of which was the ſaying of *maſſes* for departed ſouls. It was pretended, that this being the higheſt act of the communion of Chriſtians, and the moſt ſublime piece of worſhip, therefore God was ſo well pleaſed with the frequent repetition of it, with the prayers that accompanied it, and with thoſe that made proviſions for men, who ſhould be conſtantly employed in it, that this was a moſt acceptable ſacrifice to God. Upon this followed all thoſe vaſt endowments for ſaying *maſſes* for departed ſouls; though in the inſtitution of that ſacrament, and in all that is ſpoken of it in the Scripture, there is not an hint given of this. Sacraments are poſitive precepts, which are to be meaſured only by the inſtitution, in which there is not room left for us to carry them further. We are *to take, eat and drink, and thereby ſhew forth the Lord's death till his ſecond coming*: all which has

ART. XXII.

has no relation to the applying this to others who are gone off the ſtage; therefore if we can have any juſt notions either of ſuperſtition, or of will-worſhip, they are applicable here. Men will fancy that there is a virtue in an action, which we are ſure it has not of itſelf, and we cannot find that God has put in it; and yet they, without any authority from God, do ſet up a new piece of worſhip, and imagine that God will be pleaſed with them in every thing they do or aſk, only becauſe they are perverting this piece of worſhip, clearly contrary to the inſtitution, to be a ſolitary maſs. In the primitive Church, where all the ſervice of the whole aſſembly ended in a communion, there was a roll read, in which the names of the more eminent ſaints of the Catholic Church, and of the holy biſhops, martyrs, or confeſſors of every particular Church, were regiſtered. This was an honourable remembrance that was kept up of ſuch as had died in the Lord. When the ſoundneſs of any perſon's faith was brought in ſuſpicion, his name was not read till that point was cleared, and then either his name continued to be read, or it was quite daſhed out. This was thought an honour due to the memory of thoſe who had died in the faith: and in St. Cyprian's time, in the infancy of this practice, we ſee he counted the leaving a man's name out as a thing that only left a blot upon him, but not as a thing of any conſequence to his ſoul; for when a prieſt had died, who had by his laſt will named another prieſt the tutor (or guaridan) of his children, this ſeemed to him a thing of ſuch ill example, to put thoſe ſecular cares upon the minds of the clergy, that he appointed that his name ſhould be no more read in the daily ſacrifice; which plainly ſhews, unleſs we will tax St. Cyprian with a very unreaſonable cruelty, that he conſidered that only as a ſmall cenſure laid on his memory, but not as a prejudice to his ſoul. This gives us a very plain view of the ſenſe that he had of this matter. After this roll was read, then the general prayer followed, as was formerly acknowledged, for all their ſouls; and ſo they went on in the Communion Service. This has no relation to a maſs ſaid by a ſingle prieſt to deliver a ſoul out of Purgatory.

Cypr. Epiſt. 1. Oxon. ad pleb. Furnit.

Here, without going far in tragical expreſſions, we cannot hold ſaying what our Saviour ſaid upon another occaſion, *My houſe is a houſe of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves*. A trade was ſet up on this foundation. The world was made believe, that by the virtue of ſo many maſſes, which were to be purchaſed by great endowments, ſouls were redeemed out of Purgatory; and ſcenes

Mark xi. 17.

of

ART. XXII.

of viſions and apparitions, ſometimes of the tormented, and ſometimes of the delivered ſouls, were publiſhed in all places; which had ſo wonderful an effect, that in two or three centuries endowments increaſed to ſo vaſt a degree, that if the ſcandals of the clergy on the one hand, and the ſtatutes of *mortmain* on the other, had not reſtrained the profuſeneſs that the world was wrought up to upon this account, it is not eaſy to imagine how far this might have gone; perhaps to an entire ſubjecting of the temporalty to the ſpiritualty. The practices by which this was managed, and the effects that followed on it, we can call by no other name than downright impoſtures; worſe than the making or vending falſe coin; when the world was drawn in by ſuch arts to plain bargains, to redeem their own ſouls, and the ſouls of their anceſtors and poſterity, ſo many maſſes were to be ſaid, and forfeitures were to follow upon their not being ſaid: thus the maſſes were really the price of the lands. An endowment to a religious uſe, though mixed with error or ſuperſtition in the rules of it, ought to be held ſacred, according to the deciſion given concerning the cenſures of thoſe that were in the rebellion of Corah: ſo that we do not excuſe the violation of ſuch from ſacrilege; yet we cannot think ſo of endowments, where the only conſideration was a falſe opinion firſt of Purgatory, and then of redemption out of it by maſſes; this being expreſſed in the very deeds themſelves. By the ſame reaſons, by which private perſons are obliged to reſtore what they have drawn from others by baſe practices, by falſe deeds, or counterfeit coin; bodies are alſo bound to reſtore what they have got into their hands by ſuch fraudulent practices; ſo that the ſtates and princes of Chriſtendom were at full liberty, upon the diſcovery of theſe impoſtures, to void all the endowments that had followed upon them; and either to apply them to better uſes, or to reſtore them to the families from which they had been drawn, if that had been practicable, or to convert them to any other uſe. This was a crying abuſe, which thoſe who have obſerved the progreſs that this matter made from the eighth century to the twelfth, cannot reflect on without both amazement and indignation. We are ſenſible enough that there are many political reaſons and arguments for keeping up the doctrine of Purgatory. *But we have not ſo learned Chriſt.* We ought not to lie even for God, much leſs for ourſelves, or for any other pretended ends of keeping the world in awe and order; therefore all the advantages that are ſaid to ariſe out of this, and all the miſchief that may be thought to follow

Numb. xvi. 38.

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ART. XXII.

on the rejecting of it, ought not to make us presume to carry on the ends of religion by unlawful methods. This were to call in the assistance of the Devil to do the work of God: if the just apprehensions of the wrath of God, and the guilt of sin, together with the fear of everlasting burnings, will not reform the world, nor restrain sinners, we must leave this matter to the wise and unsearchable judgments of God.

The next particular in this Article is, the condemning the Romish doctrine concerning *Pardons:* that is founded on the distinction between the temporal and eternal punishment of sin; and the Pardon is of the temporal punishment, which is believed to be done by a power lodged singly in the Pope, derived from those words, *Feed my sheep*, and *To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.* This may be by him derived, as they teach, not only to Bishops and Priests, but to the inferior orders, to be dispensed by them; and it excuses from penance, unless he who purchases it thinks fit to use his penance in a medicinal way, as a preservative against sin. So the virtue of indulgences is the applying the treasure of the Church upon such terms as Popes shall think fit to prescribe, in order to the redeeming souls from Purgatory, and from all other temporal punishments, and that for such a number of years as shall be specified in the bulls; some of which have gone to thousands of years; one I have seen to ten hundred thousand: and as these indulgences are sometimes granted by special tickets, like tallies struck on that treasure; so sometimes they are affixed to particular churches and altars, to particular times, or days, chiefly to the year of jubilee; they are also affixed to such things as may be carried about, to *Agnus Dei*'s, to medals, to rosaries and scapularies; they are also affixed to some prayers, the devout saying of them being a mean to procure great indulgences. The granting these is left to the Pope's discretion, who ought to distribute them as he thinks may tend most to the honour of God, and the good of the Church; and he ought not to be too profuse, much less to be too scanty in dispensing them.

This has been the received doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome since the twelfth century; and the Council of Trent in a hurry, in its last session, did in very general words approve of the practice of the Church in this matter, and decreed that indulgences should be continued; only they restrained some abuses, in particular that of selling them; yet even those restraints were wholly referred to the Popes themselves: so that this crying abuse, the



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ART. XXII.

ſcandal of which had occaſioned the firſt beginnings and progreſs of the Reformation, was upon the matter eſtabliſhed; and the correcting the exceſſes in it was truſted to thoſe who had been the authors of them, and the chief gainers by them. This point of their doctrine is more fully opened than might perhaps ſeem neceſſary, if it were not that a great part of the confutation of ſome doctrines is the expoſing of them. For though in ages and places of ignorance theſe things have been, and ſtill are, practiſed with great aſſurance, and to very extravagant exceſſes; yet in countries and ages of more light, when they come to be queſtioned, they are diſowned with an aſſurance equal to that with which they are practiſed elſewhere. Among us ſome will perhaps ſay, that theſe are only exemptions from penance; which cannot be denied to be within the power of the Church; and they argue, that though it is very fit to make ſevere laws, yet the execution of theſe muſt be ſoftened in practice. This is all that they pretend to juſtify, and they give up any further indulgences as an abuſe of corrupt times. Whereas at the ſame time a very different doctrine is taught among them, where there is no danger, but much profit, in owning it. All this is only a pretence; for the epiſcopal power, in the inflicting, abating, or commuting of penance, is ſtated among them as a thing wholly different from the power of indulgences. They are derived from different originals; and deſigned for ends totally different from one another. The one is for the outward diſcipline of the Church, and the other is for the inward quiet of conſciences, and in order to their future ſtate. The one is in every Biſhop, and the other is aſſerted to be peculiar to the Pope. Nor will they eſcape by laying this matter upon the ignorance and abuſes of former times. It was publiſhed in bulls, and received by the whole Church: ſo that if either the Pope, or the diffuſive body of the Church are infallible, there muſt be ſuch a power in the Pope; and the decree of the Council of Trent, confirming and approving the practice of the Church in that point, muſt bind them all. For if this doctrine is falſe, then their infallibility muſt go with it; for in every hypotheſis in which infallibility is ſaid to be lodged, whether in the Pope or in Councils, this doctrine has that ſeal to it.

As for the doctrine itſelf, all that has been already ſaid againſt the diſtinction of temporal and eternal puniſhment, and againſt Purgatory, overthrows it; ſince the one is the foundation on which it is built, and the other is that which it pretends to ſecure men from; and therefore this falls

falls with thoſe. All that was ſaid upon the head of the Sufficiency of the Scriptures comes alſo in here: for if the Scriptures ought to be our rule in any thing, it muſt be chiefly in thoſe matters which relate to the pardon of ſin, to the quiet of our conſciences, and to a future ſtate. Therefore a doctrine and practice that have not ſo much as colours from Scripture in a matter of ſuch conſequence, ought to be rejected by us upon this ſingle account. If from the Scripture we go to the practice and tradition of the Church, we are ſure that this was not thought on for above ten centuries; all the indulgences that were then known being only the abatements of the ſeverity of the penitentiary canons: but in the ages in which aſpiring and inſolent Popes impoſed on ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitudes, a jumble was made of indulgences formerly granted, of Purgatory, and of the papal authority, that was then very implicitly ſubmitted to; and ſo out of all that mixture this aroſe; which was as ill managed as it was ill grounded. The natural tendency of it is not only to relax all public diſcipline, but alſo all ſecret penance, when ſhorter methods to peace and pardon may be more eaſily purchaſed. The vaſt application to the executing the many trifling performances to which indulgences are granted, has brought in among them ſuch a proſtitution of holy things, that either it muſt be ſaid that thoſe are public cheats, and that they were ſo from the beginning, or that their virtue is now exhauſted, though the bulls that grant them are perpetual: or elſe a man may on very eaſy terms preſerve himſelf and redeem his friends out of Purgatory. If the ſaying a prayer before a privileged altar, or the viſiting ſome churches in the time of jubilee, with thoſe ſlight devotions that are then enjoined, have ſuch efficacy in them, it is ſcarce poſſible for any man to be in danger of Purgatory.

ART. XXII.

The *third* head rejected in this Article is the Worſhipping of Images. Here thoſe of the Church of Rome complain much of the charge of idolatry, that our Church has laid upon them, ſo fully and ſo ſeverely in the Homilies. Some among ourſelves have alſo thought that we muſt either renounce that charge, or that we muſt deny the poſſibility of ſalvation in that Church, and in conſequence to that conclude, that neither the baptiſm nor the orders of that Church are valid: for ſince idolaters are excluded from the kingdom of heaven, they argue, that if there can be no ſalvation where idolatry is committed by the whole body of a Church, then that can be no Church, and in it there is no ſalvation. But here we



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ART. XXII.

are to consider, before we enter upon the specialities of this matter, that Idolatry is a general word, which comprehends many several sorts and ranks of sins under it. As lying is capable of many degrees, from an officious lie to the swearing falsely against the life of an innocent man in judgment: the one is the lowest, and the other is the highest act of that kind; but all are lying: and yet it would appear an unreasonable thing to urge every thing that is said of any act in general, and which belongs to the highest acts of it, as if all the inferior degrees did necessarily involve the guilt of the highest. There is another distinction to be made between actions, as they signify either of themselves, or by the public constructions that are put on them, by those who authorise them, and those same actions as they may be privately intended by particular persons. We, in our weighing of things, are only to consider what actions signify of their own nature, or by public authority, and according to that we must form our judgments about them, and in particular in the point of Idolatry: but as for the secret thoughts or intentions of men, we must leave these to the judgment of God, who only knows them, and who being infinitely gracious, slow to anger, and ready to forgive, will, we do not doubt, make all the abatements in the weighing men's actions that there is reason for. But we ought not to enter into that matter; we ought neither to aggravate, nor to mollify things too much: we are to judge of things as they are in themselves, and to leave the case of men's intentions and secret notions to that God who is to judge them. As for the business of Images, we know that the Heathens had them of several sorts. Some they believed were real resemblances of those Deities that they worshipped: those Divinities had been men, and the statues made for them resembled them. Other images they believed had a divine virtue affixed to them, perhaps from the stars, which were believed to be Gods; and it was thought that the influences of their aspects and positions were by secret charms called down, and fastened to some figures. Other images were considered as emblems and representations of their Deities: so that they only gave them occasion to represent them to their thoughts. These images, thus of different sorts, were all worshipped; some more, some less: they kneeled before them; they prayed to them, and made many oblations to them; they set lights before them, and burnt incense to them; they set them in their temples, market-places, and highways; and they had them in their houses: they set them off with much

much pomp, and had many proceſſions to their honour. But in all this, though it is like the vulgar among them might have groſs thoughts of thoſe images, yet the philoſophers, not only after the Chriſtian religion had obliged them to conſider well of that matter, and to expreſs themſelves cautiouſly about it; but even while they were in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the world, did believe that the Deity was not in the image, but was only repreſented by it: that the Deity was worſhipped in the image, ſo that the honour done the image did belong to the Deity itſelf. Here then were two falſe opinions: the one was concerning thoſe Deities themſelves; the other was concerning this way of worſhipping them; and both were blamed: not only the worſhipping a falſe God, but the worſhipping that God by an image. If Idolatry had only conſiſted in the acknowledging a falſe God, and if the worſhipping the true God in an image had not been Idolatry, then all the fault of the Heatheniſh idolaters ſhould have conſiſted in this, that they worſhipped a falſe God; but their worſhipping images ſhould not of itſelf have been an additional fault. But in oppoſition to this, what can we think of thoſe full and copious words, in which God did not only forbid the having of falſe Gods, but the making of *a graven image, or the likeneſs of any thing in heaven, in earth, or under the earth: the bowing down to it, and the worſhipping it*, are alſo forbid. Where, beſides the copiouſneſs of theſe words, we are to conſider, that Moſes, in the rehearſal of that law in Deuteronomy, does over and over again add and inſiſt on this, that *they ſaw no manner of ſimilitude*, when God ſpoke to them, *leſt they ſhould corrupt themſelves, and make to them a graven image*; an enumeration is made of many different likeneſſes; and after that comes another ſpecies of Idolatry, *their worſhipping the hoſt of heaven*; and therefore Moſes charges them in that chapter again and again, *to take heed, to take good heed to themſelves, leſt they ſhould forget the covenant of the Lord their God, and make them a graven image*: and he lays the ſame charge a third time upon them in the ſame chapter. A ſpecial law is alſo given againſt the moſt innocent of all the images that could be made: they were required not only not to have idols, nor graven images, but *not to rear up a ſtanding image or pillar; nor to ſet up any image of ſtone, or any carved ſtone*; ſuch were the *Baitulia*; the leaſt tempting or enſnaring of all idols: *they were not to bow down before it*; and the reaſon given is, *For I am the Lord your God*. The importance of thoſe laws will appear clearer, if they are compared with

ART. XXII.

Deut. iv. 12, 15, 16. Verſe 23. Deut. xii. 30. Levit. xxvi. 1. Deut. xvi. 22.



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ART. XXII.

the practice of those times, and particularly in those symbolical images, which were sacred emblems and hieroglyphics, that were not meant to be a true representation of the Divine Being, but were a combination of many symbols, intended to represent at once to the thoughts of the worshipper many of the perfections of God: these were most particularly practised in Egypt, and to them the copiousness of the Second Commandment seems to have a particular respect, such having been the images which they had lately seen, and which seem the most excusable of all others: when, I say, all this is laid together, with the Commandment itself, and with those other laws that accompany and explain it, nothing seems more evident, than that God intended to forbid all outward representations, that should be set up as the objects of worship. It is also very plain, that the prophets expostulated with the people of Israel for their carved and molten images, as well as for their false Gods: and among the reasons given against images, one is often repeated, *To whom will ye liken me?* which seems to import, that by these images they represented the living God. And Isaiah often, as also both Jeremiah and Habakkuk, when they set forth the folly of making an image, of praying to it, and trusting in it, bring in the greatness and glory of the living God, in opposition to these images. Now though it is possible enough to apprehend, how that the Jews might make images in imitation of the Heathen, to represent that God whom they served; yet it is no way credible that they could have fallen into such a degree of stupidity, as to fancy that a piece of wood, which they had carved into such a figure, was a real Deity. They might think it a God by representation, as the Heathens thought their idols were; but more than this cannot be easily apprehended. So that it is most reasonable to think, that they knew the God they had thus made, and prayed to, was only a piece of wood; but they might well fall into that corruption of many of the Heathen, of thinking that they honoured God by serving him in such an image. If the sin of the Jews was only their having other Gods; and if the worshipping an image was only evil, because a false Deity was honoured by it, why is image-worship condemned, with reasons that will hold full as strong against the images of the true God, as of false Gods, if it had not been intended to condemn simply all image-worship? Certainly, if the Prophets had intended to have done it, they could not have expressed themselves more clearly and more fully than they did.

Isaiah xl. 18 to 27. xliv. 9 to 21. Jer. x. to ver. 17. Hab. ii. 18, 19, 20.

To

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ART. XXII.

To this it is to be added, that it ſeems very clear from the hiſtory of the golden calf, that the Iſraelites did not intend, by ſetting it up, to caſt off the true Jehovah, *that had brought them out of Egypt.* They plainly ſaid the contrary, and appointed a feaſt to Jehovah. It is probable they thought Moſes was either burnt or ſtarved on Mount Sinai, ſo they deſired ſome viſible repreſentation of the Deity to go before them; they intended ſtill to ſerve him; but ſince they thought they had loſt their prophet and guide, they hoped that this ſhould have been perhaps as a *teraphim* to them; yet for all this, the calf is called an *Idol*; and they are ſaid *to have changed their glory into the ſimilitude of an ox that eateth graſs.* So that here an emblem of the Deity is called an Idol. They could take the *calf* for no other, but as a viſible ſign or ſymbol in which they intended to worſhip their God or Elohim, and the Lord or Jehovah. Such very probably were alſo the calves of Dan and Bethel, ſet up by Jeroboam, who ſeemed to have no deſign to change the object of their worſhip, or the nature of their religion; but only to divert them from going up to Jeruſalem, and to furniſh them with conveniencies to worſhip the living God nearer home. His deſign was only to eſtabliſh the kingdom to himſelf; and in order to that, we muſt think that he would venture on no more than was neceſſary for his purpoſe. Beſides, we do clearly ſee an oppoſition made between the calves ſet up by Jeroboam, and the worſhip of Baal brought from Tyrus by Ahab. Thoſe who hated that idolatry, ſuch as Jehu and his family, yet continued in the ſin of Jeroboam; and they are repreſented as *zealous for Jehovah,* though they worſhipped the calves at Dan and Bethel. Theſe are called *Idols* by Hoſea. From all which it ſeems to be very evident that the ten tribes ſtill feared and worſhipped the true Jehovah. This appears yet more clear from the ſequel of their hiſtory, when they were carried away by the kings of Aſſyria; and new inhabitants were ſent to people the country, who brought their idols along with them, and did not acknowledge *Jehovah the true God*; but upon their being plagued with lions, to prevent this, the king of Aſſyria ſent one of the prieſts, that had been carried out of the country, who taught them how they ſhould *fear the Lord:* out of which that mixture aroſe, that they *feared the Lord, and ſerved their own images.* This proves, beyond all contradiction, that the ten tribes did ſtill worſhip Jehovah in thoſe calves that they had at Dan and Bethel: and thus it appears very clear, that, through the whole Old Teſtament, the uſe of all images in worſhip was expreſsly forbid; and that the

Ex. xxxii. 1, 4, 5.

Acts vii. 41. Pſal. cvi. 19, 20.

1 Kings xii. 27 to the end. 1 Kings xvi. 31. 2 Kings x. 28, 29.

Hoſea viii. 4, 5.

2 Kings xvii. 28, 32, 41.



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ART. XXII.

worſhipping them, even when the true God was worſhipped by them, was called Idolatry. The words in which this matter is expreſſed are copious and full, and the reaſons given for the precept are taken from the nature of God, who could be likened to nothing, and who had ſhewed no ſimilitude of himſelf when he appeared to their fathers, and delivered their law to them.

The New Diſpenſation does in all reſpects carry the ideas of God and of true religion much higher, and raiſes them much above thoſe compliances that were in the Old, to men's ſenſes, and to ſenſitive natures; and it would ſeem to contradict the whole deſign of it, if we could imagine that ſuch things were allowed in it, which were ſo expreſsly forbid in the Old. Upon this occaſion it is remarkable, that the two fulleſt paſſages in the New Teſtament concerning images, are written upon the occaſion of the moſt refined idolatry that was then in the world, which was at Athens. When St. Paul was there, his ſpirit was moved within him, when he ſaw that city *full of idols*: he upon that charges them for thinking that the *Godhead was like unto gold or ſilver, or ſtone graven by art or man's device*: he argues from the majeſty of God, who made the world and all things therein, and was the Lord of heaven and earth, and therefore was not to be *worſhipped by men's hands*, (that is, images made by them,) *who needed nothing, ſince he gives us life, breath*, (or the continuance of life,) *and all things*. He therefore condemns that way of worſhip as an effect of *ignorance*, and tells them *of a day in which God will judge the world*. It is certain that the Athenians at that time did not think their images were the proper reſemblances of the Divinity. Tully, who knew their theology well, gives us a very different account of the notion that they had of their images: Some images were of no figure at all, but were only ſtones and pillars that had no particular ſhape; others were hieroglyphics made up of many ſeveral emblems, of which ſome ſignified one perfection of the Deity, and ſome another; and others were indeed the figures of men and women; but even in theſe the wiſer among them ſaid, they worſhipped One Eternal Mind, and under him ſome inferior beings, demons, and men; who they believed were ſubordinate to God, and governed this world. So it could not be ſaid of ſuch worſhippers, that they thought that the Godhead was like unto their images; ſince the beſt writers among them tell us plainly that they thought no ſuch thing. St. Paul therefore only argues in this againſt image-worſhip in itſelf, which does naturally

Acts xvii. 16, 24 to 29.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. cap. 27.

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naturally lead men to these low thoughts of God; and which is a very unreasonable thing in all those who do not think so of him. It is contrary to the nature and perfections of God: few men can think God is like to those images, therefore that is a very good argument against all worshipping of them. And we may upon very sure grounds say, that the Athenians had such elevated notions both of God and of their images, that whatsoever was a good argument against image-worship among them, will hold good against all image-worship whatsoever. ART. XXII.

But as St. Paul stayed long enough at Athens to understand their opinions well, and that no doubt he learned their doctrine very particularly from his convert Dionysius, so at his coming to Corinth from thence, when he had learned from Aquila and Priscilla the state of the Church in Rome, and no doubt had learned among other things that the Romans admired the Greeks, and made them their patterns; he in the beginning of his Epistle to them, having still deep impressions upon his spirit of what he had seen and known at Athens, arraigns the whole Greek philosophy; and especially those among them *who professed themselves wise, but became fools; who though they knew God, yet glorified him not as God, nor were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, so that their foolish heart was darkened.* Rom. i. 20 to the end. They had high speculations of the unity and simplicity of the Divine Essence; but they set themselves to find such excuses for the idolatry of the vulgar, that they not only continued to comply with them in the grossest of all their practices, but they studied more laboured defences for them, than the ruder multitudes could ever have fallen upon. They knew the true God; for God had shewed to them *that which might be known of him: but they held the truth in unrighteousness, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts, and to creeping things:* which seems to be a description of hieroglyphic figures, the most excusable of all those images by which they represented the Deity. This St. Paul makes to be the original of all the corruption and immorality that was spread over the Gentile world, which came in, partly as the natural consequence of idolatry, of its debasing the ideas of God, and wounding true religion and virtue in its source and first seeds, and partly as an effect of the just judgments of God upon those who thus dishonoured him, that was to a very monstrous degree spread over both Greece and Rome. Of these St. Paul gives us some very enormous instances, with a catalogue

ART. XXII.

catalogue of the vices that ſprang from thoſe vitiated principles. Theſe two paſſages, the one of St. Paul's preaching, and the other of his writing, being both applied to thoſe who had the fineſt ſpeculations among the Heathen, do evidently demonſtrate how contrary the Chriſtian doctrine is to the worſhipping of images of all ſorts, how ſpeciouſly ſoever that may be diſguiſed.

If theſe things wanted an explanation, we find it given us very fully in all the writings of the Fathers during their diſputes with the Heathens. They do not only charge them with the falſe notions that they had of God, the many Deities they worſhipped, the abſurd legends that they had concerning them; but in particular they dwell long upon this of the worſhipping God in or by an image, with arguments taken both from the pure and ſpiritual nature of God, and from the plain revelation he made of his will in this matter. Upon this argument many long citations might be gathered from Juſtin Martyr, from Clemens[a] of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Minutius Felix, Lactantius, Euſebius, Ambroſe, and St. Auſtin. Their reaſonings are ſo clear and ſo full, that nothing can be more evident, than that they condemned all the uſe of images in the worſhip of God: and yet both Celſus, Porphyry, Maximus Tyrius, and Julian, told them very plainly, that they did not believe that the Godhead was like their images, or was ſhut up within them; they only uſed them as helps to their imagination and apprehenſion, that from thence they might form ſuitable thoughts of the Deity. This did not ſatisfy the Fathers, who inſiſted on it to the laſt, that all ſuch images as were made the objects of worſhip were idols; ſo that if in any one thing we have a very full account of the ſenſe of the whole Church for the firſt four centuries, it is in this matter. They do not ſpeak of it now and then only by the way, as in a digreſſion; in which the heat of argument, or of rhetoric, may be apt to carry men too far: they ſet themſelves to treat of this argument very nicely; and they were engaged in it with philoſophers, who were as good at ſubtleties and diſtinctions as other men. This was one of the main parts of the controverſy; ſo if in any head whatſoever, they writ

[a] Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. 5. Protr. Orig. cont. Celſ. l. ii. 3, 5, 7. Tertull. Apol. Cypr. de Idol. Vanitate. Arnob. lib. v. Minut. Felix Oct. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. iii. Lactan. l. ii. c. 2. Ambroſ. Reſp. ad Sym. Auguſt. de Civitate Dei, l. vii. c. 5.

Orig. con. Celſ. l. vii. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. iii. c. 7. Max. Tyr. diſſ. 38. Jul. Frag. Ep. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. iv. c. 1.

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ART. XXII.

exactly upon those subjects. They attacked the established religion of the Roman empire; and this was not to be done with clamour, nor could they offer at it in a plain contradiction to such principles as are consistent with the Christian religion, if the doctrine of the Roman Church is true. Here then we have not only the Scripture but tradition fully of our side.

Some pretended Christians, it is true, did very early worship images; but those were the Gnostics, held in detestation by all the orthodox. Irenæus, Epiphanius, and St. Austin tell us, that they worshipped the images of Christ, together with Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle: nor are they only blamed for worshipping the images of Christ, together with these of the philosophers; but they are particularly blamed for having several sorts of images, and worshipping these as the Heathens did; and that among these there was an image of Christ, which they pretended to have had from Pilate. Besides these corrupters of Christianity, there were no others among the Christians of the first ages that worshipped images. This was so well known to the Heathens, that they bring this, among other things, as a reproach against the Christians, that they had no images: which the first apologists are so far from denying, that they answered them, that it was impossible for him who knew God, to worship images. But as human nature is inclined to visible objects of worship, so it seems some began to paint the walls of their Churches with pictures, or at least moved for it. In the beginning of the fourth century this was condemned by the Council of Eliberis, Can. 36. *It pleases us to have no pictures in Churches, lest that which is worshipped should be painted upon the walls.* Towards the end of that century, we have an account given us by Epiphanius, of his indignation occasioned by a picture that he saw upon a veil at Anablatha. He did not much consider whose picture it was, whether a picture of Christ, or of some Saint; he positively affirms it was against the authority of the Scriptures, and the Christian religion, and therefore he tore it, but supplied that Church with another veil. It seems, private persons had statues of Christ and the Apostles; which Eusebius censures, where he reports it as a *remnant of heathenism*. It is plain enough from some passages in St. Austin, that he knew of no images in Churches in the beginning of the fifth century. It is true, they began to be brought before that time into some of the Churches of Pontus and Cappadocia, which was done very probably to draw the Heathens, by this piece of conformity to them, to like the

Iren. l. i. c. 24. Epiph. Hæref. 27. August. de Hæref. cap. 7.

Epiph. Ep. ad Joan. Hieros.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 18. Aug. in Psal. cxiii. de Moribus Eccl. Cath. c. 34.

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ART. XXII.

the Chriſtian worſhip the better. For that humour began to work, and appeared in many inſtances of other kinds as well as in this.

It was not poſſible that people could ſee pictures in their Churches long, without paying ſome marks of reſpect to them, which grew in a little time to the downright worſhip of them. A famous inſtance we have of this in the ſixth century: Serenus, Biſhop of Marſeilles, finding that he could not reſtrain his people from the worſhip of images, broke them in pieces; upon which Pope Gregory writ to him, blaming him indeed for breaking the images, but commending him for not allowing them to be worſhipped:[a] this he proſecutes in a variety of very plain expreſſions; *It is one thing to worſhip an image, and another thing to learn by it, what is to be worſhipped:* he ſays they were ſet up not to be worſhipped, but to inſtruct the ignorant, and cites our Saviour's words, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*, to prove that it was not lawful to worſhip the work of men's hands. We ſee by a fragment cited in the ſecond Nicene Council, that both Jews and Gentiles took advantages from the worſhip of images, to reproach the Chriſtians ſoon after that time. The Jews were ſcandalized at their worſhipping images, as being expreſsly againſt the command of God. The Gentiles had alſo by it great advantages of turning back upon the Chriſtians all that had been written againſt their images in the former ages.

Greg. Epiſt. l. ix. Ep. 9.

At laſt, in the beginning of the eighth century, the famous controverſy about the having or breaking of images grew hot. The Churches of Italy were ſo ſet on the worſhipping of them, that Pope Gregory the Second[a] gives this for the reaſon of their rebelling againſt the Emperor, becauſe of his oppoſition to images. And here in little more than an hundred years the ſee of Rome changed its doctrine, Pope Gregory the Second being as poſitive for the worſhipping them, as the firſt of that name had been againſt it. Violent contentions aroſe upon this head. The breakers of images were charged with Judaiſm, Samaritaniſm, and Manicheiſm; and the worſhippers of them were charged with Gentiliſm and Idolatry. One General Council at Conſtantinople, conſiſting of about three hundred and thirty-eight Biſhops, condemned the

[a] This is owned by all the hiſtorians of that age, Anaſtaſius, Zonaras, Cedrenus, Glycas, Theophanes, Sigebert, Otho, Friſ. Urſpergenſis, Sigonius, Rubens, and Ciaconius.

worſhipping

worſhipping them as idolatrous: but another at Nice, of three hundred and fifty Biſhops, though others ſay there were only three hundred, aſſerted the worſhip of them. Yet as ſoon as this was known in the Weſt, how active ſoever the ſee of Rome was for eſtabliſhing their worſhip, a Council of about three hundred Biſhops met at Francfurt, under Charles the Great, which condemned the Nicene Council, together with the worſhip of images. The Gallican Church inſiſted long upon this matter; books were publiſhed in the name of Charles the Great againſt them. A Council held at Paris under his ſon did alſo condemn image-worſhip as contrary to the honour that is due to God only, and to the commands that he has given us in Scripture. The Nicene Council was rejected here in England, as our hiſtorians tell us, becauſe it aſſerted the adoration of images, *which the Church of God abhors*. Agobard, Biſhop of Lyons, and Claud of Turin, writ againſt it; the former writ with great vehemence: the learned men of that communion do now acknowledge, that what he writ was according to the ſenſe of the Gallican Church in that age: and even Jonas of Orleans, who ſtudied to moderate the matter, and to reconcile the Gallican Biſhops to the ſee of Rome, yet does himſelf declare againſt the worſhip of images. ART. XXII.

We are not concerned to examine how it came that all this vigorous oppoſition to image-worſhip went off ſo ſoon. It is enough to us, that it was once made ſo reſolutely; let thoſe who think it ſo incredible a thing, that Churches ſhould depart from their received traditions, anſwer this as they can. As for the methods then uſed, and the arguments that were then brought to inſuſe this doctrine into the world, he who will read the hiſtory and acts of the Nicene Council, will find enough to incline him to a very bad opinion, both of the men and of their doctrine; though he were ever ſo much inclined to think well of them. After all, though that Council laid the foundation of image-worſhip, yet the Church of Rome has made great improvements in it ſince. Thoſe of Nice expreſſed a deteſtation of an image made to repreſent the Deity; they go no higher than the images of Chriſt and the Saints; whereas ſince that time the Deity and the Trinity have been repreſented by images and pictures; and that not only by connivance, but by authority in the Church of Rome. Bellarmine [a], Suarez, and others, prove the

Acta Con. Nic. 2. Action 4, 5, 6, 7.

Aquin. To. 1. quæſt. 25. diſput. 54. ſect. 2.

[a] Bellarm. de Imag. l. ii. c. 8. Suarez. M. 3. Yſambert de Miſt. Incarn. ad

ART. XXII.

lawfulneſs of ſuch images from the general practice of the Church. Others go further, and from the caution given in the decree of the Council of Trent, concerning the images of God, do infer, that they are allowed by that Council, provided they be decently made. Directions are alſo given concerning the uſe of the image of the Trinity in public offices among them. In a word, all their late doctors agree, that they are lawful, and reckon the calling that in queſtion to be not only raſhneſs, but an error; and ſuch as have held it unlawful to make ſuch images, were eſpecially condemned at Rome, December 17, 1690. The varieties of thoſe images, and the boldneſs of them, are things apt to give horror to modeſt minds, not accuſtomed to ſuch attempts. It muſt be acknowledged, that the old emblematical images of the Egyptians, and the groſſer ones now uſed by the Chineſes, are much more inſtructing, and much leſs ſcandalous figures.

Con. Nic. 2. Act. 7. Act. 6.

As the Roman Church has gone beyond the Nicene Council in the images that they allow of, ſo they have alſo gone beyond them in the degrees of the worſhip that they offer to them. At Nice the worſhip of images was very poſitively decreed, with anathemas againſt thoſe who did it not: a bare honour they reckoned was not enough. They thought it was a very valuable argument, that was brought from thoſe words of Chriſt to the Devil, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; that here ſervice is only appropriated to God, but not worſhip. Among the acts of worſhip they reckon the oblation of incenſe and lights; and the reaſon given by them for all this is, becauſe the *honour of the Image, or Type, paſſes to the Original, or Prototype:* ſo that plain and direct worſhip was to terminate on the image itſelf: and Durandus paſſed for little leſs than a heretic, becauſe he thought that images were worſhipped only improperly and abuſively, becauſe at their preſence we call to mind the object repreſented by them, which we worſhip before the image, as if the object itſelf were before us.

Con. Nic. Act. 5.

Duran. in Senten. l. 3. diſt. 9. q. 2. n. 15.

The Council of Nice did plainly aſſert the direct worſhip of images, but they did as poſitively declare, that they meant only that it ſhould be an honorary adoration, and not the true *Latria*, which was only due to God. And whatever ſome modern repreſenters and expoſitors of the Roman doctrine may ſay, to ſoften the harſhneſs of the

Ad quæſt. 25. diſ. 3. Vaſquez in 3 Aquin. diſp. 103. c. 3. Cajetan. in 3 Aquin. quæſt. 25. A. 3.

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worſhip of images, it is very copiouſly proved, both from the words of the Council of Nice, and from all the eminent writers in that communion, even from the time of Aquinas[a], and of the modern ſchoolmen, and writers of controverſy, that direct worſhip ought to be offered to the image itſelf: this reſerve of the *Latria* to God, being an evident proof, that all inferior acts of worſhip were allowed them. But this reſerve does no way pleaſe the later writers; for Aquinas, and many from him do teach, that the ſame acts and degrees of worſhip which are due to the original, are alſo due to the image; they think an image has ſuch a relation to the original, that both ought to be worſhipped by the ſame act, and that to worſhip the image with any other ſort of acts, is to worſhip it on its own account, which they think is Idolatry. Whereas others, adhering to the Nicene doctrine, think that the image is to be worſhipped with an inferior degree, that otherwiſe Idolatry muſt follow. So here the danger of Idolatry is threatened of both ſides; and ſince one of them muſt be choſen, thus it will follow, that let a man do what he can, he muſt commit Idolatry, according to the opinion of ſome very ſubtile and learned men among them. ART. XXII. Con. Nic. Act. 2.

The Council of Trent did indeed decline to give a clear deciſion in this matter, and only decreed, that *due worſhip* ſhould be given to images; but did not determine what that *due worſhip* was. And though it appears by the decree, that there were abuſes committed among them in that matter, yet they only appoint ſome regulations, concerning ſuch images as were to be ſuffered, and that others were to be removed; but they left the divines to fight out the matter concerning the *due worſhip* that ought to be given to images. They were then in haſte, and intended to offend no party; and as they would not juſtify all that had been ſaid or done concerning the worſhip of images, ſo they would condemn no part of it: yet they confirmed the Nicene Council, and in particular made uſe of that maxim of theirs, that the *honour of the Type goes to the Prototype*; and thus they left it as they found it. So that the diſpute goes on ſtill as hot as ever. The practice of the Roman Church is expreſs for the *Latria* to be given to images: and therefore all that write for it do frequently cite that hymn, *Crux Ave ſpes unica*, Con. Trid. Seſſ. 25. See Biſhop Stillingfleet, ut ſupra. Pont. Rom. Ordo ad Recip. Imper. Rubri.

[a] Aquin. 2. p. q. 25. Art. 3. See to the ſame purpoſe, Alex. Hales, Bonaventure, Ricardus de Media villa palud. Almanſ. Biel Summa Angelica, and many more cited by Biſhop Stillingfleet's Defence of the Charge of Idolatry, Part II. Chap. 2.

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ART. XXII.

*auge piis juſtitiam, reiſque dona veniam.* It is expreſsly ſaid in the Pontifical, *Cruci debetur Latria*, and the prayers uſed in the conſecration of a croſs; it is prayed [a], that the *bleſſing of that croſs, on which Chriſt hung, may be in it, that it may be a healthful remedy to mankind, a ſtrengthener of faith, an increaſer of good works, the redemption of ſouls, and a comfort, protection, and defence againſt the cruelty of our enemies.* Theſe, with all the other acts of adoration uſed among them, ſeem to favour thoſe who are for a *Latria* to be given to all thoſe images, to the originals of which it is due; and in the like proportion for *Dulia* and *Hyperdulia* to other images. It is needleſs to proſecute this matter further.

It ſeemed neceſſary to ſay ſo much, to juſtify our Church, which has in her Homilies laid this charge of Idolatry very ſeverely on the Church of Rome; and this is ſo high an imputation, that thoſe who think it falſe, as they cannot, with a good conſcience, ſubſcribe, or require others to ſubſcribe the Article concerning the Homilies, ſo they ought to retract their own ſubſcriptions, and to make ſolemn reparations in juſtice and honour, for laying ſo heavy an imputation unjuſtly upon that whole communion.

There is nothing that can be brought from Scripture, that has a ſhew of an argument for ſupporting image-worſhip, unleſs it be that of the Cherubims that were in the *holieſt of all*; and they, as is ſuppoſed, were worſhipped, at leaſt by the High-Prieſt when he went thither, once a year, if not by the whole people. But firſt there is a great difference to be made between a form of worſhip immediately preſcribed by God, and another form that not only has no warrant for it, but ſeems to be very expreſsly forbidden. It is plain, the Cherubims were not ſeen by the people, and ſo they could be no viſible object of worſhip to them. They were ſcarce ſeen by the High-Prieſt himſelf, for the holieſt of all was quite dark; no light coming into it, but what came through the veil from the holy place; and even that had very little light. Nor is there a word concerning the High-Prieſt's worſhip-

Heb. ix. 3, 7.

[a] In benedictione novæ Crucis.

Rogamus te Domine, ſancte Pater, omnipotens ſempiterne Deus, ut digneris benedicere hoc lignum Crucis tuæ, ut ſit remedium ſalutare generi humano, ſit ſoliditas fidei, profectus bonorum operum, redemptio animarum, ſit ſolamen et protectio ac tutela contra fæva jacula Inimicorum. Per Dom.

Sanctificetur lignum iſtud in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti, et benedictio illius ligni in quo membra ſancta Salvatoris ſuſpenſa ſunt ſit in iſto ligno, ut orantes inclinanteſque ſe propter Deum ante iſtam crucem inveniant corporis et animæ ſanitatem per eundem.

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ping either the Ark, or the Cherubim. It is true, there is a place in the Pſalms that ſeems to favour this; as it is rendered by the Vulgar, *worſhip his footſtool, for it is holy*; but both the Hebrew and the Septuagint have it, as it is in our tranſlation, *worſhip at his footſtool, for he is holy*; and all the Greek Fathers cite theſe words ſo. Many of the Latin Fathers do alſo cite them according to the Greek; and the laſt words of the Pſalm, in which the ſame words are repeated, make the ſenſe of it evident: for there it is thus varied, *Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worſhip at his holy hill, for the Lord our God is holy*. Theſe words coming ſo ſoon after the former, are a paraphraſe to them, and determine their ſenſe. No doubt the High-Prieſt worſhipped God, who dwelt between the Cherubims, in that cloud of glory in which he ſhewed himſelf viſibly preſent in his temple; but there is no ſort of reaſon to think, that in ſo majeſtic a preſence, adoration could be offered to any thing elſe; or that after the High-Prieſt had adored the divine eſſence ſo manifeſted, he would have fallen to worſhip the Ark and the Cherubims. This agrees ill with the figure that is ſo much uſed in this matter of a king and his chair of ſtate; for in the preſence of the king, all reſpects terminate in his perſon, whatſoever may be done in his abſence.

ART. XXII.

Pſalm xcix. 8, 9.

And thus, this being not ſo much as a precedent, much leſs an argument, for the uſe of images; and there being nothing elſe brought from Scripture, that with any ſort of wreſting can be urged for it, and the ſenſe and practice of the whole Church being ſo expreſs againſt it, the progreſs of it having been ſo long and ſo much diſputed, the tendency of it to ſuperſtition and abuſe being by their own confeſſion ſo viſible; the ſcandal that it gives to Jews and Mahometans being ſo apparent, and it carrying in its outward appearances ſuch a conformity (to ſay at preſent no more) to Heatheniſh Idolatry, we think we have all poſſible advantages in this argument. We adhere to that purity of worſhip which is in both Teſtaments ſo much inſiſted on; we avoid all ſcandal, and make no approaches to heatheniſm, and follow the pattern ſet us by the primitive Church. And as our ſimplicity of worſhip needs not be defended, ſince it proves itſelf; ſo no proofs are brought for the other ſide, but only a pretended uſefulneſs in outward figures, to raiſe the mind by the ſenſes to juſt apprehenſions of ſpiritual objects; which, allowing it true, will only conclude for the hiſtorical uſe of images, but not for the directing our worſhip towards them. But the effect is quite contrary to the pretence; for, inſtead of raiſ-



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ART. XXII.

ing the mind by the ſenſes, the mind is rather ſunk by them into groſs ideas.

The bias of human nature lies to ſenſe, and to form groſs imaginations of incorporeal objects; and therefore, inſtead of gratifying theſe, we ought to wean our minds from them, and to raiſe them above them all we can. Even men of ſpeculation and abſtraction feel nature in this grows too hard for them; but the vulgar is apt to fall ſo headlong into theſe conceits, that it looks like the laying of ſnares for them, to furniſh them with ſuch methods and helps for their having groſs thoughts of ſpiritual objects. The fondneſs that the people have for images, their readineſs to believe the moſt incredible ſtories concerning them, the expence they are at to enrich and adorn them, their proſtrations before them, their confidence in them, their humble and tender embracing and kiſſing of them, their pompous and heatheniſh proceſſions to do them honour, the fraternities erected for particular images, not to mention the more univerſal and eſtabliſhed practices of directing their prayers to them, of ſetting lights before them, and of incenſing them; theſe, I ſay, are things too well known, to ſuch as have ſeen the way of that religion, that they ſhould need to be much enlarged on; and yet they are not only allowed of, but encouraged. Thoſe among them who have too much good ſenſe that they ſhould ſink into thoſe fooliſh apprehenſions themſelves, yet muſt not only bear with them, but often comply with them to avoid the giving of ſcandal, as they call it; not conſidering the much greater ſcandal that they give, when they encourage others by their practice to go on in theſe follies. The enlarging into all the corruptions occaſioned by this way of worſhip would carry me far; but it ſeems not neceſſary, the thing is ſo plain in itſelf.

The next head in this Article is a full inſtance of it, which is, the Worſhip of Relics. It is no wonder that great care was taken in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, to ſhew all poſſible reſpect and tenderneſs even to the bodies of the martyrs. There is ſomething of this planted ſo deep in human nature, that though the philoſophy of it cannot be ſo well made out, yet it ſeems to be ſomewhat more than an univerſal cuſtom; humanity is of its ſide, and is apt to carry men to the profuſions of pomp and coſt: all religions do agree in this, ſo that we need not wonder if Chriſtians, in the firſt fervour of their religion, believing the reſurrection ſo firmly as they did, and having a high ſenſe of the honour done to Chriſt and his religion



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religion by the ſufferings of the martyrs; if, I ſay, they ſtudied to gather their bones and aſhes together, and bury them decently. They thought it a ſign of their being joined with them in one body, to hold their aſſemblies at the places where they were buried: this might be alſo conſidered as a motive to encourage others to follow the example that they had given them, even to martyrdom: and therefore all the marks of honour were put even upon their bodies that could be thought on, except worſhip. After the ages of perſecution were over, a fondneſs of having and keeping their relics began to ſpread itſelf in many places. Monks fed that humour by carrying them about. We find in St. Auſtin's works, that ſuperſtition was making a great progreſs in Afric upon theſe heads, of which he complains frequently. Vigilantius had done it to more purpoſe in Spain; and did not only complain of the exceſſes, but of the thing in itſelf. St. Jerome fell unmercifully upon him for it, and ſets a high value upon relics, yet he does not ſpeak one word of worſhipping them; he denies and diſclaims it, and ſeems only to allow of a great fondneſs for them; and, with moſt of that age, he was very apt to believe, that miracles were oft wrought by them. When ſuperſtition is once ſuffered to mix with religion, it will be ſtill gaining ground, and it admits of no bounds: ſo this matter went on, and new legends were invented; but when the controverſy of image-worſhip began, it followed that as an acceſſary. The enſhrining of relics occaſioned the moſt excellent ſort of images; and they were thought the beſt preſervatives poſſible both for ſoul and body; no preſents grew to be more valued than relics; and it was an eaſy thing for the Popes to furniſh the world plentifully that way, but chiefly ſince the diſcovery of the catacombs, which has furniſhed them with ſtores not to be exhauſted. The Council of Trent did in this, as in the point of images; it appointed *relics* to be *venerated*, but did not determine the degree; ſo it left the world in poſſeſſion of a moſt exceſſive dotage upon them. They are uſed every where by them as ſacred charms, kiſſed and worſhipped, they are ſerved with lights and incenſe.

ART. XXII.

Ep. Ecc. Smirn. apud Euſeb. l. 4. c. 15. Jul. Ap. Cyril. lib. vi. lib. 10. Ennap. in vita Ædeſſ.

Aug. de opere monach. c. 28.

Hieron. adv. Vigilant. to. 2.

In oppoſition to all this, we think, that all decent honours are indeed due to the bodies of the Saints, which were once the *temples of the Holy Ghoſt*: but ſince it is ſaid, that God took that care of the *body of Moſes*, ſo as to bury it in ſuch a manner that no man knew of his ſepulchre, there ſeems to have been in this a peculiar caution guarding againſt that ſuperſtition, which the Jews might very

1 Cor. vi. 19. Deut. xxxiv. 6.

ART. XXII.

very probably have fallen into with relation to his body. And this ſeems ſo clear an indication of the will of God in this matter, that we reckon we are very ſafe when we do no further honour to the body of a Saint, than to bury it. And though that Saint had been ever ſo eminent, not only for his holineſs, but even for miracles wrought by him, by his ſhadow, or even by looking upon him; yet the hiſtory of the *Brazen Serpent* ſhews us, that a fondneſs even on the inſtruments, that God made uſe of to work miracles by, degenerates eaſily to the ſuperſtition of burning incenſe to them; but when that appears, it is to be checked, even by breaking that which was ſo abuſed.

2 Kings xviii. 4.

Hezekiah is commended for breaking in pieces that noble remain of Moſes's time till then preſerved; neither its antiquity, nor the ſignal miracles once wrought by it, could balance the ill uſe that was then made of it: that good king broke it, for which he might have had a worſe name than an *Iconoclaſt*, if he had lived in ſome ages. It is true, miracles were of old wrought by Aaron's rod, by

2 Kings xiii. 21.

Eliſha's bones after his death, and the one was preſerved, but not worſhipped; nor was there any ſuperſtition that followed on the other. Not a word of this fondneſs appears in the beginnings of Chriſtianity; though it had been an eaſy thing at that time to have furniſhed the world with pieces of our Saviour's garments, hair, or nails; and great ſtore might have been had of the Virgin's and the Apoſtles' relics: St. Stephen's and St. James's bones might have been then parcelled about: and if that ſpirit had then reigned in the Church, which has been in the Roman Church now above a thouſand years, we ſhould have heard of the relics that were ſent about from Jeruſalem to all the Churches. But when ſuch things might have been had in great abundance, and have been known not to be counterfeits, we hear not a word of them. If a fondneſs for relics had been in the Church upon Chriſt's aſcenſion, what care would have been taken to have made great collections of them!

Then we ſee no other care about the body of St. Stephen but to bury it; and not long after that time upon St. Polycarp's martyrdom, when the Jews, who had ſet on the proſecution againſt him, ſuggeſted, that, if the Chriſtians could gain his body, they would perhaps forſake Chriſt and worſhip him; they rejected the accuſation with horror; for in the epiſtle which the Church of Smyrna writ upon his martyrdom, after they mention this inſinuation, they have thoſe remarkable words, which belong both to this head, and to that which follows it of the

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the invocation and worſhip of Saints. *Theſe men know not that we can neither forſake Chriſt, who ſuffered for the ſalvation of all that are ſaved, the innocent for the guilty, nor worſhip any other; Him truly being the Son of God we adore: but the martyrs, and diſciples, and followers of the Lord, we juſtly love, for that extraordinary good mind, which they have expreſſed toward their King and Maſter, of whoſe happineſs God grant that we may partake, and that we may learn by their examples.* The Jews had ſo perſuaded the Gentiles of Smyrna of this matter, that they burnt St. Polycarp's body; but the Chriſtians gathered up his bones with much reſpect, ſo that it appeared how they honoured them, though they could not worſhip them; and they buried them in a convenient place, which they intended to make the place where they *ſhould hold, by the bleſſing of God, the yearly commemoration of that birth-day of his martyrdom, with much joy and gladneſs, both to honour the memory of thoſe who had overcome in that glorious engagement, and to inſtruct and confirm all others by their example.* This is one of the moſt valuable pieces of true and genuine antiquity; and it ſhews us very fully the ſenſe of that age both concerning the relics, and the worſhip of the Saints. In the following ages, we find no characters of any other regard to the bones or bodies of the Saints, but that they buried them very decently, and did annually commemorate their death, calling it their *Birth-Day*. And it may incline men ſtrongly to ſuſpect the many miracles that were publiſhed in the fourth century, as wrought at the tombs, or memories of the martyrs, or by their relics, that we hear of none of thoſe in the former three centuries; for it ſeems there was more occaſion for them during the perſecution, than after it was over; it being much more neceſſary then to furniſh Chriſtians with ſo ſtrong a motive as this muſt have been, to *reſiſt even to blood*, when God was pleaſed to glorify himſelf ſo ſignally in his Saints. This, I ſay, forces us to fear, that credulity and imagination, or ſomewhat worſe than both theſe, might have had a large ſhare in thoſe extraordinary things that are related to us by great men in the fourth century. He muſt have a great diſpoſition to believe wonderful things, that can digeſt the extraordinary relations that are even in St. Baſil, St. Ambroſe, and St. Auſtin; and moſt ſignally in St. Jerome: for inſtance, that after one had ſtolen Hilarion's body out of Cyprus, and brought it to Paleſtine, upon which Conſtantia, that went conſtantly to his tomb, was ready to have broke her heart; God took ſuch pity on her, that as the true body wrought great miracles

ART. XXII.

Ep. Euſeb. l. iv. c. 15.

Baſil. in 40 Martyr. in Hom. 26, in Mamar. Paul. in vita Ambroſ. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. 8.



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ART. XXII.

in Paleſtine, ſo likewiſe very great miracles continued ſtill to be wrought at the tomb, where it was at firſt laid. One, in reſpect to thoſe great men, is tempted to ſuſpect that many things might have been foiſted into their writings in the following ages. A great many practices of this kind have been made manifeſt beyond contradiction. Whole books have been made to paſs for the writings of fathers, that do evidently bear the marks of a much later date, where the fraud was carried too far not to be diſcovered. At other times parcels have been laid in among their genuine productions, which cannot be ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed; they not being liable to ſo many critical enquiries, as may be made on a larger work. It is a little unaccountable how ſo many marvellous things ſhould be publiſhed in that age; and yet that St. Chryſoſtom, who ſpent his whole life between two of the publickeſt ſcenes of the world, Antioch and Conſtantinople, and was an active and inquiſitive man, ſhould not ſo much as have heard of any ſuch wonderful ſtories; but ſhould have taken pains to remove a prejudice out of the minds of his hearers, that might ariſe from this, that whereas they heard of many miracles that were wrought in the times of the Apoſtles, none were wrought at that time; upon which, he gives very good reaſons why it was ſo. His ſaying ſo poſitively, *That none were wrought at that time*, without ſo much as a *ſalvo* for what he might have heard from other parts, ſhews plainly, that he had not heard of any at all. For he was orator enough to have made even looſer reports look probable. This does very much ſhake the credit of thoſe amazing relations that we find in St. Jerome, St. Ambroſe, and St. Auſtin. It is true, there ſeems to have been an opinion very generally received both in the Eaſt and the Weſt, at that time, which muſt have very much heightened the growing ſuperſtition for relics. It was a remnant both of Judaiſm and Gentiliſm, that the ſouls of the martyrs hovered about their tombs, called their memories; and that therefore they might be called upon, and ſpoke to there. This appears even in the Council of Elliberis, where the ſuperſtition of lighting candles about their tombs in day-light is forbidden; the reaſon given is, becauſe the *ſpirits were not to be diſquieted*. St. Baſil, and the other Fathers, that do ſo often mention the going to their memories, do very plainly inſinuate their being preſent at them, and hearing themſelves called upon. This may be the reaſon why, among all the ſaints that are ſo much magnified in that age, we never find the bleſſed Virgin ſo much as once mentioned. They knew

Chryſoſt. Hom. 6. in 1 ad Cor. ii.

Baſil, in 40 Martyr.

not

not where her body was laid, they had no tomb for her, no nor any of her relics or utenſils. But upon the occaſion of Neſtorius's denying her to be the *Mother of God*, and by carrying the oppoſition to that too far, a ſuperſtition for her was ſet on foot, it made a progreſs ſufficient to balance the ſlowneſs of its beginning; the whole world was then filled with very extravagant devotions for her. ART. XXII.

The great noiſe we find concerning relics in the end of the fourth century, has all the characters of novelty poſſible in it; for thoſe who ſpeak of it, do not derive it from former times. One circumſtance in this is very remarkable, that neither Trypho, Celſus, Lucian, nor Cecilius, do object to the Chriſtians of their time, their fondneſs for dead bodies, or praying about their tombs, which they might well have alleged in oppoſition to what the Chriſtians charged them with, if there had been any occaſion for it. Whereas this cuſtom was no ſooner begun, than both Julian and Eunapius reproach the Chriſtians for it. Julian, it is true, ſpeaks only of their calling on God over ſepulchres: Eunapius writ after him; and it ſeems, in his time, that which Julian ſets forth as a calling upon God, was advanced to an invocation of them. He ſays, they *heaped together the bones and ſkulls of men that had been puniſhed for many crimes*, (it was natural enough for a ſpiteful Heathen to give this repreſentation of their martyrdom,) *holding them for Gods:* and after ſome ſcurrilous invectives againſt them, he adds, *they are called Martyrs, and made the miniſters and meſſengers of prayer to the Gods.* This ſeems to be a very evident proof of the novelty of this matter. As for the adoring them, when Vigilantius aſked, *Why doſt thou kiſs and adore a little duſt put up in fine linen?* St. Jerome, though exceſſively fond of them, denies this very poſitively, and that in very injurious terms, being offended at the injuſtice of the reproach. Yet as long as the bodies of the martyrs were let lie quietly in their memories, the fond opinion of their being preſent, and hearing what was ſaid to them, made the invocating them look like one man's deſiring the aſſiſtance of another good man's prayers; ſo that this ſtep ſeemed to have a fair colour. But when their bodies were pulled aſunder, and carried up and down, ſo that it was believed miracles abounded every where about them; and when their bones and relics grew to increaſe and multiply, ſo that they had more bones and limbs than God and nature had given them; then new hypotheſes were to be found out to juſtify the calling upon them every where, as their

Ap. Cyr. lib. 10. con. Julian. Eunap. in vita Ædeſſ.



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ART. XXII.

relics were ſpread. St. Jerome, in his careleſs way, ſays, *they followed the Lamb whitherſoever he went*, and ſeems to make no doubt of their being, if not every where, yet in ſeveral places at once. But St. Auſtin, who could follow a conſequence much further in his thoughts, though he doubted not but that men were much the better for the prayers of the martyrs, yet he confeſſes that it paſſed the ſtrength of his underſtanding to determine, whether they heard thoſe who called upon them at their memories, or whereſoever elſe they were believed to have appeared, or not. But the devotions that are ſpoken of by all of that age, are related as having been offered at their memories; ſo that this ſeems to have been the general opinion, as well as it was the common practice of that age, though it is no wonder if this conceit once giving ſome colour and credit to the invocating them, that did quickly increaſe itſelf to a general invocation of them every where. And thus a fondneſs for their relics, joined with the opinion of their relation and nearneſs to them, did in a ſhort time grow up to a direct worſhipping of them; and, by the fruitfulneſs that always follows ſuperſtition, did ſpread itſelf further, to their clothes, utenſils, and every thing elſe that had any relation to them.

Hieron. ad Vigil. Aug. cura pro mortuis, c. 16.

There was cauſe given in St. Auſtin's time to ſuſpect that many of the bones which were carried about by monks, were none of their bones, but impoſtures, which very much ſhakes the credit of the miracles wrought by them, ſince we have no reaſon to think that God would ſupport ſuch impoſtures with miracles; as, on the other hand, there is no reaſon to think that falſe relics would have paſſed upon the world, if miracles had been believed to accompany true ones, unleſs they had their miracles likewiſe to atteſt their value: ſo let this matter be turned which way it may, the credit both of relics, and of the miracles wrought by them, is not a little ſhaken by it. But in the following ages we have more than preſumptions, that there was much of this falſe coin that went abroad in the world. It was not poſſible to diſtinguiſh the falſe from the true. The freſhneſs of colour and ſmell, ſo often boaſted, might have been eaſily managed by art; the varieties of thoſe relics, the different methods of diſcovering them, the ſhinings that were ſaid to be about their tombs, with the ſmells that broke out of them, the many apparitions that accompanied them, and the ſignal cures that were wrought by them, as they grew to fill the world with many volumes of legends, many more lying yet in the manuſcripts in many Churches, than have been publiſhed:

Aug. de opere monach. c. 28.

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liſhed: all theſe, I ſay, carry in them ſuch characters of fraud and impoſture on the one hand, and of cruelty and ſuperſtition on the other; ſo much craft, and ſo much folly, that they had their full effect upon the world, even in contradiction to the cleareſt evidence poſſible; the ſame ſaints having more bodies and heads than one, in different places, and yet all equally celebrated with miracles. A great profuſion of wealth and pomp was laid out in honouring them, new devotions were ſtill invented for them: and though theſe things are too palpably falſe to be put upon us now, in ages of more light, where every thing will not go down becauſe it is confidently affirmed; yet as we know how great a part of the devotion of the Latin Church this continued to be for many ages before the Reformation, ſo the ſame trade is ſtill carried on, where the ſame ignorance, and the ſame ſuperſtition, does ſtill continue. ART. XXII.

I come now to conſider the laſt head of this Article, which is the Invocation of Saints, of which much has been already ſaid by an anticipation: for there is that connection between the worſhip of relics and the invocation of ſaints, that the treating of the one does very naturally carry one to ſay ſomewhat of the other. It is very evident that ſaints were not invocated in the Old Teſtament. God being called ſo oft, the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, ſeems to give a much better warrant for it, than any thing that can be alleged from the New Teſtament. Moſes was their Lawgiver, and their Mediator and Interceſſor with God; and his interceſſion, as it had been very effectual for them, ſo it had ſhewed itſelf in a very extraordinary inſtance of his deſiring that his name might be *blotted out of the book which he had written*, rather than the people ſhould periſh; when God had offered to him, that he would raiſe up a new nation to himſelf, out of his poſterity. God had alſo made many promiſes to that nation by him: ſo that it might be natural enough, conſidering the genius of ſuperſtition, for the Jews to have called to him in their miſeries, to obtain the performance of thoſe promiſes made by him to them. We may upon this refer the matter to every man's judgment, whether Abraham and Moſes might not have been much more reaſonably invocated by the Jews according to what we find in the Old Teſtament, than any ſaint can be under the New: yet we are ſure they were not prayed to. Elijah's going up to heaven in ſo miraculous a manner, might alſo have been thought a good reaſon for any to have prayed to him: but nothing of that kind was then practiſed. Exod. xxxii. 32.

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ART. XXII.

practiſed. They underſtood prayer to be a part of that worſhip which they owed to God only: ſo that the praying to any other, had been to a certain degree the having another *God before*, or beſides the *true Jehovah*. They never prayed to any other, they called upon him, and made mention of no other: the rule was without exception, *Call upon me in the time of trouble; I will hear thee, and thou ſhalt glorify me.* Upon this point there is no diſpute.

Pſal. l. 15.

In the New Teſtament we ſee the ſame method followed, with this only exception, that Jeſus Chriſt is propoſed as our Mediator; and that not only in the point of redemption, which is not denied by thoſe of the Church of Rome, but even in the point of interceſſion; for when St. Paul is treating concerning the prayers and ſupplications that are to be offered *for all men*, he concludes that direction in theſe words: *For there is one God and one Mediator between God and man, the man Chriſt Jeſus.* We think the ſilence of the New Teſtament might be a ſufficient argument for this: but theſe words go farther, and imply a prohibition to addreſs our prayers to God by any other Mediator. All the directions that are given us of truſting in God, and praying to him, are upon the matter prohibitions of truſting to any other, or of calling on any other. Invocation and faith are joined togther: *How ſhall they call on him in whom they have not believed?* So that we ought only to pray to God, and to Chriſt, according to thoſe words, *Ye believe in God, believe alſo in me.* We do alſo know that it was a part of heatheniſh idolatry to invocate either demons, or departed men, whom they conſidered as good beings ſubordinate to the Divine Eſſence, and employed by God in the government of the world; and they had almoſt the ſame ſpeculations about them, that have been ſince introduced into the Church, concerning angels and ſaints. In the condemning all idolatry, no reſerve is made in Scripture for this, as being faulty, only becauſe it was applied wrong; or that it might be ſet right when directed better. On the contrary, when ſome men, under the pretence of *humility and of will-worſhip*, did, according to the Platonic notions, offer to bring in the *worſhip of angels* into the Church of Coloſſe, pretending, as is probable, that thoſe ſpirits who were employed by God in the miniſtry of the Goſpel, ought, in gratitude for that ſervice, and out of reſpect to their dignity, to be worſhipped: St. Paul condemns all this, without any reſerves made for lower degrees of worſhip; he charges the Chriſtians to *beware of that vain philoſophy*,

1 Tim. ii. 5.

Rom. x. 14.

John xiv. 1.

Col. ii. 18.

Ver. 8, 9, 10.

*losophy*; and not to be deceived by those shews of *humility*, or the speculations of men, who pretended to explain that which they did not know, as *intruding into things which they had not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind.* If any degrees of invocating saints or angels had been consistent with the Christian religion, this was the proper place of declaring them: but the condemning that matter so absolutely, looks as a very express prohibition of all sort of worship to angels. And when St. John fell down to worship the angel, that had made him such glorious discoveries upon two several occasions, the answer he had was, *See thou do it not: worship God: I am thy fellow-servant.* It is probable enough that St. John might imagine, that the angel, who had made such discoveries to him, was *Jesus Christ*: but the answer plainly shews, that no sort of worship ought to be offered to angels, nor to any but God. The reason given excludes all sorts of *worship*, for that cannot be among fellow-servants. ART. XXII. Rev. xix. 10. Rev. xxii. 9.

As angels are thus forbid to be worshipped, so no mention is made of worshipping or invocating any saints that had died for the faith, such as St. Stephen and St. James. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, they are required to *remember them which had the rule over them, and to follow their faith*; but not a word of praying to them. So that if either the silence of the Scriptures on this head, or if plain declarations to the contrary could decide this matter, the controversy would soon be at an end. Christ is always proposed to us as the only person by whom we come unto God: and when St. Paul speaks against the worshipping of angels, he sets Christ out in his glory in opposition to it. *For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily; and ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power*; pursuing that reason in a great many particulars. Heb. xiii. 7. Col. ii. 9, 10.

From the Scriptures, if we go to the first ages of Christianity, we find nothing that favours this, but a great deal to the contrary. Irenæus disclaims the invocation of angels. The memorable passage of the Church of Smyrna, formerly cited, is a full proof of their sense in this matter. Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian do often mention the worship that was given to God only by prayer; and so far were they at that time from praying to saints, that they prayed for them, as was formerly explained: they thought they were not yet in the presence of God, so they could not pray to them as long as that opinion continued. That form of praying for them is in the Apostolical Constitutions. In all that collection, which seems to be a Clem. Protrep. Tertul. Apol. c. 17.

work

ART. XXII.

work of the fourth or fifth century, there is not a word that intimates their praying to ſaints. In the Council of Laodicea[a], there is an expreſs condemnation of thoſe who invocated angels; this is called a *ſecret idolatry, and a forſaking of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* The firſt apologiſts for Chriſtianity do arraign the worſhip of demons, and of ſuch as had once lived on earth, in a ſtyle that ſhewed they did not apprehend that the argument could be turned againſt them, for their worſhipping either angels or departed ſaints. When the Arian controverſy aroſe, the invocation of Chriſt is urged by Athanaſius, Baſil, Cyril, and other Fathers, as an evident argument that he was neither made nor created; ſince they did not pray to angels, or any other creatures; from whence they concluded that Chriſt was God. Theſe are convincing proofs of the doctrine of the three firſt, and of a good part of the fourth century.

It is true, as was confeſſed upon the former head, they began with martyrs in the end of the fourth century. They fancied they heard thoſe that called to them; and upon that it was no wonder, if they invocated them, and ſo private prayers to them began. But, as appears both by the Conſtitutions, and ſeveral of the writers of that time, the public offices were yet preſerved pure. St. Auſtin ſays plainly, *The* Gentiles *built* temples, *raiſed* altars, *ordained* prieſts, *and offered* ſacrifices *to their Gods: but we do not erect temples to our* martyrs, *as if they were Gods; but memories as to dead men, whoſe ſpirits live with God: nor do we erect* altars, *upon which we ſacrifice to* martyrs; *but to one God only do we offer, to the God of* martyrs, *and our* God; *at which ſacrifice they are* named *in their place and order, as men of God, who in confeſſing him have overcome the* world; *but they are not invocated by the prieſt that ſacrifices.* It ſeems the form of praying for the ſaints mentioned in the Conſtitutions, was not uſed in the Churches of Afric in St. Auſtin's time: he ſays very poſitively, that they did not pray for them, but did praiſe God for them: and he ſays in expreſs words, *Let not the worſhip of dead men be any part of our religion; they ought ſo to be honoured, that we may imitate them, but not worſhipped.* God was indeed prayed to, in the fifth century, to hear the interceſſion of the ſaints and martyrs; but there is a great

Aug. con. Serm. Ar. c. 29. con. Max. l. 13. c. 4. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 22. c. 10. & 8. c. 27.

Aug. de vera Rel. c. 55.

[a] Con. Laod. c. 35. Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. Iren. l. 2. c. 35. Orig. con. Celſ. l. 8. Tert. de Orat. c. 1. Athanaſ. cont. Arian. Orat. 2, 3, 4. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 40. Greg. Niſſ. in Baſil. cont. Eunap. Baſil. Hom. 27. cont. Eunom. l. 4. Epiph. Hæreſ. 64, 69, 78, 79. Theod. de Hær. Fabul. l. 5. c. 3. Chryſoſt. de Trinit.

difference

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difference between praying to God to favour us on their account, and praying immediately to them to hear us. ART. XXII.

The praying to them imports either their being every where, or their knowing all things; and as it is a blaſphemous piece of idolatry to aſcribe that to them without a divine communication; ſo it is a great preſumption in any man to fancy that they may be prayed to, and to build ſo many parts of worſhip upon it, barely upon ſome probabilities and inferences, without an expreſs revelation about it. For the ſaints may be perfectly happy in the enjoyment of God without ſeeing all things in him; nor have we any reaſon to carry that farther than the Scripture has done. But as the invocating of martyrs grew from a calling to them at their memories, to a general calling to them in all places; ſo from the invocating martyrs, they went on to pray to other ſaints; yet that was at firſt ventured on doubtfully, and only in funeral orations; where an addreſs to the dead perſon to pray for thoſe that were then honouring his memory, might, perhaps, come in as a figure of pompous eloquence; in which Nazianzen, one of the firſt that uſes it, did often give himſelf a very great compaſs; yet he and others ſoften ſuch figures with this, *If there is any ſenſe or knowledge of what we do below.*

From prayers to God to receive the interceſſions of martyrs and ſaints, it came in later ages to be uſual to have Litanies to them, and to pray immediately to them; but at firſt this was only a deſire to them to pray for thoſe who did thus invocate them, *Ora pro nobis.* But ſo impoſſible is it to reſtrain ſuperſtition when it has once got head, and has prevailed, that in concluſion all things that were aſked either of God or Chriſt, came to be aſked from the ſaints in the ſame humility both of geſture and expreſſion; in which if there was any difference made, it ſeemed to be rather on the ſide of the bleſſed Virgin and the ſaints, as appears by the ten *Ave's* for one *Pater*, and that humble proſtration in which all fall down every day to worſhip her: the prayer uſed conſtantly to her, *Maria, Mater gratiæ, Mater miſericordiæ, tu nos ab hoſte protege, et hora mortis ſuſcipe*, is an immediate acknowledgment of her as the giver of theſe things; ſuch are, *Solve vincla reis, profer lumen cæcis*; with many others of that nature. The collection of theſe ſwells to a huge bulk, *Jure Matris impera Redemptori*, is an allowed addreſs to her; not to mention an infinity of moſt ſcandalous ones, that are not only tolerated, but encouraged in that Church. Altars are conſecrated to her honour, and to the honour of other ſaints;

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ART. XXII.

saints; but which is more, the sacrifice of the mass is offered up to her honour, and to the honour of the saints: and in the form of absolution, the pardon of sins, the increase of grace, and eternal life, are prayed for to the penitent by the virtue of the passion of Christ, and the merits of the blessed Virgin, and of all the saints. The pardon of sins and eternal life are also prayed for from angels, *Angelorum concio sacra, arch-angelorum turma inclyta, nostra diluant jam peccata, præstando supernam cœli gloriam.* Many strains of this kind are to be found in the hymns and other public offices of that Church: and though in the late corrections of their offices, some of the more scandalous are left out, yet those here cited, with a great many more to the same purpose, are still preserved. And the Council of Trent did plainly intend to connive at all these things, for they did not restrain the invocation of saints, only to be an address to them to pray for us, which is the common disguise with which they study to cover this matter: but by the decree of the Council, the flying to *their help and assistance*, as well as to their *intercession*, is encouraged: which shews that the Council would not limit this part of their devotion to a bare *Ora pro nobis*; that might have seemed flat and low, and so it might have discouraged it; therefore they made use of words that will go as far as superstition can carry them. So that if the invocating them, if the making vows to them, the dedicating themselves to them; if the flying to them in all distresses, in the same acts, and in the same words that the Scriptures teach us to fly to God with; and if all the studied honours of processions, and other pompous rites towards their images, that are invented to do them honour; if, I say, all this does amount to idolatry, then we are sure they are guilty of it; since they *honour the creature* not only *besides*, but (in the full extent of that phrase) *more than the Creator*.

Rom. i. 25.

And now let us see what is the foundation of all these devotions, against which we bring arguments, that, to speak modestly of them, are certainly such that there should be matters of great weight in the other scale to balance them. Nothing is pretended from Scripture, nor from any thing that is genuine, for above three hundred and fifty years after Christ. In a word, the practice of the Church, since the end of the fourth century, and the authority of tradition, of Popes and Councils, must bear this burthen. These are consequences that do not much affect us; for though we pay great respect to many great men that flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, yet

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yet we cannot compare that age with the three that went before it. Thoſe great men give us a ſad account of the corruptions of that time, not only among the Laity, but the Clergy; and their being ſo flexible in matters of faith, as they appeared to be in the whole courſe of the Arian controverſy, gives us very juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the practices of that age, in which the protection and encouragements that the Church received from the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, were not improved to the beſt advantage. ART. XXII.

The juſteſt abatement that we can offer for this corruption, which is too manifeſt to be either denied or juſtified, is this, they were then engaged with the Heathens, and were much ſet on bringing them over to the Chriſtian religion. In order to that it was very natural for them to think of all methods poſſible to accommodate Chriſtianity to their taſte. It was, perhaps, obſerved how far the Apoſtles complied with the Jews, that they might gain them. St. Paul had ſaid, that to *the Jews he became a Jew; and to them that were without Law*, that is, *the Gentiles, as one without Law; that by all means he might gain ſome.* They might think that if the Jews, who had abuſed the light of a revealed religion, who had rejected and crucified the Meſſias, and perſecuted his followers, and had in all reſpects corrupted both their doctrine and their morals, were waited on and complied with, in the obſervance of that very Law which was abrogated by the death of Chriſt, but was ſtill inſiſted on by them as of perpetual obligation; and yet that after the Apoſtles had made a ſolemn deciſion in the matter, they continued to conform themſelves to that Law; all this might be applied with ſome advantages to this matter. The Gentiles had nothing but the light of nature to govern them; they might ſeem willing to become Chriſtians, but they ſtill deſpiſed the nakedneſs and ſimplicity of that religion. And it is reaſonable enough to think that the Emperors and other great men might in a political view, conſidering the vaſt ſtrength of *heatheniſm*, preſs the Biſhops of thoſe times to uſe all imaginable ways to adorn Chriſtianity with ſuch an exterior form of worſhip, as might be moſt acceptable to them, and might moſt probably bring them over to it. 1 Cor. ix. 20, 21, 22.

The Chriſtians had long felt the weight of perſecution from them, and were, no doubt, much frightened with the danger of a relapſe in Julian's time. It is natural to all men to deſire to be ſafe, and to weaken the numbers of their implacable enemies. In that ſtate of things we do plainly ſee they began to comply in leſſer matters: for whereas in the firſt ages the Chriſtians were often reproached

ART. XXII.

proached with this, that they had no temples, altars, ſacrifices, nor prieſts, they changed their diaſect in all thoſe points; ſo we have reaſon to believe that this was carried further. The vulgar are more eaſily wrought upon in greater points of ſpeculation, than in ſome ſmall ritual matters; becauſe they do not underſtand the one, and ſo are not much concerned about it: but the other is more ſenſible, and lies within their compaſs. We find ſome in Paleſtine kept images in their houſes, as Euſebius tells us; others began in Spain to light candles by day-light, and to paint the walls of their churches: and though theſe things were condemned by the Council of Elliberis; yet we ſee by what St. Jerome has cited out of Vigilantius, that the ſpirit of ſuperſtition did work ſtrongly among them: we hear of none that writ againſt thoſe abuſes beſides Vigilantius; yet Jerome tells us, that many Biſhops were of the ſame mind with him, with whom he is ſo angry as to doubt, whether they deſerved to be called Biſhops. Moſt of theſe abuſes had alſo ſpecious beginnings, and went on inſenſibly: where they made greater ſteps, we find an oppoſition to them. Epiphanius is very ſevere upon the Collyridians, for their worſhipping the bleſſed Virgin. And though they did it by offering up a cake to her, yet if any will read all that he ſays againſt that ſuperſtition, they will clearly ſee, that no prayers were then offered up to her by the orthodox; and that he rejects the thought of it with indignation. But the reſpect paid the martyrs, and the opinion that they were ſtill hovering about their tombs, might make the calling to them for their prayers, ſeem to be like one man's deſiring the prayers of other good men; and when a thing of this kind is once begun, it naturally goes on. Of all this we ſee a particular account in a diſcourſe writ on purpoſe on this argument, of curing the affections and inclinations of the Greeks, by Theodoret, who may be juſtly reckoned among the greateſt men of antiquity, and in it he inſiſts upon this particular of propoſing to them the ſaints and martyrs, inſtead of their Gods. And there is no doubt to be made, but that they found the effects of this compliance; many Heathens were every day coming over to the Chriſtian religion. And it might then perhaps be intended to lay thoſe aſide, when the Heathens were once brought over.

Epiph. Hæreſ. 79.

Theod. de cur. Gr. affect. l. 8. de Martyr.

To all which this muſt be added, that the good men of that time had not the ſpirit of prophecy, and could not foreſee what progreſs this might make, and to what an exceſs it might grow; they had nothing of that kind in their

their view: so that between charity and policy, between a desire to bring over multitudes to their faith, and an inclination to secure themselves, it is not at all to be wondered at, by any who considers all the circumstances of those ages, that these corruptions should have got into the Church, and much less, having once got in, they should have gone on so fast, and be carried so far. ART. XXII.

Thus I have offered all the considerations that arise from the state of things at that time, to shew how far we do still preserve the respect due to the fathers of those ages, even when we confess that they were men, and that something of human nature appeared in this piece of their conduct. This can be made no argument for later ages, who having no Heathens among them, are under no temptations to comply with any of the parts of heathenism, to gain them. And now that the abuse of these matters is become so scandalous, and has spread itself so far, how much soever we may excuse those ages, in which we discern the first beginnings, and as it were the small heads of that which has since overflowed Christendom; yet we can by no means bear even with those beginnings, which have had such dismal effects; and therefore we have reduced the worship of God to the simplicity of the Scripture times, and of the first three centuries: and for the fourth, we reverence it so much on other accounts, that for the sake of these we are unwilling to reflect too much on this.

Another consideration urged for the Invocation of Saints is, that they seeing God, we have reason to believe that they see in him, if not all things, yet at least all the concerns of the Church, of which they are still parts; and they being in a most perfect state of charity, they must certainly love the souls of their brethren here below: so that if saints on earth, whose charity is not yet perfect, do pray for one another here on earth, they in that state of perfection do certainly pray most fervently for them. And as we here on earth do desire the prayers of others, it may be as reasonable and much more useful to have recourse to their prayers, who are both in a higher state of favour with God, and have a more exalted charity: by which their intercessions will be both more earnest, and more prevalent. They think also that this honour paid the saints, is an honour done to God, who is glorified in them: and since he is the acknowledged fountain of all, they think that all the worship offered to them ends and terminates in God. They think, as princes are come at by the means of those that are in favour with them; so



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ART. XXII.

we ought to come to God by the interceſſion of the ſaints: that all our prayers to them are to be underſtood to amount to no more than a deſire to them, to intercede for us; and finally, that the offering of ſacrifice is an act of worſhip, that can indeed be made only to God, but that all other acts of devotion and reſpect may be given to the ſaints: and the ſublimeſt degrees of them may be offered to the bleſſed Virgin, as the mother of Chriſt, in a peculiar rank by herſelf. For they range the order of worſhip into *Latria*, that is due only to God; *Hyperdulia*, that belongs to the bleſſed Virgin; and *Dulia*, that belongs to the other Saints.

It were eaſy to retort all this, by putting it into the mouth of a Heathen; and ſhewing how well it would fit all thoſe parts of worſhip, that they offered to demons or intelligent ſpirits, and to deified men among them. This is obvious enough to ſuch as have read what the firſt apologiſts for Chriſtianity have writ upon thoſe heads. But to take this to pieces; we have no reaſon to believe that the ſaints ſee all the concerns of the Church. God can make them perfectly happy without this; and if we think the ſeeing them is a neceſſary ingredient of perfect happineſs, we muſt from thence conclude, that they do alſo ſee the whole chain of Providence: otherwiſe they may ſeem to be in ſome ſuſpenſe, which, according to our notions, is not conſiſtent with perfect happineſs. For if they ſee the perſecutions of the Church, and the miſeries of Chriſtians, without ſeeing on to the end, in what all that will iſſue, this ſeems to be a ſtop to their entire joy. And if they ſee the final iſſue, and know what God is to do, then we cannot imagine that they can intercede againſt it, or indeed for it. To us, who know not the hidden counſels of God, prayer is neceſſary and commanded: but it ſeems inconſiſtent with a ſtate in which all theſe events are known. This which they lay for the foundation of prayers to ſaints, is a thing concerning which God has revealed nothing to us, and in which we can have no certainty. God has commanded us to pray for one another, to join our prayers together, and we have clear warrants for deſiring the interceſſion of others. It is a high act of charity, and a great inſtance of the mutual love that ought to be among Chriſtians: it is a part of the communion of the ſaints: and as they do certainly know, that thoſe, whoſe aſſiſtance they deſire, underſtand their wants when they ſignify them to them; ſo they are ſure that God has commanded this mutual praying one for another. It is a ſtrange thing therefore to argue from what

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ART. XXII.

what God has commanded, and which may have many good effects, and can have no bad one, to that which he has not commanded; on the contrary, against which there are many plain intimations in Scripture, and which may have many bad effects, and we are not sure that it can have any one that is good. Beside, that the solemnity of devotion and prayer is a thing very different from our desiring the prayers of such as are alive; the one is as visibly an act of religious worship, as the other is not. God has called himself *a jealous God, that will not give his glory to another*. Isa. xlii. 8. And through the whole Scripture, prayer is represented as a main part of the service due to him; and as that in which he takes the most pleasure. It is a sacrifice, and is so called: and every other sacrifice can only be accepted of God, as it is accompanied with the internal acts of prayers and praises; which are the spiritual sacrifices with which God is well pleased. Psal. cxli. 2. Hos. xiv. 2. Psal. lxv. 2. The only thing, which the Church of Rome reserves to God, proves to be the *sacrifice of the Mass*: which, as shall appear upon another Article, is a sacrifice that they have invented, but which is no where commanded by God; so that if this is well made out, there will be nothing reserved to God to be the act of their *Latria*: though it is not to be forgotten, that even the Virgin and the Saints have a share in that sacrifice.

The excusing this, from the addresses made to princes by those that are in favour with them, is as bad as the thing itself; it gives us a low idea of God, and of Christ, and of that goodness and mercy, that is so often declared to be infinite, as if he were to be addressed to by those about him, and might not be come to without an interposition: whereas the Scriptures speak always of God, as a *hearer of prayer*, and as ready to accept of and answer the prayers of his people: to seek to other assistances, looks as if the mercies of God were not infinite, or the intercessions of Christ were not of infinite efficacy. This is a corrupting of the main design of the Gospel, which is to draw our affections wholly to God, to free us from all low notions of him, and from every thing that may incline us to idolatry or superstition.

Thus I have gone through all the heads contained in this Article. It seemed necessary to explain these with a due copiousness; they being not only points of speculation, in which errors are not always so dangerous, but practical things, which enter into the worship of God, and that run through it. And certainly it is the will of God, that we should preserve it pure, from being corrupted with



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ART. XXII.

heatheniſh or idolatrous practices. It ſeems to be the chief end of revealed Religion to deliver the world from idolatry: a great part of the Moſaical Law did conſiſt of rites of which we can give no other account, that is ſo like to be true, as, that they were fences and hedges, that were intended to keep that nation in the greateſt oppoſition, and at the utmoſt diſtance poſſible from idolatry: we cannot therefore think that in the Chriſtian Religion, in which we are carried to higher notions of God, and to a more ſpiritual way of worſhipping him, there ſhould be ſuch an approach to ſome of the worſt pieces of Gentiliſm, that it ſeems to be outdone by Chriſtians in ſome of its moſt ſcandalous parts; ſuch as the worſhip of ſubordinate Gods, and of images. Theſe are the chief grounds upon which we ſeparate from the Roman communion; ſince we cannot have fellowſhip with them, unleſs we will join in thoſe acts, which we look on as direct violations of the Firſt and Second Commandments. God is a jealous God, and therefore we muſt rather venture on their wrath, how *burning* ſoever it may be, than on his, who is a *conſuming fire*.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXIII.

### Of Miniſtering in the Congregation.

**It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of public Preaching or Miniſtring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and ſent to execute the ſame. And thoſe we ought to judge lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this Work by Men, who have public Authority given unto them, in the Congregation, to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard.**

WE have two particulars fixed in this Article: the *firſt* is againſt any that ſhall aſſume to themſelves, without a lawful vocation, the authority of diſpenſing the things of God: the *ſecond* is, the defining, in very general words, what it is that makes a lawful call. As to the firſt, it will bear no great difficulty: we ſee in the Old Diſpenſation, that the family, the age, and the qualifications of thoſe that might ſerve in the prieſthood, are very particularly ſet forth. In the New Teſtament our Lord called the twelve Apoſtles, and ſent them out: he alſo ſent out upon another occaſion ſeventy Diſciples: and before he left his Apoſtles, he told them, that *as his Father had ſent him, ſo he ſent them:* which ſeems to import, that as he was ſent into the world with this, among other powers, that he might ſend others in his name; ſo he likewiſe empowered them to do the ſame: and when they went planting Churches, as they took ſome to be companions of labour with themſelves, ſo they appointed others over the particular Churches in which they fixed them: ſuch were Epaphras or Epaphroditus at Coloſſe, Timothy at Epheſus, and Titus in Crete. To them the Apoſtles gave authority: otherwiſe it was a needleſs thing to write ſo many directions to them, in order to their conduct. They had the *depoſitum* of the faith, with which they were chiefly entruſted: concerning the ſucceſſion in which that was to be continued, we have theſe words of St. Paul: *The things which thou haſt heard of me, among many witneſſes, the ſame commit thou to faithful men, who ſhall be able to teach others alſo.* To them directions are given, concerning all the different parts of

Joh. xx. 21.

2 Tim. i. 13.

2 Tim. ii. 2.



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ART. XXIII.

their worſhip; *ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks:* and alſo the keeping up the decency of the worſhip, and the not ſuffering of women to teach; like the women prieſts among the Heathens, who were believed to be filled with a Bacchic fury. To them are directed all the qualifications of ſuch as might be made either *Biſhops* or *Deacons:* they were to examine them according to theſe, and either to receive or reject them. All this was directed to Timothy, that he might know how he ought to *behave himſelf in the houſe of God.* He had authority given him to *rebuke* and *entreat*, to *honour* and to *cenſure.* He was to order what widows might be received into the *number*, and who ſhould be refuſed. He was *to receive accuſations againſt Elders*, or Preſbyters, according to directed methods, and was either to cenſure ſome, or to lay hands on others, as ſhould agree with the rules that were ſet him: and in concluſion, he is very ſolemnly charged, *to keep that which was committed to his truſt.* He is required rightly *to divide the word of truth, to preach the word, to be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, to reprove, rebuke, and exhort, and to do the work of an Evangeliſt, and to make full proof of his miniſtry.* Some of the ſame things are charged upon Titus, whom St. Paul had left in Crete, to *ſet in order the things that were wanting, and to ordain Elders in every city:* ſeveral of the characters by which he was to try them are alſo ſet down: he is charged to *rebuke the people ſharply*, and to *ſpeak the things that became ſound doctrine:* he is inſtructed concerning the doctrines which he was to *teach*, and thoſe which he was to *avoid*; and alſo how to cenſure an heretic: he was to *admoniſh him twice*; and if that did not prevail, he was to *reject him*, by ſome public cenſure.

1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3.
1 Tim. ii. 12.
1 Tim. iii.
1 Tim. iii. 15.
1 Tim. v. 1, 3, 17, 19, 22.
1 Tim. vi. 20.
2 Tim. ii. 15.
2 Tim. iv. 2, 5.
Tit. i. 5, 9, 13.
Tit. iii. 10.

Theſe rules given to Timothy and Titus do plainly import, that there was to be an authority in the Church, and that no man was to aſſume this authority to himſelf; according to that maxim, that ſeems to be founded on the light of nature, as well as it is ſet down in Scripture, as a ſtanding rule agreed to in all times and places: *no man taketh this honour to himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.*

Heb. v. 4.

St. Paul, in his Epiſtles to the Romans and Corinthians, did reckon up the ſeveral orders and functions that God had ſet in his Church, and in his Epiſtle to the Epheſians he ſhews, that theſe were not tranſient but laſting conſtitutions; for there, as he reckons the *Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtors*, and *Teachers*, as the *gifts* which Chriſt at his aſcenſion had given to men; ſo he tells the ends

Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8.
1 Cor. xii. 28.
Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13, 16.

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ends for which they were given: *for the perfecting the saints*, (by perfecting ſeems to be meant the initiating them by holy myſteries, rather than the compacting or putting them in joint; for as that is the proper ſignification of the word, ſo it being ſet firſt, the other things that come after it make that the ſtrict ſenſe of *perfecting*; that is, *completing* does not ſo well agree with the period,) *for the work of the Miniſtry*, (the whole eccleſiaſtical or ſacred ſervices,) *for the edifying the body of Chriſt*, (to which inſtructing, exhorting, comforting, and all the other parts of preaching may well be reduced;) and then the duration of theſe gifts is defined, *Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man.* This ſeems to import the whole ſtate of this life. ART. XXIII.

We cannot think that all this belonged only to the infancy of the Church, and that it was to be laid aſide by her when ſhe was further advanced: for when we conſider that in the beginnings of Chriſtianity there was ſo liberal an effuſion of the Holy Spirit poured out upon ſuch great numbers, who had very extraordinary credentials, miracles, and the gift of tongues, to prove their miſſion; it does not ſeem ſo neceſſary in ſuch a time, or rather for the ſake of ſuch a time only, to have ſettled thoſe functions in the Church, and that the Apoſtles ſhould have *ordained Elders in every Church*. Thoſe extraordinary gifts that were then, without any authoritative ſettlement, might have ſerved in that time to have procured to men ſo qualified all due regards. We have therefore much better reaſon to conclude, that this was ſettled at that time, chiefly with reſpect to the following ages, which as they were to fall off from that zeal and purity that did then reign among them, ſo they would need rule and government to maintain the unity of the Church, and the order of ſacred things. And for that reaſon chiefly we may conclude, that the Apoſtles ſettled order and government in the Church, not ſo much for the age in which they themſelves lived, as once to eſtabliſh and give credit to conſtitutions, that they foreſaw would be yet more neceſſary to the ſucceeding ages. Acts xiv. 23.

This is confirmed by that which is in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, both concerning thoſe *who had ruled over them*, and thoſe who were then their guides. St. Peter gives directions to the Elders of the Churches to whom he writ, how they ought both to *feed* and *govern the flock*; and his charging them not to do it out of covetouſneſs, or with ambition, inſinuates that either ſome were beginning Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.



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ART. XXIII.

to do ſo, or that, in a ſpirit of prophecy, he foreſaw that ſome might fall under ſuch corruptions. This is hint enough to teach us, that, though ſuch things ſhould happen, they could furniſh no argument againſt the function. Abuſes ought to be corrected, but upon that pretence the function ought not to be taken away.

If from the Scriptures we go to the firſt writings of Chriſtians, we find that the main ſubject of St. Clemens' and St. Ignatius' Epiſtles, is to keep the Churches in order and union, in ſubjection to their Paſtors, and in the due ſubordination of all the members of the body one to another. After the firſt age the thing grows too clear to need any further proof. The argument for this from the ſtanding rules of order, of decency, of the authority in which the holy things ought to be maintained, and the care that muſt be taken to repreſs vanity and inſolence, and all the extravagancies of light and ungoverned fancies, is very clear. For if every man may aſſume authority to preach and perform holy functions, it is certain religion muſt fall into diſorder, and under contempt. Hot-headed men of warm fancies and voluble tongues, with very little knowledge and diſcretion, would be apt to thruſt themſelves on to the teaching and governing others, if they themſelves were under no government. This would ſoon make the public ſervice of God to be loathed, and break and diſſolve the whole body.

A few men of livelier thoughts, that begin to ſet on foot ſuch ways, might for ſome time maintain a little credit; yet ſo many others would follow in at that breach which they had once made on public order, that it could not be poſſible to keep the ſociety of Chriſtians under any method, if this were once allowed. And therefore thoſe who in their heart hate the Chriſtian religion, and deſire to ſee it fall under a more general contempt, know well what they do, when they encourage all thoſe enthuſiaſts that deſtroy order; hoping, by the credit which their outward appearances may give them, to compaſs that which the others know themſelves to be too obnoxious to hope that they can ever have credit enough to perſuade the world to. Whereas thoſe poor deluded men do not ſee what properties the others make of them. The morals of infidels ſhew that they hate all religions equally, or with this difference, that the ſtricter any are, they muſt hate them the more; the root of their quarrel being at all religion and virtue. And it is certain, as it is that which thoſe who drive it on ſee well, and therefore they drive it on, that if once the public order and national conſtitution

tion of a Church is diſſolved, the ſtrength and power, as well as the order and beauty, of all religion will ſoon go after it; for, humanly ſpeaking, it cannot ſubſiſt without it. ART. XXIII.

I come in the next place to conſider the ſecond part of this Article, which is the definition here given of thoſe that are lawfully called and ſent: this is put in very general words, far from that magiſterial ſtiffneſs in which ſome have taken upon them to dictate in this matter. The Article does not reſolve this into any particular conſtitution, but leaves the matter open and at large for ſuch accidents as had happened, and ſuch as might ſtill happen. They who drew it had the ſtate of the ſeveral Churches before their eyes, that had been differently reformed; and although their own had been leſs forced to go out of the beaten path than any other, yet they knew that all things among themſelves had not gone according to thoſe rules that ought to be ſacred in regular times: neceſſity has no law, and is a law to itſelf.

This is the difference between thoſe things that are the means of ſalvation, and the precepts that are only neceſſary, becauſe they are commanded. Thoſe things which are the means, ſuch as faith, repentance, and new obedience, are indiſpenſable; they oblige all men, and at all times alike; becauſe they have a natural influence on us, to make us fit and capable ſubjects of the mercy of God: but ſuch things as are neceſſary only by virtue of a command of God, and not by virtue of any real efficiency which they have to reform our natures, do indeed oblige us to ſeek for them, and to uſe all our endeavours to have them. But as they of themſelves are not neceſſary in the ſame order with the firſt, ſo much leſs are all thoſe methods neceſſary in which we may come at the regular uſe of them. This diſtinction ſhall be more fully enlarged on when the Sacraments are treated of. But to the matter in hand. That which is ſimply neceſſary as a mean to preſerve the order and union of the body of Chriſtians, and to maintain the reverence due to holy things, is, that no man enter upon any part of the holy miniſtry, without he be choſen and called to it by ſuch as have an authority ſo to do; that, I ſay, is fixed by the Article: but men are left more at liberty as to their thoughts concerning the ſubject of this lawful authority.

That which we believe to be *lawful authority*, is that rule which the body of the Paſtors, or Biſhops and Clergy of a Church, ſhall ſettle, being met in a body under the due reſpect to the powers that God ſhall ſet over them: rules

ART. XXIII.

rules thus made, being in nothing contrary to the word of God, and duly executed by the particular perſons to whom that care belongs, are certainly the *lawful authority*. Thoſe are the Paſtors of the Church, to whom the care and watching over the ſouls of the people is committed; and the Prince, or ſupreme power, comprehends virtually the whole body of the people in him: ſince, according to the conſtitution of the civil government, the wills of the people are underſtood to be concluded by the ſupreme, and ſuch as are the ſubject of the legiſlative authority. When a Church is in a ſtate of perſecution under thoſe who have the civil authority over her, then the *people*, who receive the faith, and give both protection and encouragement to thoſe that labour over them, are to be conſidered as the body that is governed by them. The natural effect of ſuch a ſtate of things, is to ſatisfy the people in all that is done, to carry along their conſent with it, and to conſult much with them in it. This does not only ariſe out of a neceſſary regard to their preſent circumſtances, but from the rules given in the Goſpel, of not ruling as the kings of the ſeveral nations did; nor *lording* it, or carrying it with a high authority over *God's heritage*, (which may be alſo rendered over their ſeveral *lots* or portions.) But when the Church is under the protection of a Chriſtian magiſtrate, then he comes to be in the ſtead of the whole people; for they are concluded in and by him; he gives the protection and encouragement, and therefore great regard is due to him, in the exerciſe of his lawful authority, in which he has a great ſhare, as ſhall be explained in its proper place. Here then we think this authority is rightly lodged, and ſet on its proper baſis.

And in this we are confirmed, becauſe, by the decrees of the firſt General Councils, the concerns of every province were to be ſettled in the province itſelf: and it ſo continued till the uſurpations of the papacy broke in every where, and diſordered this conſtitution. Through the whole Roman communion the chief juriſdiction is now in the Pope; only Princes have laid checks upon the extent of it; and by *appeals* the ſecular court takes cognizance of all that is done, either by the Pope or the Clergy. This we are ſure is the effect of uſurpation and tyranny: yet ſince this authority is in fact ſo ſettled, we do not pretend to annul the acts of that power, nor the miſſions or orders given in that Church; becauſe there is among them an order *in fact*, though not as it ought to be *in right*. On the other hand, when the body of the Clergy comes

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ART. XXIII.

comes to be ſo corrupted that nothing can be truſted to the regular deciſions of any ſynod or meeting, called according to their conſtitution, then if the Prince ſhall ſelect a peculiar number, and commit to their care the examining and reforming both of doctrine and worſhip, and ſhall give the legal ſanction to what they ſhall offer to him; we muſt confeſs that ſuch a method as this runs contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules, and that therefore it ought to be very ſeldom put in practice; and never, except when the greatneſs of the occaſion will balance this irregularity that is in it. But ſtill here is an authority both in *fact* and *right*; for if the Magiſtrate has a power to make laws in ſacred matters, he may order thoſe to be prepared, by whom, and as he pleaſes.

Finally, if a company of Chriſtians find the public worſhip where they live to be ſo defiled that they cannot with a good conſcience join in it, and if they do not know of any place to which they can conveniently go, where they may worſhip God purely, and in a regular way; if, I ſay, ſuch a body finding ſome that have been ordained, though to the lower functions, ſhould ſubmit itſelf entirely to their conduct, or finding none of thoſe, ſhould by a common conſent deſire ſome of their own number to miniſter to them in holy things, and ſhould upon that beginning grow up to a regulated conſtitution, though we are very ſure that this is quite out of all rule, and could not be done without a very great ſin, unleſs the neceſſity were great and apparent; yet if the neceſſity is real and not feigned, this is not condemned or annulled by the Article; for when this grows to a conſtitution, and when it was begun by the conſent of a body, who are ſuppoſed to have an authority in ſuch an extraordinary caſe, whatever ſome hotter ſpirits have thought of this ſince that time; yet we are very ſure, that not only thoſe who penned the Articles, but the body of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithſtanding thoſe irregularities, acknowledge the foreign Churches ſo conſtituted to be true Churches as to all the eſſentials of a Church, though they had been at firſt irregularly formed, and continued ſtill to be in an imperfect ſtate. And therefore the general words in which this part of the Article is framed, ſeem to have been deſigned on purpoſe not to exclude them.

Here it is to be conſidered, that the High-Prieſt among the Jews was the chief perſon in that diſpenſation; not only the chief in rule, but he that was by the Divine appointment to officiate in the chief act of their religion, the yearly

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ART. XXIII.

yearly expiation for the ſins of the whole nation; which was a ſolemn renewing their covenant with God, and by which atonement was made for the ſins of that people. Here it may be very reaſonably ſuggeſted, that ſince none beſides the High-Prieſt might make this atonement, then no atonement was made, if any other beſides the High-Prieſt ſhould ſo officiate. To this it is to be added, that God had by an expreſs law fixed the high-prieſthood in the eldeſt of Aaron's family; and that therefore, though that being a theocracy, any prophets empowered of God might have transferred this office from one perſon or branch of that family to another; yet without ſuch an authority no other perſon might make any ſuch change. But after all this, not to mention the Maccabees, and all their ſucceſſors of the Aſmonean family, as Herod had begun to change the high-prieſthood at pleaſure; ſo the Romans not only continued to do this, but in a moſt mercenary manner they ſet this ſacred function to ſale. Here were as great nullities in the High-Prieſts that were in our Saviour's time, as can be well imagined to be: for the Jews keeping their genealogies ſo exactly as they did, it could not but be well known in whom the right of this office reſted; and they all knew that he who had it, purchaſed it, yet theſe were in fact High-Prieſts; and ſince the people could have no other, the atonement was ſtill performed by their miniſtry. Our Saviour owned Caiphas, the ſacrilegious and uſurping High-Prieſt, and as ſuch he *propheſied*. This ſhews that where the neceſſity was real and unavoidable, the Jews were bound to think that God did, in conſideration of that, diſpenſe with his own precept. This may be a juſt inducement for us to believe, that whenſoever God by his providence brings Chriſtians under a viſible neceſſity of being either without all order and joint worſhip, or of joining in an unlawful and defiled worſhip, or finally, of breaking through rules and methods in order to the being united in worſhip and government; that of theſe three, of which one muſt be choſen, the laſt is the leaſt evil, and has the feweſt inconveniencies hanging upon it, and that therefore it may be choſen.

John xi. 51. xviii. 22, 23.

Our Reformers had alſo in view two famous inſtances in church-hiſtory of laymen that had preached and converted nations to the faith. It is true, they came, as they ought to have done, to be regularly ordained, and were ſent to ſuch as had authority ſo to do. So Frumentius preached to the Indians, and was afterwards made a Prieſt and a Biſhop by Athanaſius. The King of the Iberians, before

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before he was baptized himſelf, did convert his ſubjects; and, as ſays the hiſtorian, he became the Apoſtle of his country before he himſelf was *initiated*. It is indeed added, that he ſent an embaſſy to Conſtantine the Emperor, deſiring him that he would ſend Prieſts for the further eſtabliſhment of the faith there. ART. XXIII.

Theſe were regular practices; but if it ſhould happen that princes or ſtates ſhould take up ſuch a jealouſy of their own authority, and ſhould apprehend that the ſuffering their ſubjects to go elſewhere for regular ordinations, might bring them under ſome dependance on thoſe that had ordained them, and give them ſuch influence over them, that the Prince of ſuch a neighbouring and regular Church ſhould by ſuch ordinations have ſo many creatures ſpies, or inſtruments in their own dominions; and if upon other political reaſons they had juſt cauſe of being jealous of that, and ſhould thereupon hinder any ſuch thing in that caſe, neither our Reformers, nor their ſucceſſors for near eighty years after thoſe Articles were publiſhed, did ever queſtion the conſtitution of ſuch Churches.

We have reaſon to believe that none ought to baptize but perſons lawfully ordained; yet ſince there has been a practice ſo univerſally ſpread over the Chriſtian Church, of allowing the baptiſm not only of laics, but of women, to be lawful, though we think that this is directly contrary to the rules given by the Apoſtles; yet ſince this has been in fact ſo generally received and practiſed, we do not annul ſuch baptiſms, nor rebaptize perſons ſo baptized; though we know that the original of this bad practice was from an opinion of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of baptiſm to ſalvation. Yet ſince it has been ſo generally received, we have that regard to ſuch a common practice, as not to annul it, though we condemn it. And thus what thought ſoever private men, as they are divines, may have of thoſe irregular ſteps, the Article of the Church is conceived in ſuch large and general words, that no man, by ſubſcribing it, is bound up from freer and more comprehenſive thoughts.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXIV.

### Of ſpeaking in the Congregation in ſuch a Tongue as the People underſtandeth.

**It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, to have Publick Prayer in the Church, or to miniſter the Sacraments in a Tongue not underſtanded of the People.**

This Article, though upon the matter very near the ſame, yet was worded much leſs poſitively in thoſe at firſt ſet forth by King Edward.

**It is moſt fit, and moſt agreeable to the Word of God, that nothing be read or rehearſed in the Congregation in a Tongue not known unto the People; which St. Paul hath forbidden to be done, unleſs ſome be preſent to interpret.**

In King Edward's Articles they took in *preaching* with *prayer*, but in the preſent Article this is reſtrained to *prayer*. The former only affirms the uſe of a known tongue to be moſt fit and agreeable to the word of God; the latter denies the worſhip in an unknown tongue to be lawful, and affirms it to be repugnant to the *Word of God*; to which it adds, *and the cuſtom of the Primitive Church*.

THIS Article ſeems to be founded on the law of nature. The worſhip of God is a chain of acts by which we acknowledge God's attributes, rejoice in his goodneſs, and lay claim to his mercies. In all which the more we raiſe our thoughts, the more ſeriouſneſs, earneſtneſs, and affection that animates our mind, ſo much the more acceptably do we ſerve God, who is a *ſpirit*, and will be worſhipped in *ſpirit and in truth*. All the words uſed in devotion are intended to raiſe in us the thoughts that naturally belong to ſuch words. And the various acts, which are as it were the breaks in the ſervice, are intended as reſts to our minds, to keep us the longer without wearineſs and wandering in thoſe exerciſes. One great end of continuance in worſhip is, that, by the frequent repeating

John iv. 23, 24.

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repeating and often going over of the ſame things, they may come to be deeply rooted in our thoughts. The chief effect that the worſhip of God has by its own efficiency, is the infixing thoſe things, about which the branches of it are employed, the deeper on our minds; upon which God gives his bleſſing as we grow to be prepared for it, or capable of it. Now all this is loſt, if the worſhip of God is a thread of ſuch ſounds, as makes the perſon who officiates a barbarian to the reſt. They have nothing but noiſe and ſhow to amuſe them, which how much ſoever they may ſtrike upon and entertain the ſenſes, yet they cannot affect the heart, nor excite the mind: ſo that the natural effect of ſuch a way of worſhip is to make religion a pageantry, and the public ſervice of God an opera. ART. XXIV.

If from plain ſenſe, and the natural conſequences of things, we carry on this argument to the Scriptures, we find the whole practice of the Old Teſtament was to worſhip God, not only in a tongue that was underſtood, for it may be ſaid there was no occaſion then to uſe any other; but that the expreſſions uſed in the prayers and pſalms that we find in the Old Teſtament, ſhew they were intended to affect thoſe who were to uſe them; and if that is acknowledged, then it will clearly follow, that all ought to underſtand them; for who can be affected with that which he does not underſtand? So this ſhews that the end of public devotion is the exciting and inflaming thoſe who bear a ſhare in it. When Ezra and Nehemiah were inſtructing the people out of the Law, they took care to have it read *diſtinctly, one giving the ſenſe of it.* Neh. viii. 8. After they were long in captivity, though it had not worn out quite the knowledge of the Hebrew, yet the Chaldee was more familiar to them, ſo a paraphraſe was made of the Hebrew into that language, though it was rather a different dialect than another language; and by the forms of their prayers, we ſee that one cried with a loud voice, *Stand up, and bleſs the Lord your God for ever and ever*; which ſhews that all did underſtand the ſervice. When the Syriac tongue became more familiar to them, the Jews had their prayers in Syriac; and they did read the Law in their ſynagogues in Greek, when that language was more familiar to them; when they read the Law in Greek, we have reaſon to believe that they prayed likewiſe in it. In the New Teſtament, we ſee the gift of tongues was granted to enable the Apoſtles, and others, to go every where preaching the Goſpel, and performing holy functions in ſuch a language Neh. ix. 5.

as

ART. XXIV.

as might be underſtood: the world was amazed when every man heard them ſpeak in his own language.

One of the general rules given by St. Paul, with relation to the worſhip of God, is, *Let every thing be done to edification.* Since then the ſpeaking either to God in the name of the people, or to the people in the name of God, in an unknown tongue, can edify no perſon; then by this rule it is to be underſtood to be forbidden. When ſome who had the gift of tongues did indiſcreetly ſhew it in the Church of Corinth, St. Paul was ſo offended at that, and thought it would appear to the world ſo undecent, as well as unfruitful, that he beſtows a whole chapter upon it; and though a great part of the diſcourſe is againſt the pretending to teach the people in an unknown tongue, which yet is not near ſo bad as the reading the word of God to them in a tongue not underſtood by them, it being much more important that the people ſhould underſtand the words of the living God than the expoſitions of men; yet there are many paſſages in that chapter that belong to prayer: the reaſon of the thing is common to both, ſince, unleſs the words were underſtood, they who uttered them ſpoke only to the air; and how ſhould it be known what was ſpoken? For if the meaning of the voice was not known, they would be barbarians to one another. As to prayer, he ſays, *If I pray in an unknown tongue, my ſpirit* (that is, the inſpiration or gift that is in me) *prayeth*; *but my underſtanding* (that is, my rational powers) *is unfruitful*; and therefore he concludes that he will both *pray* and *give thanks* with the *ſpirit*, and with the *underſtanding alſo*; he will do it in ſuch a manner, that the inſpiration with which he was acted and his rational powers ſhould join together. The reaſon given for this ſeems evident enough to determine the whole matter: *Elſe when thou ſhalt bleſs with the ſpirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay* Amen *at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.* In which words it is plain that the people, even the moſt unlearned among them, were to join in the prayers and praiſes, and to teſtify that by ſaying *Amen* at the concluſion of them: and in order to their doing this as became reaſonable creatures, it was neceſſary that they ſhould underſtand what that was which they were to confirm by their *Amen*. It is alſo evident that St. Paul judged, that the people ought to be edified by all that was ſaid in the Church; and ſo he ſays a little after this, *Let all things be done to edifying*. After ſuch plain

1 Cor. xiv. 14.

Ver. 15.

Ver. 16, 17.

Ver. 26.

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ART. XXIV.

plain authorities from Scripture, ſupporting that which ſeems to be founded on the light of nature, we need go no further to prove that which is mainly deſigned by this Article.

The cuſtom of the primitive Church is no leſs clear in this point. As the Chriſtian religion was ſpread to different nations, ſo they all worſhipped God in their own tongue. The Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin, were indeed of that extent, that we have no particular hiſtory of any Churches that lay beyond the compaſs of thoſe languages; but there was the ſame reaſon for putting the worſhip of God in other languages, that there was for theſe: that which is drawn from the three languages, in which the title on our Saviour's croſs was written, is too trifling a thing to deſerve an anſwer; as if a humour of Pilate's were to be conſidered as a prophetical warrant, what he did being only deſigned to make that title to be underſtood by all who were then at Jeruſalem. There are very large paſſages both in Origen and St. Baſil, which mention every tongue's *praiſing of God*; and that the Goſpel being ſpread to many nations, he was in every nation praiſed in the language of that nation. This continued ſo long to be the practice even of the Latin Church, that in the ninth century, when the Slavons were converted, it was conſidered at Rome by Pope John VIII. in what language they ſhould be allowed to worſhip God. And, as it is pretended, a voice was heard, *Let every tongue confeſs to God*; upon which that Pope wrote both to the Prince, and to the Biſhop of the Slavons, allowing them to have their public ſervice in their own tongue. But in the other parts of the Weſtern Church, the Latin tongue continued to be ſo univerſally underſtood by almoſt all ſorts of people, till the tenth or eleventh century, that there was no occaſion for changing it; and by that time the Clergy were affecting to keep the people in ignorance, and in a blind dependance upon themſelves; and ſo were willing to make them think that the whole buſineſs of reconciling the people to God lay upon them, and that they were to do it for them. A great part of the ſervice of the maſs was ſaid ſo low, that even they who underſtood ſome Latin could not be the better for it, in an age in which there was no printing, and ſo few copies were to be had of the public offices. The Scriptures were likewiſe kept from the people, and the ſervice of God was filled with many rites, in all which the Clergy ſeemed to deſign, to make the people believe that theſe were ſacred charms, of which they only had the ſecret. So that all the

Cont. Celſum, l. 8. p. 402. Ep. 63. ad Neocef.

Johan. 8. Ep. 247. Concil. tom. 9.



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ART. XXIV.

edification which was to be had in the public worſhip was turned to pomp and ſhow, for the diverſion and entertainment of the ſpectators.

In defence of this worſhip in an unknown tongue, the main argument that is brought is the authority and infallibility of the Church, which has appointed it; and ſince ſhe ought to be ſuppoſed not to have erred, therefore this muſt be believed to be lawful. We are not much moved with this, eſpecially with the authority of the later ages; ſo the other arguments muſt be conſidered, which indeed can ſcarce be called arguments. The modern tongues change ſo faſt, that they ſay, if the worſhip were in them, it muſt either be often changed, or the phraſes would grow old, and ſound harſhly. A few alterations once in an age will ſet this matter right; beſides, that the uſe of ſuch forms does fix a language, at leaſt as to thoſe phraſes that are uſed in it, which grow to be ſo familiar to our ears by conſtant uſe, that they do not ſo eaſily wear out. It is above eighty years ſince the preſent tranſlation of the Bible was made, and above one hundred and forty ſince our Liturgy was compiled, and yet we perceive no uncouthneſs in the phraſes. The ſimplicity, in which ſuch forms muſt be drawn, makes them not ſo ſubject to alteration as other compoſures, of rhetoric or poetry; but can it be thought any inconveniency now and then to alter a little the words or phraſes of our ſervice? Much leſs can that be thought of weight enough to balance the vaſter prejudice of keeping whole nations in ignorance, and of extinguiſhing devotion by entertaining it with a form of worſhip that is not underſtood?

Con. Trid. Chap. 8. Seſſ. 22.

Nor can this be avoided by ſaying, that the people are furniſhed with forms in their own language, into which the greateſt part of the public offices are tranſlated: for as this is not done but ſince the Reformation began, and in thoſe nations only where the ſcandal that is given by an unknown language might have, as they apprehend, ill effects; ſo it is only an artifice to keep thoſe ſtill in their communion, whom ſuch a groſs practice, if not thus diſguiſed, might otherwiſe drive from them. But ſtill the public worſhip has no edification in it; nor can thoſe who do not underſtand it ſay *Amen*, according to St. Paul. Finally, they urge the *communion of Saints*, in order to which they think it is neceſſary that Prieſts, whereſoever they go, may be able to officiate, which they cannot do if every nation worſhips God in its own language. And this was indeed very neceſſary in thoſe ages in which the See of Rome did by proviſions, and the other

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other inventions of the Canoniſts, diſpoſe of the beſt benefices to their own creatures and ſervants. That trade would have been ſpoiled, if ſtrangers might not have been admitted till they had learned the language of the country; and thus, inſtead of taking care of the people that ought to be edified by the public worſhip, proviſion was made at their coſt for ſuch vagrant Prieſts as have been in all ages the ſcandals of the Church, and the reproaches of Religion. ART. XXIV.



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## ARTICLE XXV.

### Of the Sacraments.

**Sacraments ordained of Chriſt be not only Badges or Tokens of Chriſtian Men's Profeſſion, but rather they be certain ſure Witneſſes, and effectual Signs of Grace, and God's Will towards us, by the which he doth work inviſibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.**

**There are Two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel; that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.**

**Thoſe five commonly called Sacraments, that is to ſay, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Goſpel; being ſuch as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apoſtles, partly are States of Life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like Nature of Sacraments with Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper; for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.**

**The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame they have a wholeſome Effect or Operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchaſe to themſelves Damnation, as St. Paul ſaith.**

THERE is a great diverſity between the form of this Article, as it is now ſettled, and that publiſhed by King Edward, which begun in theſe words: *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt gathered his people into a ſociety by Sacraments, very few in number, moſt eaſily to be kept, and of moſt excellent ſignification; that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.* There is nothing in that edition inſtead of the paragraph concerning the other five pretended Sacraments. Next comes the paragraph which is here the laſt, only with the addition of theſe words after operation: *Not as ſome ſay,* ex opere operato, *which terms, as they are ſtrange*

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ART. XXV.

*ſtrange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, ſo do they yield a ſenſe which ſavoureth of little piety, but of much ſuperſtition:* and in concluſion, the paragraph comes with which the Article does now begin; ſo that in all this diverſity there is no real difference: for the virtue of the Sacraments being put in the worthy receiving, excludes the doctrine of *opus operatum*, as formally as if it had expreſsly been condemned; and the naming the two Sacraments inſtituted by Chriſt, is upon the matter the rejecting of all the reſt.

It was moſt natural to begin this Article with a deſcription of Sacraments in general. This difference is to be put between Sacraments and other ritual actions; that whereas other rites are badges and diſtinctions by which the Chriſtians are known, a Sacrament is more than a bare matter of form; and as in the Old Teſtament, circumciſion and propitiatory ſacrifices were things of a different nature and order from all the other ritual precepts concerning the cleanſings, the diſtinctions of days, places, and meats. Theſe were indeed precepts given them of God, but they were not federal acts of renewing the covenant, or reconciling themſelves to God. By circumciſion they received the ſeal of the covenant, and were brought under the obligation of the whole law: they were by it made debtors to it; and when by their ſins they had provoked God's wrath, they were reconciled to him by their ſacrifices, with which atonement was made, and ſo their ſins were forgiven them. The nature and end of thoſe was to be federal acts, in the offering of which the Jews kept to their part of the covenant, and in the accepting of which God maintained it on his part; ſo we ſee a plain difference between theſe and a mere rite, which, though commanded, yet muſt paſs only for the badge of a profeſſion, as the doing of it is an act of obedience to a divine law. Now, in the New Diſpenſation, though our Saviour has eaſed us of that *law of ordinances*, that *grievous yoke*, and thoſe *beggarly elements* which were laid upon the Jews; yet, ſince we are ſtill in the body, ſubject to our ſenſes, and to ſenſible things, he has appointed ſome federal actions, to be both the viſible ſtipulations and profeſſions of our Chriſtianity, and the conveyances to us of the bleſſings of the Goſpel.

There are two extremes to be avoided in this matter. The one is of the Church of Rome, that teaches, that as ſome Sacraments imprint a character upon the ſoul, which they define to be a phyſical quality, that is, ſuper-



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ART. XXV.

natural and ſpiritual, ſo they do all carry along with them ſuch a divine virtue, that by the very receiving them (the *opus operatum*) it is conveyed to the ſouls of thoſe to whom they are applied, unleſs they themſelves put a bar in the way of it by ſome mortal ſin. In conſequence of this, they reckon, that by the Sacraments given to a man in his agonies, though he is very near paſt all ſenſe, and ſo cannot join any lively acts of his mind with the Sacraments, yet he is juſtified; not to mention the common practice of giving extreme unction in the laſt agony, when no appearance of any ſenſe is left. This we reckon a doctrine that is not only without all foundation in Scripture, but that tends to deſtroy all religion, and to make men live on ſecurely in ſin, truſting to this, that the Sacraments may be given them when they die. The conditions of the New Covenant are, repentance, faith, and obedience; and we look on this as the corrupting the vitals of this religion, when any ſuch means are propoſed, by which the main deſign of the Goſpel is quite overthrown. The buſineſs of a character is an unintelligible notion. We acknowledge baptiſm is not to be repeated; but that is not by virtue of a character imprinted in it, but becauſe it being a dedication of the perſon to God in the Chriſtian religion, what is once ſo done is to be underſtood to continue ſtill in that ſtate, till ſuch a perſon falls into an open apoſtaſy. In caſe of the repentance of ſuch a perſon, we finding that the primitive Church did reconcile, but not rebaptize apoſtates, do imitate that their practice; but not becauſe of this late and unexplicable notion of a character. We look on all ſacramental actions as acceptable to God only with regard to the temper and the inward acts of the perſon to whom they are applied, and cannot conſider them as medicines or charms, which work by a virtue of their own, whether the perſon to whom they are applied cooperates with them, or not. Baptiſm is ſaid by St. Peter *to ſave us*, not as it is an action that waſhes us; *not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God.* And therefore baptiſm without this profeſſion is no baptiſm, but ſeems to be uſed as a charm; unleſs it is ſaid, that this anſwer or profeſſion is implied, whenſoever baptiſm is deſired. When a perſon of age deſires baptiſm, he muſt make thoſe anſwers and ſponſions, otherwiſe he is not truly baptized; and though his outward making of them being all that can fall under human cognizance, he who does that muſt be held to be truly baptized, and all the outward privileges of a baptized

1 Pet. iii. 21.

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tized perſon muſt belong to him; yet as to the effect of baptiſm on the ſoul of him that is baptized, without doubt that depends upon the ſincerity of the profeſſions and vows made by him. The wills of infants are by the law of nature and nations in their parents, and are tranſferred by them to their ſureties; the ſponſions that are made on their behalf are conſidered as made by themſelves; but there the outward act is ſufficient; for the inward acts of one perſon cannot be ſuppoſed neceſſary to give the Sacrament its virtue in another. ART. XXV.

In the Euchariſt, by *our ſhewing forth our Lord's death till he comes*, we are admitted to the *communion of his body and blood*; to a ſhare in partnerſhip with other Chriſtians in the effects and merits of his death. 1 Cor. x. 16. But the unworthy receiver is guilty of his body and blood, and brings thereby down judgments upon himſelf; ſo that to fancy a virtue in Sacraments that works on the perſon to whom they are applied, without any inward acts accompanying it, and upon his being only paſſive, is a doctrine of which we find nothing in the Scriptures; which teach us that every thing we do is only accepted of God, with regard to the diſpoſition of mind that he knows us to be in when we go about it. Our prayers and ſacrifices are ſo far from being accepted of God, that they are *abomination* to him, if they come from wicked and defiled hearts. The making men believe that Sacraments may be effectual to them when they are next to a ſtate of paſſivity, not capable of any ſenſible thoughts of their own, is a ſure way to raiſe the credit of the Clergy, and of the Sacrament; but at the ſame time it will moſt certainly diſpoſe men to live in ſin, hoping that a few rites, which may be eaſily procured at their death, will clear all at laſt. And thus we reject, not without great zeal againſt the fatal effects of this error, all that is ſaid of the *opus operatum*; the very doing of the Sacrament: we think it looks more like the incantations of Heatheniſm, than the purity and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian religion.

But the other extreme, that we likewiſe avoid, is that of ſinking the Sacraments ſo low, as to be mere rites and ceremonies. St. Peter ſays, *Baptiſm ſaves us*. St. Paul calls it, the *laver of regeneration*; to which he joins *the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt*. Our Saviour ſaith, *He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*; and, *Except ye are born again of water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God*. Theſe words have a ſenſe and ſignification that riſes far above a mere ceremony done to keep up order, and to maintain a ſettled form. The phraſe *com-* Tit. iii. 5. Mark xvi. 16. John iii. 3, 5.



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ART. XXV.

*munion of the body and blood of Chriſt*, is above the nature of an anniverſary, or memorial feaſt. This opinion we think is very unſuitable to thoſe high expreſſions; and we do not doubt but that Chriſt, who inſtituted thoſe Sacraments, does ſtill accompany them with a particular preſence in them, and a bleſſing upon them; ſo that we coming to them with minds well prepared, with pure affections and holy reſolutions, do certainly receive in and with them particular largeſſes of the favour and bounty of God. They are not bare and naked remembrances and tokens; but are actuated and animated by a divine bleſſing that attends upon them. This is what we believe on this head, and theſe are the grounds upon which we found it.

A Sacrament is an inſtitution of Chriſt, in which ſome material thing is ſanctified by the uſe of ſome form or words, in and by which federal acts of this religion do paſs on both ſides; on ours by ſtipulations, profeſſions, or vows; and on God's by his ſecret aſſiſtances: by theſe we are alſo united to the body of Chriſt, which is the Church. It muſt be inſtituted by Chriſt; for though ritual matters, that are only the expreſſions of our duty, may be appointed by the Church; yet federal acts, to which a conveyance of Divine grace is tied, can only be inſtituted by him who is the Author and Mediator of this New Covenant, and who lays down the rules or conditions of it, and derives the bleſſings of it by what methods and in what channels he thinks fit. Whatſoever his Apoſtles ſettled, was by authority and commiſſion from him; therefore it is not to be denied, but that if they had appointed any ſacramental action, that muſt be reckoned to be of the ſame authority, and is to be eſteemed Chriſt's inſtitution, as much as if he himſelf, when on earth, had appointed it.

Matter is of the eſſence of a Sacrament; for words without ſome material thing, to which they belong, may be of the nature of prayers or vows, but they cannot be Sacraments: receiving a Sacrament is on our part our faith plighted to God in the uſe of ſome material ſubſtance or other; for in this conſiſts the difference between Sacraments and other acts of worſhip. The latter are only acts of the mind declared by words or geſture, whereas Sacraments are the application of a material ſign, joined with acts of the mind, words, and geſtures. With the *matter* there muſt be a *form*, that is, ſuch words joined with it as do appropriate the matter to ſuch an uſe, and ſeparate it from all other uſes, at leaſt in the act of the Sacrament. For in any piece of *matter* alone, there cannot be a proper ſuitableneſs to ſuch an end, as ſeems to be deſigned

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ART. XXV.

designed by Sacraments, and therefore a *form* must determine and apply it; and it is highly suitable to the nature of things, to believe that our Saviour, who has instituted the Sacrament, has also either instituted the form of it, or given us such hints as to lead us very near it. The end of Sacraments is double; the one is by a solemn federal action both to unite us to Christ, and also to derive a secret blessing from him to us: and the other is to join and unite us by this public profession, and the joint partaking of it, with his body, which is the Church. This is, in general, an account of a Sacrament. This, it is true, is none of those words that are made use of in Scripture, so that it has no determined signification given to it in the word of God; yet it was very early applied by Pliny to those vows by which the Christians tied themselves to their religion, taken from the oaths by which the soldiery among the Romans were sworn to their colours or officers; and from that time this term has been used in a sense consecrated to the federal rites of religion. Yet if any will dispute about words, we know how much St. Paul condemns all those curious and vain questions, which have in them the subtilties and *oppositions of science falsely so called.* If any will call every rite used in holy things, a Sacrament, we enter into no such contentions.

Lib. x. Ep. 97.

1 Tim. vi. 20.

The rites therefore that we understand when we speak of Sacraments, are the constant federal rites of Christians, which are accompanied by a divine grace and benediction, being instituted by Christ to unite us to him, and to his Church; and of such we own that there are two, *Baptism*, and the *Supper of the Lord.* In Baptism there is *matter*, *water*; there is a *form*, the person *dipped* or *washed*, with words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:* there is an institution, *Go preach and baptize*; there is a federal sponsion, *The answer of a good conscience*; there is a blessing conveyed with it, *Baptism saves us*; there is *one Baptism, as there is one body and one spirit*; *we are all baptized into one body.* So that here all the constituent and necessary parts of a Sacrament are found in Baptism. In the Lord's Supper, there is *bread* and *wine* for the *matter.* The giving it to be eat and drunk, with the words that our Saviour used in the first supper, are the *form: Do this in remembrance of me*, is the institution. *Ye shew forth the Lord's death till he come again*, is the declaration of the federal act of our part: it is also the *communion of the body, and of the blood of Christ*, that is, the conveyance of the blessings of our partnership in the effects of the death of Christ. *And we being many, are*

Matth. xxviii. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Mat. xxvi. 26, 27. 1 Cor. xi. 23 to 27. 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

ART. XXV.

*are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread*; this ſhews the union of the Church in this Sacrament. Here then we have in theſe two Sacraments, both matter, form, inſtitution, federal acts, bleſſings conveyed, and the union of the body in them. All the characters which belong to a Sacrament agree fully to them.

In the next place we muſt, by theſe characters, examine the other pretended Sacraments. It is no wonder if, the word *Sacrament* being of a large extent, there ſhould be ſome paſſages in ancient writers, that call other actions ſo beſides *Baptiſm* and the *Lord's Supper*; for in a larger ſenſe every holy rite may be ſo called. But it is no ſmall prejudice againſt the number of Seven Sacraments, that Peter Lombard, a writer in the twelfth century, is the firſt that reckons *Seven* of them: from that myſtical expreſſion of the Seven Spirits of God, there came a conceit of the ſevenfold operation of the Spirit; and it looked like a good illuſtration of that, to aſſert Seven Sacraments. This Pope Eugenius put in his inſtruction to the Armenians, which is publiſhed with the Council of Florence; and all was finally ſettled at Trent. Now there might have been ſo many fine alluſions made on the number Seven, and ſome of the ancients were ſo much ſet on ſuch alluſions, that ſince we hear nothing of that kind from any of them, we may well conclude, that this is more than an ordinary negative argument againſt their having believed, that there were Seven Sacraments. To go on in order with them:

Lib. 3. diſt. 2.

The firſt that we reject, which is reckoned by them the ſecond, is *Confirmation*. But to explain this, we muſt conſider in what reſpect our Church receives *Confirmation*, and upon what reaſons it is that ſhe does not acknowledge it to be a *Sacrament*. We find that after Philip, the Deacon and Evangeliſt, had converted and baptized ſome in Samaria, Peter and John were ſent thither by the Apoſtles, who *laid their hands* on ſuch as were baptized, and *prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt*; upon which it is ſaid, that *they received the Holy Ghoſt*. Now though ordinary functions, when performed by the Apoſtles, ſuch as their laying on of hands on thoſe whom they ordained or confirmed, had extraordinary effects accompanying them; but when the extraordinary effects ceaſed, the end for which theſe were at firſt given being accompliſhed, the Goſpel having been fully atteſted to the world, yet the functions were ſtill continued of confirmation as well as ordination: and as the *laying on of hands*, that is reckoned

Acts viii. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Heb. vi. 2.

ART. XXV.

oned among the principles of the Chriſtian doctrine, after *Repentance* and *Faith*, and ſubſequent to *Baptiſm*, ſeems very probably to belong to this; ſo from theſe warrants, we find in the earlieſt writings of Chriſtianity mention of a *Confirmation* after *Baptiſm*, which for the greater ſolemnity and awe of the action, and from the precedent of St. Peter and St. John, was reſerved to the Biſhop, to be done only by him.

Upon theſe reaſons we think it is in the power of the Church to require all ſuch as have been baptized, to come before the Biſhop and renew their baptiſmal vow, and pray for God's Holy Spirit to enable them to keep their vow; and upon their doing this, the Biſhop may ſolemnly pray over them, with that ancient and almoſt natural ceremony, of laying his hands upon them, which is only a deſignation of the perſons ſo prayed over, and bleſſed, that God may ſeal and defend them with his Holy Spirit; in which, according to the nature of the New Covenant, we are ſure that ſuch as do thus vow and pray, do alſo receive the Holy Spirit, according to the promiſe that our Saviour has made us. In this action there is nothing but what is in the power of the Church to do, even without any other warrant or precedent. The doing all things to *order*, and to *edifying*, will authoriſe a Church to all this; eſpecially, ſince the now univerſal practice of *Infant Baptiſm* makes this more neceſſary than it was in the firſt times, when chiefly the *Adult* were baptized. It is highly reaſonable that they, who gave no actual conſent of their own, ſhould come, and by their own expreſs act make the ſtipulations of Baptiſm. It may give greater impreſſions of awe and reſpect, when this is reſtrained to the higheſt order in the Church. Upon the ſincere vows and earneſt prayers of perſons thus confirmed, we have reaſon to believe that a proportioned degree of God's grace and ſpirit will be poured out upon them. And in all this we are much confirmed, when we ſee ſuch warrants for it in Scripture. A thing ſo good in itſelf, that has at leaſt a probable authority for it, and was certainly a practice of the firſt ages, is upon very juſt grounds continued in our Church. Would to God it were as ſeriouſly gone about, as it is lawfully eſtabliſhed.

But after all this, here is no Sacrament, no expreſs inſtitution, neither by Chriſt nor his Apoſtles; no rule given to practiſe it, and, which is the moſt eſſential, there is no matter here; for the laying on of hands is only a geſture in prayer; nor are there any federal rites declared to belong to it; it being indeed rather a ratifying and confirming

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ART. XXV.

ing the Baptiſm, than any new ſtipulation. To ſupply all this, the Church of Rome has appointed *matter* for it. The *chriſm*, which is a mixture of *oil*-olive and *balm*, (*opobalſamum*,) the oil ſignifying the clearneſs of a good conſcience, and the *balm* the ſavour of a good reputation. This muſt be peculiarly bleſſed by the Biſhop, who is the only miniſter of that function. The *form* of this Sacrament is the applying the *chriſm* to the forehead, with theſe words, *Signo te ſigno crucis, et confirmo te chriſmate ſalutis, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spritûs Sancti:* I ſign thee with the ſign of the croſs, and confirm thee with the chriſm of ſalvation, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. They pretend Chriſt did inſtitute this; but they ſay the Holy Ghoſt which he breathed on his Diſciples, being a thing that tranſcended all Sacraments, he ſettled no determined *matter* nor *form* to it; and that the ſucceeding ages appropriated this *matter* to it.

We do not deny, but that the Chriſtians began very early to uſe oil in holy functions; the climates they lived in making it neceſſary to uſe oil much, for ſtopping the perſpiration, that might diſpoſe them the more to uſe oil in their ſacred rites. It is not to be denied, but that both Theophilus and Tertullian, in the end of the ſecond, and the beginning of the third century, do mention it. The frequent mention of *oil*, and of *anointing*, in the Scripture, might incline them to this: it was propheſied of Chriſt, that he was to be *anointed with the oil of joy and gladneſs above his fellows:* and the names of *Meſſias* and *Chriſt* do alſo import this; but yet we hold all *that* to be myſtical, and that it is to be meant of that fulneſs of the Spirit which he received *without meaſure*. Upon the ſame account we do underſtand thoſe words of St. Paul in the ſame myſtical ſenſe: *He that eſtabliſheth us with you in Chriſt, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath alſo ſealed us, and given the earneſt of the Spirit in our hearts:* as alſo thoſe words of St. John: *But ye have an unction from the holy One, and ye know all things. The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame anointing teacheth you all things.* Theſe words do clearly relate to ſomewhat that the Chriſtians received immediately from God; and ſo muſt be underſtood figuratively: for we do not ſee the leaſt hint of the Apoſtles uſing of oil, except to the ſick; of which afterwards. So that if this uſe of oil is conſidered only as a ceremony of a natural ſignification, that was brought into the rituals of the Church, it is a thing

Theophil. l. i. ad Autolyc. Tert. de Bapt. c. 7, 8. de Reſur. Car. c. 8. Cypr. Ep. 70.

2 Cor. i. 21, 22.

1 John ii. 20, 27.

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ART. XXV.

of another nature: but if a Sacrament is made of it, and a divine virtue is joined to that, we can admit of no such thing, without an expreſs inſtitution and declaration in Scripture.

The invention that was afterwards found out, by which the Biſhop was held to be the only miniſter of *confirmation*, even though Preſbyters were ſuffered to *confirm*, was a piece of ſuperſtition without any colour from Scripture. It was ſettled, that the Biſhop only might conſecrate the *chriſm*; and though he was the ordinary miniſter of confirmation, yet Preſbyters were alſo ſuffered to do it, the chriſm being conſecrated by the Biſhop: Preſbyters thus confirming, was thought like the Deacons giving the Sacrament, though Prieſts only might conſecrate the Euchariſt. In the Latin Church Jerome tells us, that in his time the Biſhop only confirmed; and though he makes the reaſon of this to be rather for doing an honour to them, than from any neceſſity of the law, yet he poſitively ſays, the Biſhops went round praying for the Holy Ghoſt on thoſe whom they confirmed. It is ſaid by Hilary, that in Egypt *the Preſbyters did confirm in the Biſhops abſence*: ſo that cuſtom, joined with the diſtinction between the conſecration, and the applying of the chriſm, grew to be the univerſal practice of the Greek Church. The greatneſs of dioceſes, with the increaſing numbers of the Chriſtians, made that both in France, in the Councils of Orange; and in Spain, in the Council of Toledo, the ſame rule was laid down that the Greeks had begun. In Spain ſome Prieſts did conſecrate the chriſm, but that was ſeverely forbid in one of the Councils of Toledo: yet at Rome the ancient cuſtom was obſerved, of appropriating the whole buſineſs of confirmation to the Biſhop, even in Gregory the Great's time: therefore he reproved the Clergy of Sardinia, becauſe among them the Prieſts did confirm, and he appointed it to be reſerved to the Biſhop. But when he underſtood that ſome of them were offended at this, he writ to the Biſhop of Carali, that though his former order was made according to the ancient practice of the Church of Rome, yet he conſented that for the future the Prieſt might *confirm* in the Biſhop's abſence. But Pope Nicholas in the ninth century preſſed this with more rigour: for the Bulgarians being then converted to the Chriſtian religion, and their Prieſts having both baptized and confirmed the new converts, Pope Nicholas ſent Biſhops among them, with orders to confirm even thoſe who had already been confirmed by Prieſts: upon which, the conteſt being then on foot between Rome and Conſtan-

Con. Araus. c. 1, 2. Cod. Affr. Can. 6. Con. Tol. c. 20.

Hieron. ad Lucifer.

Hilar. in cap. 4. ad Epheſ. ut ſupra.

Greg Ep. l. iii. Ep. 9.

ART. XXV.

Conſtantinople, Photius got it to be decreed in a ſynod at Conſtantinople, that the chriſm being hallowed by a Biſhop, it might be adminiſtered by Preſbyters: and Photius affirmed, that a Preſbyter might do this, as well as baptize or offer at the altar. But Pope Nicholas, with the confidence that was often aſſumed by that ſee upon as bad grounds, did affirm, that this had never been allowed of. And upon this many of the Latins did, in the progreſs of their diſputes with the Greeks, ſay, that they had no confirmation. This has been more enlarged on, than was neceſſary by the deſigned ſhortneſs of this work, becauſe all thoſe of the Roman communion among us have now no confirmation, unleſs a Biſhop happens to come amongſt them. And therefore it is now a common doctrine among them, that though confirmation is a Sacrament, yet it is not neceſſary.

In Decr. Cont. Flor.

About this there were fierce diſputes among them about ſixty years ago, whether it was neceſſary for them to have a Biſhop here to confirm, according to the ancient cuſtom, or not? The Jeſuits, who had no mind to be under any authority but their own, oppoſed it; for the Biſhop being by Pope Eugenius declared to be the ordinary miniſter of it, from thence it was inferred, that a Biſhop was not ſimply neceſſary. This was much cenſured by ſome of the Gallican Church. If confirmation were conſidered only as an eccleſiaſtical rite, we could not diſpute the power of the Church about it; but we cannot allow that a Sacrament ſhould be thus within the power of the Church; or that a new function of conſecrating oil, without applying it, diſtinct from confirmation, and yet neceſſary to the very eſſence of it, could have been ſet up by the power of the Church; for if Sacraments are federal conveyances of grace, they muſt be continued according to their firſt inſtitution, the grace of God being only tied to the actions with which it is promiſed.

We go next to the ſecond of the Sacraments here rejected, which is *Penance*, that is reckoned the fourth in order among them. *Penance*, or *Penitence*, is formed from the Latin tranſlation of a Greek word that ſignifies a *change* or *renovation of mind*; which Chriſt has made a neceſſary condition of the New Covenant. It conſiſts in ſeveral acts; by all which, when joined together, and producing this real change, we become true penitents, and have a right to the *Remiſſion of Sins*, which is in the New Teſtament often joined with *Repentance*, and is its certain conſequent. The firſt act of this repentance is, confeſſion to God, before whom we muſt humble ourſelves,

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ART. XXV.

selves, and confess our sins to him; upon which we believe that *he is faithful*, and true to his promises, and *just to forgive us our sins*; and if we have wronged others, or have given public offence to the body, or church, to which we belong, we ought to *confess our faults* to them likewise; and as a mean to quiet men's consciences, to direct them to complete their repentance, and to make them more humble and ashamed of their sins, we advise them to use secret confession to *their Priest, or to any other minister of God's word*; leaving this matter wholly to their discretion.

1 John i. 9. James v. 16.

When these acts of sorrow have had their due effect, in reforming the natures and lives of sinners, then their sins are forgiven them: in order to which, we do teach them to pray much, to give alms according to their capacity, and to fast as often as their health and circumstances will admit of; and most indispensably to restore or repair, as they find they have sinned against others. And as we teach them thus to look back on what is past, with a deep and hearty sorrow, and a profound shame, so we charge them to look chiefly forward, not thinking that any acts with relation to what is past can, as it were, by an account or compensation, free us from the guilt of our former sins, unless we amend our lives and change our tempers for the future; the great design of repentance being to make us like God, pure and holy as he is. Upon such a repentance sincerely begun, and honestly pursued, we do in general, as the heralds of God's mercy, and the ministers of his Gospel, pronounce to our people daily, the offers that are made us of mercy and pardon by Christ Jesus. This we do in our daily service, and in a more peculiar manner before we go to the holy Communion. We do also, as we are a body that may be offended with the sins of others, forgive the scandals committed against the Church; and that such as we think die in a state of repentance, may die in the full peace of the Church, we join both absolutions in one; in the last office likewise praying to our Saviour that he would forgive them, and then we, as the officers of the Church, authorised for that end, do forgive all the offences and scandals committed by them against the whole body. This is our doctrine concerning Repentance; in all which we find no characters of a Sacrament, no more than there is in prayer or devotion. Here is no matter, no application of that matter by a peculiar form, no institution, and no peculiar federal acts. The scene here is the mind, the acts are internal, the effect is such also; and

ART. XXV.

and therefore we do not reckon it a Sacrament, not finding in it any of the characters of a Sacrament.

The matter that is assigned in the Church of Rome, are the acts of the penitent; his confession by his mouth to the Priest, the contrition of his heart, and the satisfaction of his work, in doing the enjoined penance. The aggregate of all these is the *matter*; and the *form*, are the words, *Ego te absolvo*. Now besides what we have to say from every one of these particulars, the matter of a Sacrament must be some visible sign applied to him that receives it. It is therefore a very absurd thing, to imagine that a man's own thoughts, words, or actions, can be the *matter* of a Sacrament: how can this be sanctified or applied to him? It will be a thing no less absurd to make the *form* of a Sacrament to be a practice not much elder than four hundred years; since no ritual can be produced, nor author cited for this form, for above a thousand years after Christ; all the ancient forms of receiving penitents having been by a blessing in the form of a prayer, or a declaration; but none of them in these positive words, *I absolve thee*. We think this want of *matter*, and this new invented *form*, being without any institution in Scripture, and different from so long a practice of the whole Church, are such reasons, that we are fully justified in denying Penance to be a Sacrament. But because the doctrine of Repentance is a point of the highest importance, there arise several things here that ought to be very carefully examined.

Innoc. 3. in 4 Later. Can. 21, 22. Con. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 5.

As to *Confession*, we find in the Scriptures, that such as desired St. John's baptism, came *confessing their sins*; but that was previous to baptism. We find also that scandalous persons were to be *openly rebuked before all*, and so to be put to shame; in which, no doubt, there was a confession, and a publication of the sin: but that was a matter of the discipline and order of the Church; which made it necessary to *note such persons as walked disorderly, and to have no fellowship with them*, sometimes *not so much as to eat with them*, who being Christians, and such as were called *Brothers*, were a reproach to their profession. But besides the power given to the Apostles of *binding and loosing*, which, as was said on another head, belonged to other matters; we find that when our Saviour breathed on his Apostles, and gave them the Holy Ghost, he with that told them, that *whose soever sins they remitted, they were remitted; and whose soever sins they retained, they were retained*. Since a power of remitting or retaining sin was thus given to them, they infer, that it seems reasonable,

Matth. iii. 6.

1 Tim. v. 20.

2 Thess. iii. 14. 1 Cor. v. 11.

John xx. 23.

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able, that, in order to their diſpenſing it with a due caution, the knowledge of all ſins ought to be laid open to them. ART. XXV.

Some have thought that this was a perſonal thing given to the Apoſtles with that miraculous effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt; with which ſuch a diſcerning of ſpirits was communicated to them, that they could diſcern the ſincerity or hypocriſy of thoſe that came before them. By this St. Peter diſcovered the ſin of Ananias and Sapphira; and he alſo ſaw that Simon of Samaria was *in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity:* ſo they conclude that this was a part of that extraordinary and miraculous authority which was given to the Apoſtles, and to them only. But others, who diſtinguiſh between the full extent of this power, and the miniſterial authority that is ſtill to be continued in the Church, do believe that theſe words may in a lower and more limited ſenſe belong to the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles; but they argue very ſtrongly, that if theſe words are to be underſtood in their full extent as they lie, a Prieſt has by them an abſolute and unlimited power in this matter, not reſtrained to conditions or rules; ſo that if he does pardon or retain ſins, whether in that he does right or wrong, the ſins muſt be pardoned or retained accordingly: he may indeed ſin in uſing it wrong, for which he muſt anſwer to God; but he ſeems, by the literal meaning of theſe words, to be clothed with ſuch a plenipotentiary authority, that his act muſt be valid, though he may be puniſhed for employing it amiſs. Acts v. 3, 9. Acts viii. 23.

An Ambaſſador that has full powers, though limited by ſecret inſtructions, does bind him that ſo empowered him, by every act that he does, purſuant to his powers, how much ſoever it may go beyond his inſtructions; for how obnoxious ſoever that may render him to his maſter, it does not at all leſſen the authority of what he has done, nor the obligation that ariſes out of it. So theſe words of Chriſt's, if applied to all Prieſts, muſt belong to them in their full extent; and if ſo, the ſalvation or the damnation of mankind is put abſolutely in the Prieſt's power. Nor can it be anſwered, that the conditions of the pardon of ſin that are expreſſed in the other parts of the Goſpel, are here to be underſtood, though they are not expreſſed; as we are ſaid to be ſaved if we believe, which does not imply that a ſingle act of believing the Goſpel, without any thing elſe, puts us in a ſtate of ſalvation.

In oppoſition to this, we anſwer, that the Goſpel having ſo deſcribed *faith* to us, as the root of all other graces and



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ART. XXV.

virtues, as that which produces them, and which is known by them, all that is promiſed upon our *faith*, muſt be underſtood of a *faith* ſo qualified as the Goſpel repreſents it; and therefore that cannot be applied to this caſe, where an unlimited authority is ſo particularly expreſſed, that no condition ſeems to be implied in it. If any conditions are elſewhere laid upon us, in order to our ſalvation, then, according to their doctrine, we may ſay that of them which they ſay of contrition upon this occaſion, that they are neceſſary when we cannot procure the Prieſt's pardon; but that by it the want of them all may be ſupplied, and that the obligation to them all is ſuperſeded by it: and if any conditions are to be underſtood as limits upon this power, why are not all the conditions of the Goſpel, faith, hope, and charity, contrition and new obedience, made neceſſary, in order to the lawful diſpenſing of it, as well as confeſſion, attrition, and the doing the penance enjoined? Therefore ſince no condition is here named as a reſtraint upon this general power, that is pretended to be given to Prieſts by thoſe words of our Saviour, they muſt either be underſtood as ſimple and unconditional, or they muſt be limited to all the conditions that are expreſſed in the Goſpel; for there is not the colour of a reaſon to reſtrain them to ſome of them, and to leave out the reſt: and thus we think we are fully juſtified by ſaying, that by theſe words our Saviour did indeed fully empower the Apoſtles to publiſh his Goſpel to the world, and to declare the terms of ſalvation, and of obtaining the pardon of ſin, in which they were to be infallibly aſſiſted, ſo that they could not err in diſcharging their commiſſion; and the terms of the Covenant of Grace being thus ſettled by them, all who were to ſucceed them were alſo empowered to go on with the publication of this pardon and of thoſe glad tidings to the world: ſo that whatſoever they declared in the name of God, conform to the tenor of that which the Apoſtles were to ſettle, ſhould be always made good. We do alſo acknowledge, that the Paſtors of the Church have, in the way of cenſure and government, a miniſterial authority to remit or to retain ſins, as they are matters of ſcandal or offence; though that indeed does not ſeem to be the meaning of thoſe words of our Saviour; and therefore we think that the power of pardoning and retaining is only declaratory, ſo that all the exerciſes of it are then only effectual, when the declarations of the pardon are made conform to the conditions of the Goſpel. This doctrine of ours, how much ſoever decried of late in the Roman Church,

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Church, as ſtriking at the root of the prieſtly authority, yet has been maintained by ſome of their beſt Authors, and ſome of the greateſt of their Schoolmen. ART. XXV.

Thus we have ſeen upon what reaſon it is that we do not conclude from hence, that auricular confeſſion is neceſſary; in which we think that we are fully confirmed by the practice of many of the ages of the Chriſtian Church, which did not underſtand theſe words as containing an obligation to ſecret confeſſion. It is certain, that the practice and tradition of the Church muſt be relied on here, if in any thing, ſince there was nothing that both Clergy and Laity were more concerned both to know, and to deliver down faithfully, than this, on which the authority of the one, and the ſalvation of the other, depended ſo much. Such a point as this could never have been forgot or miſtaken; many and clear rules muſt have been given about it. It is a thing to which human nature has ſo much repugnancy, that it muſt, in the firſt forming of Churches, have been infuſed into them as abſolutely neceſſary in order to pardon and ſalvation.

A Church could not now be formed, according to the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, without very full and particular inſtructions, both to Prieſts and People, concerning confeſſion and abſolution. It is the moſt intricate part of their divinity, and that which the Clergy muſt be the moſt ready at. In oppoſition to all this, let it be conſidered, that though there is a great deal ſaid in the New Teſtament concerning ſorrow for ſin, repentance, and remiſſion of ſins, yet there is not a word ſaid, nor a rule given, concerning confeſſion to be made to a Prieſt, and abſolution to be given by him. There is indeed a paſſage in St. James's Epiſtle relating to confeſſion; but *it is to one another*; not reſtrained to the Prieſt; as the word rendered *faults* ſeems to ſignify thoſe offences by which others are wronged; in which caſe confeſſion is a degree of reparation, and ſo is ſometimes neceſſary: but whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the confeſſion, which is there appointed to be made, is a thing that was to be mutual among Chriſtians; and it is not commanded in order to abſolution, but in order to the procuring the interceſſions of other good men; and therefore it is added, and *pray for one another*. By the words that follow, *that ye may be healed*, joined with thoſe that went before concerning the *ſick*, it ſeems the direction given by St. James belongs principally to ſick perſons; and the concluſion of the whole period ſhews, that it relates only to the private prayers of good men for one James v. 16.

ART. XXV.

another; *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much:* ſo that this place does not at all belong to auricular confeſſion or abſolution.

Nor do there any prints appear, before the apoſtaſies that happened in the perſecution of Decius, of the practice even of confeſſing ſuch heinous ſins as had been publicly committed. Then aroſe the famous conteſts with the Novatians, concerning the receiving the lapſed into the communion of the Church again. It was concluded not to exclude them from the hopes of mercy, or of reconciliation; yet it was reſolved not to do that till they had been kept at a diſtance for ſome time from the holy communion; at laſt they were admitted to make their confeſſion, and ſo they were received to the communion of the Church. This time was ſhortened, and many things were paſſed over, to ſuch as ſhewed a deep and ſincere repentance; and one of the characters of a true repentance, upon which they were always treated with a great diſtinction of favour, was, if they came and firſt accuſed themſelves. This ſhewed that they were deeply affected with the ſenſe of their ſins, when they could not bear the load of them, but became their own accuſers, and diſcovered their ſins. There are ſeveral canons that make a difference in the degrees and time of the penance, between thoſe who had accuſed themſelves, and thoſe againſt whom their ſins were proved. A great deal of this ſtrain occurs often in the writings of the Fathers, which plainly ſhews that they did not look on the neceſſity of an enumeration of all their ſins as commanded by God; otherwiſe it would have been enforced with conſiderations of another nature, than that of ſhortening their penance.

The firſt occaſion that was given to the Church to exerciſe this diſcipline, was from the frequent apoſtaſies, into which many had lapſed during the perſecutions; and when theſe went off, another ſort of diſorders began to break in upon the Church, and to defile it. Great numbers followed the example of their Princes, and became Chriſtians; but a mixed multitude came among them, ſo that there were many ſcandals amongſt that body, which had been formerly remarkable for the purity of their morals, and the ſtrictneſs of their lives. It was the chief buſineſs of all thoſe Councils that met in the fourth and fifth centuries, to ſettle many rules concerning the degrees and time of penance, the cenſures both of the Clergy and Laity, the orders of the Penitents, and the methods of receiving them to the communion of the Church. In ſome of thoſe

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ART. XXV.

thoſe Councils they denied reconciliation after ſome ſins, even to the laſt, though the general practice was to receive all at their death; but while they were in a good ſtate of health, they kept them long in penance, in a public ſeparation from the common privileges of Chriſtians, and chiefly from the holy Sacrament, and under ſevere rules, and that for ſeveral years, more or fewer, according to the nature of their ſins, and the characters of their repentance; of which a free and unextorted confeſſion being one of the chief, this made many prevent that, and come in of their own accord to confeſs their ſins, which was much encouraged and magnified.

Dallæus de Confeſſione. Morinus de Pœnitentia.

Confeſſion was at firſt made publicly; but the inconveniencies of that appearing, and particularly many of thoſe ſins being capital, inſtead of a public, there was a private confeſſion practiſed. The Biſhops either attended upon theſe themſelves, or they appointed a penitentiary Prieſt to receive them: all was in order to the executing the canons, and for keeping up the diſcipline of the Church. Biſhops were warranted by the Council of Nice to excuſe the ſeverity of the canons, as the occaſion ſhould require. The penitents went through the penance impoſed, which was done publicly; the ſeparation and penance being viſible, even when the ſin was kept ſecret; and when the time of the penance was finiſhed, they received the penitents by prayer and impoſition of hands, into the communion of the Church, and ſo they were received. This was all the abſolution that was known during the firſt ſix centuries.

Penitents were enjoined to publiſh ſuch of their ſecret ſins, as the penitentiary Prieſt did preſcribe. This happened to give great ſcandal at Conſtantinople, when Nectarius was Biſhop there; for a woman being in a courſe of penance, confeſſed publicly that ſhe had been guilty of adultery, committed with a Deacon in the Church. It ſeems, by the relation that the hiſtorian gives of this matter, that ſhe went beyond the injunctions given her; but whether the fault was in her, or in the penitentiary Prieſt, this gave ſuch offence, that Nectarius broke that cuſtom. And Chryſoſtom, who came ſoon after him to that ſee, ſpeaks very fully againſt ſecret confeſſion, and adviſes Chriſtians to confeſs only to God; yet the practice of ſecret confeſſion was kept up elſewhere. But it appears by a vaſt number of citations from the Fathers, both in different ages, and in the different corners of the Church, that though they preſſed confeſſion much, and magnified the value of it highly, yet they

Socr. Hiſt. l. v. c. 19.

Thirteen paſſages out of him cited and explained by Daille de Conf. l. iv. c. 25.



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ART. XXV.

never urged it as neceſſary to the pardon of ſin, or as a Sacrament; they only preſſed it as a mean to complete the repentance, and to give the ſinner an intereſt in the prayers of the Church. This may be poſitively affirmed concerning all the quotations that are brought in this matter, to prove that auricular confeſſion is neceſſary in order to the Prieſt's pardon, and that it is founded on thoſe words of Chriſt, *Whoſe ſins ye remit*, &c. that they prove quite the contrary; that the Fathers had not that ſenſe of it, but conſidered it, either as a mean to help the completing of repentance, or as a mean to maintain the purity of the Chriſtian Church, and the rigour of diſcipline.

In the fifth century a practice begun, which was no ſmall ſtep to the ruin of the order of the Church. Penitents were ſuffered, inſtead of the public penance that had been formerly enjoined, to do it ſecretly in ſome monaſtery, or in any other private place, in the preſence of a few good men, and that at the diſcretion of the Biſhop, or the Confeſſor; at the end of which, abſolution was given in ſecret. This was done to draw what profeſſions of repentance they could from ſuch perſons who would not ſubmit to ſettled rules: this temper was found neither to loſe them quite, nor to let their ſins paſs without any cenſure. But in the ſeventh century, all public penance for ſecret ſins was taken quite away. Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, is reckoned the firſt of all the Biſhops of the Weſtern Church, that did quite take away all public penance for ſecret ſins.

Another piece of the ancient ſeverity was alſo ſlackened, for they had never allowed penance to men that had relapſed into any ſin; though they did not cut them off from all hope of the mercy of God, yet they never gave a ſecond abſolution to the relapſe. This the Church of Rome has ſtill kept up in one point, which is hereſy; a relapſe being delivered to the ſecular arm, without admitting him to penance. The ancients did indeed admit ſuch to penance, but they never reconciled them. Yet in the decay of diſcipline, abſolution came to be granted to the relapſe, as well as to him that had ſinned but once.

About the end of the eighth century, the commutation of penance began; and, inſtead of the ancient ſeverities, vocal prayers came to be all that was enjoined; ſo many *Paters* ſtood for ſo many days of faſting, and the rich were admitted to buy off their penance under the decenter name of giving alms. The getting many maſſes to be ſaid, was thought a devotion by which God was ſo much honoured,

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honoured, that the commuting penance for maſſes was much practiſed. Pilgrimages and wars came on afterwards; and in the twelfth century, the trade was ſet up of ſelling indulgences. By this it appears, that confeſſion came by ſeveral ſteps into the Church; that in the firſt ages it was not heard of; that the apoſtaſies in time of perſecution gave the firſt riſe to it; all which demonſtrates that the primitive Church did not conſider it as a thing appointed by Chriſt to be the matter of a Sacrament. ART. XXV.

It may be in the power of the Church to propoſe confeſſion, as a mean to direct men in their repentance, to humble them deeper for their ſins, and to oblige them to a greater ſtrictneſs. But to enjoin it as neceſſary to obtain the pardon of ſin, and to make it an indiſpenſable condition, and indeed the moſt indiſpenſable of all the parts of repentance, is beyond the power of the Church; for ſince Chriſt is the Mediator of this New Covenant, he alone muſt fix the neceſſary conditions of it. In this, more than in any thing elſe, we muſt conclude that the Goſpel is expreſs and clear; and therefore ſo hard a condition as this is, cannot be impoſed by any other authority. The obligation to auricular confeſſion, is a thing to which mankind is naturally ſo little diſpoſed to ſubmit, and it may have ſuch conſequences on the peace and order of the world, that we have reaſon to believe, that if Chriſt had intended to have made it a neceſſary part of repentance, he would have declared it in expreſs words, and not have left it ſo much in the dark, that thoſe who aſſert it, muſt draw it by inferences from thoſe words, *Whoſe ſins ye remit*, &c. Some things are of ſuch a nature, that we may juſtly conclude, that either they are not at all required, or that they are commanded in plain terms.

As for the good or evil effects that may follow on the obliging men to a ſtrictneſs in confeſſion, that does not belong to this matter: if it is acknowledged to be only a law of the Church, other conſiderations are to be examined about it; but if it is pretended to be a law of God, and a part of a Sacrament, we muſt have a divine inſtitution for it; otherwiſe all the advantages that can poſſibly be imagined in it, without that, are only ſo many arguments to perſuade us, that there is ſomewhat that is highly neceſſary to the purity of Chriſtians, of which Chriſt has not ſaid a word, and concerning which his Apoſtles have given us no directions. We do not deny, but it may be a mean to ſtrike terror in people, to keep



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ART. XXV.

them under awe and obedience; it may, when the management of it is in good hands, be made a mean to keep the world in order, and to guide thoſe of weaker judgments more ſteadily and ſafely, than could be well done any other way. In the uſe of confeſſion, when propoſed as our Church does, as matter of advice, and not of obligation, we are very ſenſible many good ends may be attained; but while we conſider thoſe, we muſt likewiſe reflect on the miſchief that may ariſe out of it; eſpecially ſuppoſing the greater part both of the Clergy and Laity to be what they ever were, and ever will be, depraved and corrupted. The people will grow to think that the Prieſt is in *God's ſtead* to them; that their telling their ſins to him, is as if they confeſſed them to God; they will expect to be eaſily diſcharged for a gentle penance, with a ſpeedy abſolution; and this will make them as ſecure, as if their conſciences were clear, and their ſins pardoned; ſo the remedy being eaſy and always at hand, they will be encouraged to venture the more boldly on ſin. It is no difficult matter to gain a Prieſt, eſpecially if he himſelf is a bad man, to uſe them tenderly upon thoſe occaſions. On the other hand, corrupt Prieſts will find their account in the diſpenſing this great power, ſo as to ſerve their own ends. They will know all people's tempers and ſecrets; and how ſtrict ſoever they may make the ſeal of confeſſion, to draw the world to truſt to it; yet in bodies ſo knit together, as communities and orders are, it is not poſſible to know what uſe they may make of this. Still they know all themſelves, and ſee into the weakneſs, the paſſions, and appetites of their people. This muſt often be a great ſnare to them, eſpecially in the ſuppoſition that cannot be denied to hold generally true, of their being bad men themſelves: great advantages are hereby given to infuſe fears and ſcruples into people's minds, who being then in their tendereſt minutes, will be very much ſwayed and wrought on by them. A bad Prieſt knows by this whom he may tempt to any ſort of ſin: and thus the good and the evil of confeſſion, as it is a general law upon all men's conſciences, being weighed one againſt the other; and it being certain that the far greater part of mankind is always bad, we muſt conclude, that the evil does ſo far preponderate the good, that they bear no compariſon or proportion to one another. The matter at preſent under debate is only, whether it is one of the laws of God, or not? And it is enough for the preſent purpoſe to ſhew, that it is no law of God; upon which we do alſo ſee very good reaſon why it ought not to be made a law

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a law of the Church; both becauſe it is beyond her authority, which can only go to matters of order and diſcipline, as alſo becauſe of the vaſt inconveniencies that are like to ariſe out of it. ART. XXV.

The next part of repentance is *Contrition*, which is a ſorrow for ſin upon the motives of the love of God, and the hatred of ſin joined with a renovation of heart. This is that which we acknowledge to be neceſſary to complete our repentance: but this conſiſting in the temper of a man's mind, and his inward acts, it ſeems a very abſurd thing to make this the matter of a Sacrament, ſince it is of a ſpiritual and inviſible nature. But this is not all that belongs to this head.

The caſuiſts of the Church of Rome have made a diſtinction between a perfect and an imperfect *Contrition*; the imperfect they call *Attrition*; which is any ſorrow for ſin, though upon an inferior motive, ſuch as may be particular to one act of ſin, as when it riſes from the loſs or ſhame it has brought with it, together with an act formed in deteſtation of it, without a reſolution to ſin no more. Such a ſorrow as this is they teach does make the Sacrament effectual, and puts a man in a ſtate of juſtification, though they acknowledge that without the Sacrament it is not ſufficient to juſtify him.

This was ſettled by the Council of Trent. We think it ſtrikes at the root of all religion and virtue, and is a reverſing of the deſign for which Sacraments were inſtituted, which was to raiſe our minds to a high pitch of piety, and to exalt and purify our acts. We think the Sacraments are profaned when we do not raiſe our thoughts as high as we can in them. To teach men how low they may go, and how ſmall a meaſure will ſerve turn, eſpecially when the great and chief Commandment, the conſideration of the love of God, is left out, ſeems to be one of the greateſt corruptions in practice, of which any Church can be guilty: a ſlackneſs in doctrine, eſpecially in ſo great a point as this, in which human nature is under ſo fatal a bias, will always bring with it a much greater corruption in practice. This will indeed make many run to the Sacrament, and raiſe its value; but it will riſe upon the ruins of true piety and holineſs. There are few men that can go long on in very great ſins, without feeling great remorſes; theſe are to them rather a burthen that they cannot ſhake off, than a virtue. Sorrow lying long upon their thoughts may be the beginning of a happy change, and ſo prove a great bleſſing to them; all which is deſtroyed by this doctrine: for if under ſuch Trid. Seſſ. 14. c. 4.

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ART. XXV.

uneasy thoughts they go to confession, and are attrite, the Sacrament is valid, and they are justified: then the uneasiness goes off, and is turned into joy, without their being any thing the better by it. They return to their sins with a new calm and security, because they are taught that their sins are pardoned, and that all scores are cleared. Therefore we conclude, that this doctrine wounds religion in its vitals; and we are confirmed in all this by what appears in practice, and what the best writers that have lived in that communion have said of the abuses that follow on the methods in which this Sacrament is managed among them, which do arise mainly out of this part of their doctrine concerning *attrition*. All that they teach concerning those acts of *attrition*, or even *contrition*, is also liable to great abuse in practice: for, as a man may bring forth those acts in words, and not be the better for them; so he may force himself to think them, which is nothing but the framing an inward discourse within himself upon them; and yet these not arising genuinely from a new nature, or a change of temper, such acts can be of no value in the sight of God: yet the whole practice of their Church runs upon these acts, as if a man's going through them, and making himself think them, could be of great value in the sight of God.

The third branch of the matter of this Sacrament is the *Satisfaction*, or the doing the penance; which, by the constant practice of the Church for above twelve centuries, was to be performed before absolution could be given; except in extraordinary cases, such as death, or martyrdom: but in these latter ages, in which the necessity of confession is carried higher, the obligation to satisfaction or the doing of penance is let fall lower. A distinction is invented, by which confession and contrition, attrition at least, are made essential parts of the Sacrament, without which there is no Sacrament; as soul and body are essential to the being of a man: and satisfaction is considered only as an integral part; such as an eye or a limb in a man, which is necessary to the order of it, but not to its being. If satisfaction is considered as that which destroys the habits of sin, and introduces the habits of virtue; if it is purgative and medicinal, and changes a man's principles and nature, then it ought to be reckoned the principal and least dispensable thing of all repentance. For our confessing past sins, and sorrowing for them, is only enjoined us as a mean to reform and purify our nature. If we imagine that our acts of repentance are a discounting with God, by so many pious thoughts which

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ART. XXV.

are to be ſet againſt ſo many bad ones, this will introduce a ſort of a mechanical religion; which will both corrupt our ideas of God, and of the nature of good and evil.

The true and generous notion of religion is, that it is a ſyſtem of many truths, which are of ſuch efficacy, that if we receive them into our minds, and are governed by them, they will rectify our thoughts, and purify our natures; and by making us like God here, they will put us in a ſure way to enjoy him eternally hereafter. Sorrow for paſt ſins, and all reflections upon them, are enjoined us as means to make the ſenſe of them go ſo deep in our minds, as to free us from all thoſe bad habits that ſin leaves in us, and from thoſe ill inclinations that are in our nature. If we therefore ſet up a ſorrowing for ſin as a merchandiſe with God, by ſo many acts of one kind to take off the acts of another, here the true deſign of our ſorrow is turned into a trafficking, by which how much ſoever Prieſts may gain, or the value of Sacraments may ſeem to riſe, religion will certainly loſe in its main deſign; which is the planting a new nature in us, and the making us become like God. Confeſſion and contrition are previous acts, that lead to this reformation, which, as they teach, is wrought by the ſatisfaction; therefore we muſt needs condemn that doctrine which makes it leſs neceſſary and more diſpenſable than the other. In the caſe of death we confeſs all the rights of the Church with relation to a man's ſcandals, and his obligations to make public penance, may and ought to be then forgiven him: but we think it one of the moſt fatal errors that can creep into any Church, to encourage men to rely on a death-bed repentance. The nature of man leans ſo much this way, that it is neceſſary to bend the point as ſtrong as may be to the other hand.

The promiſes of the Goſpel run all upon the condition of repentance; which imports a renovation of the inner man, and a purity of life: ſo that no repentance can be eſteemed true, but as we perceive that it has purified our hearts, and changed our courſe of life. What God may do with death-bed penitents, in the infinite extent and abſoluteneſs of his mercy, becomes not us to define: but we are ſure he has given no promiſes to ſuch perſons in his Goſpel. And ſince the function of Clergymen is the diſpenſing of that, we cannot go beyond the limits ſet us in it: ſo there is no reaſon to make this part of repentance leſs neceſſary or obligatory than the other, but very much to the contrary. Another exception that we have to the allowed practice of that Church, is the giving abſolution before

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ART. XXV.

before the ſatisfaction is made; upon its being enjoined, and accepted by the penitent. This is ſo contrary to all ancient rules, that it were a needleſs labour to go to prove it; the thing being confeſſed by all: and yet the practice is ſo totally changed among them, that ſuch as have blamed it, and have attempted to revive the ancient method, have been cenſured as guilty of an innovation, ſavouring of hereſy: becauſe they condemn ſo general a practice, that it would render the infallibility of the Church very doubtful, if it ſhould be pretended to have erred in ſo univerſal a practice.

Haſty abſolutions, contrary both to the whole deſign of the Goſpel, and to the conſtant practice of the Church, for at leaſt twelve centuries, are now the avowed methods of that Church; to which in a great meaſure all that corruption of morals that is among them owes its riſe and continuance: for who can be ſuppoſed to ſet himſelf againſt thoſe inclinations to ſin, that are deeply rooted in his nature, and are powerfully recommended by the pleaſure and gain that ariſes out of vicious practices, if the way to pardon is caſt ſo wide open, that a man may ſin as long and as ſecurely as he will, and yet all at once, upon a few acts that he makes himſelf go through, he may get into a ſtate of grace, and be pardoned and juſtified? The power that is left to the Prieſt to appoint the penance, is a truſt of a high nature, which yet is known to be univerſally ill applied; ſo that abſolution is generally proſtituted among them.

The true penance enjoined by the Goſpel is the forſaking of ſin, and the doing acts of virtue. Faſting, prayers, and alms-giving are acts that are very proper means to raiſe us to this temper. If faſting is joined with prayer, and if prayer ariſes out of an inward devotion of mind, and is ſerious and fervent, then we know that it has great efficacy; as being one of the chief acts of our religious ſervice of God, to which the greateſt promiſes are made, and upon which the beſt bleſſings do deſcend upon us. Alms-giving is alſo a main part of charity: which, when done from a right principle of loving God and our neighbour, is of great value in his ſight. But if faſting is only an exerciſe of the body, and of abſtaining ſo long, and from ſuch things, this may perhaps trouble and pain the body; but bodily exerciſe profiteth nothing; ſo not to mention the mockery of faſting, when it is only a delay of eating, after which all liberties are taken, or an abſtinence which is made up with other delicious and inflaming nutritives, theſe are of no value, being only inventions

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ventions to deceive men, and to expoſe religion to mockery. But even ſevere and afflicting faſting, if done only as a puniſhment, which when it is over, the penance is believed to be completed, gives ſuch a low idea of God and religion, that from thence men are led to think very ſlightly of ſin, when they know at what price they can carry it off. Such a continuance in faſting in order to prayer, as humbles and depreſſes nature, and raiſes the mind, is a great mean to reform the world; but faſting as a preſcribed taſk to expiate our ſins, is a ſcorn put upon religion. ART. XXV.

Prayer, when it ariſes from a ſerious heart that is earneſt in it, and when it becomes habitual, is certainly a moſt effectual mean to reform the world, and to fetch down divine aſſiſtances. But to appoint ſo many vocal prayers to be gone through as a taſk; and then to tell the world, that the running through theſe, with few or no inward acts accompanying them, is contrition or attrition, this is more like a deſign to root out all the impreſſions of religion, and all ſenſe of that repentance which the Goſpel requires, than to promote it. This may be a taſk fit to accuſtom children to; but it is contrary to the true genius of religion, to teach men, inſtead of that *reaſonable ſervice* that we ought to offer up to God, to give him only the *labour of the lips*, which is the *ſacrifice of fools*. Prayers gone through as a taſk can be of no value, and can find no acceptation in the ſight of God. And as St. Paul ſaid, that *if he gave all his goods to the poor, and had not charity, he was nothing*; ſo the greateſt profuſion of alms-giving, when done in a mercenary way, to buy off and to purchaſe a pardon, is the turning of God's houſe from being a *houſe of prayer*, to be a *den of thieves*. 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

Upon all theſe reaſons we except to the whole doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, as to the ſatisfaction made by doing penance. And in the laſt place we except to the form of abſolution in theſe words, *I abſolve thee*. We of this Church, who uſe it only to ſuch as are thought to be near death, cannot be meant to underſtand any thing by it, but the full peace and pardon of the Church: for if we meant a pardon with relation to God, we ought to uſe it upon many other occaſions. The pardon that we give in the name of God is only declaratory of his pardon, or ſupplicatory in a prayer to him for pardon.

In this we have the whole practice of the Church till the twelfth century univerſally of our ſide. All the Fathers,

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ART. XXV.

thers, all the ancient Liturgies, all that have writ upon the offices, and the first Schoolmen, are so expres in this matter, that the thing in fact cannot be denied. Morinus has published so many of their old rituals, that he has put an end to all doubting about it. In the twelfth century some few began to use the words, *I absolve thee:* yet, to soften this expression, that seemed new and bold, some tempered it with these words, *in so far as it is granted to my frailty*; and others with those words, *as far as the accusation comes from thee, and as the pardon is in me.* Yet this form was but little practised: so that William, Bishop of Paris, speaks of the form of absolution as given only in a prayer, and not as given in these words, *I absolve thee.* He lived in the beginning of the fourteenth century; so that this practice, though begun in other places before that time, yet was not known long after in so public a city as Paris. But some Schoolmen began to defend it, as implying only a declaration of the pardon pronounced by the Priest: and this having an air of more authority, and being once justified by learned men, did so universally prevail, that in little more than sixty years time, it became the universal practice of the whole Latin Church. So sure a thing is tradition, and so impossible to be changed, as they pretend, when within the compas of one age, the new form, *I absolve thee*, was not so much as generally known, and before the end of it the old form of doing it in a prayer, with imposition of hands, was quite worn out. The idea that arises naturally out of these words is, that the Priest pardons sins; and since that is subject to such abuses, and has let in so much corruption upon that Church, we think we have reason not only to deny that Penance is a Sacrament, but likewise to affirm, that they have corrupted this great and important doctrine of repentance, in all the parts and branches of it: nor is the matter mended with that prayer that follows the absolution. *The passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merits of the blessed Virgin and all the Saints, and all the good that thou hast done, and the evil that thou hast suffered, be to thee for the remission of sins, the increase of grace, and the reward of eternal life.*

Rituale Romanum de sacr. pœnitent.

The third Sacrament rejected by this Article is Orders; which is reckoned the fixth by the Church of Rome. We affirm, that Christ appointed a succession of Pastors in different ranks, to be continued in his Church, for the work of the Gospel, and the care of souls; and that, as the Apostles settled the Churches, they appointed different orders of *Bishops, Priests,* and *Deacons:* and we believe,

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believe, that all who are dedicated to ſerve in theſe miniſtries, after they are examined and judged worthy of them, ought to be ſeparated to them by the impoſition of hands, and by prayer. Theſe were the only rites that we find practiſed by the Apoſtles. For many ages the Church of God uſed no other; therefore we acknowledge that *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons* ought to be bleſſed and dedicated to the holy miniſtry by impoſition of hands and prayer; and that then they are received according to the order and practice ſettled by the Apoſtles to ſerve in their reſpective degrees. Men thus ſeparated have thereby authority to perfect the Saints or Chriſtians, that is, to perform the ſacred functions among them, to miniſter to them, and to build them up in their moſt holy faith. And we think no other perſons, without ſuch a ſeparation and conſecration, can lawfully touch the holy things. In all which we ſeparate the qualifications of the function, from the inward qualities of the perſon; the one not at all depending on the other; the one relating only to the order and the good government of the ſociety, and the other relating indeed to the ſalvation of him that officiates, but not at all to the validity of his office or ſervice. ART. XXV.

But in all this we ſee nothing like a Sacrament: here is neither *matter*, *form*, nor *inſtitution*; here is only prayer: the laying on of hands is only a geſture in prayer, that imports the deſignation of the perſon ſo prayed over. In the Greek Church there is indeed a different form; for though there are prayers in their office of Ordination, yet the words that do accompany the impoſition of hands are only declaratory; *The grace of God, that perfects the feeble and heals the weak, promotes this man to be a deacon, a prieſt, or a biſhop; let us therefore pray for him:* by which they pretend only to judge of a divine vocation: all the ancient rituals and all thoſe that treat of them for the firſt ſeven centuries, ſpeak of nothing as eſſential to orders but *prayer* and *impoſition of hands*. It is true, many rites came to be added, and many prayers were uſed that went far beyond the firſt ſimplicity. But in the tenth or eleventh century a new form was brought in, of delivering the *veſſels* in ordaining Prieſts; and words were joined with that, giving them power to *offer ſacrifices to God, and to celebrate maſſes*, and then the orders were believed to be given by this rite. The delivering of the *veſſels* looked like a *matter*, and theſe words were thought the *form* of the Sacrament; and the prayer that was formerly uſed with the impoſition of hands, was indeed ſtill uſed, but

Haberti pontif. Græcum. Morinus de Ordinat. Sacris.

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ART. XXV.

but only as a part of the office; no hands were laid on when it was uſed: and though the form of laying on of hands was ſtill continued, the Biſhop with other Prieſts laying their hands on thoſe they ordained, yet it is now a dumb ceremony, not a word of a prayer being ſaid while they lay on their hands. So that though both prayer and impoſition of hands are uſed in the office, yet they are not joined together. In the concluſion of the office, a new benediction was added ever ſince the twelfth century. The Biſhop alone lays on his hands, ſaying, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt; whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted; and whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained.* The number Seven was thought to ſuit the Sacraments beſt, ſo Orders were made one of them, and of theſe only Prieſthood; where the *veſſels* were declared to be the *matter*, and the *form* was the delivering them with the words, *Take thou authority to offer up ſacrifices to God, and to celebrate maſſes, both for the living and the dead; in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.*

The Schoolmen have taken a new way of explaining this whole matter, borrowed from the Euchariſt, that is made up of two parts, the conſecration of the bread and of the wine; both ſo neceſſary, that without the one, the other becomes void: ſo they teach that a Prieſt has two powers, of *conſecrating* and of *abſolving*; and that he is ordained to the one by the delivery of the veſſels, and to the other by the Biſhop's laying on of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*; and they make the Biſhop and the Prieſt's laying on of hands jointly, to be only their declaring as by a ſuffrage, that ſuch a perſon ought to be ordained: ſo totally have they departed from the primitive forms.

If this is a Sacrament, and if the Sacrament conſiſts in this matter and form by them aſſigned, then ſince all the rituals of the Latin Church for the firſt ten centuries had no ſuch form of ordaining Prieſts, this cannot be the *matter* and *form* of a Sacrament: otherwiſe the Church had in a courſe of ſo many ages no true Orders, nor any Sacrament in them. Nor will it ſerve in anſwer to this to ſay, that Chriſt inſtituted no ſpecial *matter* nor *form* here, but has left the ſpecifying thoſe among the other powers that he has given to his Church: for a Sacrament being an inſtitution of applying a *matter* deſigned by God, by a particular *form* likewiſe appointed; to ſay that Chriſt appointed here neither *matter* nor *form*, is plainly to confeſs that this is no Sacrament. In the firſt nine or ten ages there was no matter at all uſed, nothing but an impoſition

ART. XXV.

poſition of hands with prayer: ſo that by this doctrine the Church of God was all that while without true orders, ſince there was nothing uſed that can be called the matter of a Sacrament.

Therefore, though we continue this inſtitution of Chriſt, as he and his Apoſtles ſettled it in the Church, yet we deny it to be a Sacrament; we alſo deny all the inferior orders to be ſacred, below that of Deacon. The other orders we do not deny might be well, and on good reaſons, appointed by the Church as ſteps through which Clerks might be made to paſs, in order to a ſtricter examination and trial of them; like degrees in Univerſities: but the making them, at leaſt the ſubdiaconate, ſacred, as it is reckoned by Pope Eugenius, is, we think, beyond the power of the Church; for here a degree of orders is made a Sacrament, and yet that degree is not named in the Scripture, nor in the firſt ages. It is true, it came to be ſoon uſed with the other inferior orders; but it cannot be pretended to be a Sacrament, ſince no divine inſtitution can be brought for it. And we cannot but obſerve, that in the definition that Eugenius has given of the Sacraments, which is an authentical piece in the Roman Church, where he reckons *Prieſts*, *Deacons*, and *Subdeacons*, as belonging to the Sacrament of Orders, he does not name *Biſhops*, though their being of divine inſtitution is not queſtioned in that Church. Perhaps the ſpirit, with which they acted at that time in Baſil, offended him ſo much, that he was more ſet on depreſſing than on raiſing them. In the Council of Trent, in which ſo much zeal appeared for recovering the dignity of the epiſcopal order, at that time ſo much eclipſed by the papal uſurpations, when the Sacrament of *Orders* was treated of, they reckoned ſeven degrees of them, the higheſt of which is that of *Prieſt*. So that though they decreed that a Biſhop was by the divine inſtitution above a Prieſt, yet they did not decree that the office was an Order, or a Sacrament. And the Schoolmen do generally explain epiſcopate, as being a higher degree or extenſion of prieſthood, rather than a new Order, or a Sacrament; the main thing in their thoughts being that which, if true, is the greateſt of all miracles, the wonderful converſion made in tranſubſtantiation, they ſeem to think that no order can be above that which qualifies a man for ſo great a performance.

I ſay nothing in this place concerning the power of offering ſacrifices, pretended to be given in orders; for that belongs to another Article.



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ART. XXV.

The fourth Sacrament here rejected is *Marriage*; which is reckoned the laſt by the Roman account. In the point of argument there is leſs to ſay here than in any of the other; but there ſeems to be a very expreſs warrant for calling it a *Sacrament*, from the tranſlation of a paſſage in St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Epheſians, in which he makes an alluſion, while he treats of Marriage, to the mutual relation that is between Chriſt and his Church, from that ſtate of life, and ſays, *There is a great myſtery here*; the Vulgar has tranſlated the word *Myſtery* by *Sacrament*. So though the words immediately following ſeem to turn the matter another way, *but I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and the Church*; yet from the promiſcuous uſe of thoſe two words, and becauſe *Sacraments* were called the *Myſteries* of the Chriſtian religion, the Tranſlator, it ſeems, thought that all myſteries might be called *Sacraments*. But it is ſo very hard here to find *matter*, *form*, a *miniſter*, and a *ſacramental effect*, that though Pope Eugenius, in that famous decree of his, is very punctual in aſſigning theſe, when he explains the other Sacraments; yet he wiſely paſſed them all over when he came to this, and only makes a true conſent neceſſary to the making the Sacrament.

Ephes. v. 32.

We do not deny marriage to be an ordinance of God; but we think that as it was at firſt made in the ſtate of innocence, ſo it is ſtill founded on the law of nature; and though the Goſpel gives rules concerning the duties belonging to this ſtate of life, as it does concerning the duties of parents and children, which is another relation founded on the ſame law of nature, yet we cannot call it a Sacrament; for we find neither *matter*, *form*, *inſtitution*, nor *federal acts*, nor *effects* aſſigned to it in the Goſpel, to make us eſteem it a Sacrament.

The *matter* aſſigned by the Roman doctors is the inward conſent, by which both parties do mutually give themſelves to one another: the *form* they make to be the words or ſigns, by which this is expreſſed. Now [a] it ſeems a ſtrange thing to make the ſecret thoughts of men the *matter*, and their words the *form* of a Sacrament; all mutual compacts being as much Sacraments as this, there being no viſible material things applied to the parties who

[a] Upon the whole doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning the Sacraments, as it is explained by the Schoolmen, I have followed the account given by Honoratus Fabri, in his Summa Theologica, who is dead within theſe ten years. I knew him at Rome, anno 1685. He was a true philoſopher, beyond the liberties allowed by his order, and ſtudied to reduce their ſchool-divinity to as clear ideas as it was capable of. So that in following him I have given the beſt, and not the worſt face of their doctrine. His book was printed at Lyons, anno 1669.

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receive them; which is neceſſary to the being of a Sacrament. It is alſo a very abſurd opinion, which may have very fatal conſequences, and raiſe very afflicting ſcruples, if any ſhould imagine that the *inward conſent* is the *matter* of this Sacrament; here is a foundation laid down for voiding every marriage. The parties may and often do marry againſt their wills; and though they profeſs an outward conſent, they do inwardly repine againſt what they are doing. If after this they grow to like their marriage, ſcruples muſt ariſe, ſince they know they have not the Sacrament; becauſe it is a doctrine in that Church, that as intention is neceſſary in every Sacrament, ſo here that goes further, the intention being the only *matter* of this Sacrament; ſo that without it there is no marriage, and yet ſince they cannot be married again to complete, or rather to make the marriage, ſuch perſons do live only in a ſtate of concubinage. ART. XXV.

On the other hand, here is a foundation laid down for breaking marriages as often as the parties, or either of them, will ſolemnly ſwear that they gave no inward conſent, which is often practiſed at Rome. All contracts are ſacred things; but of them all, marriage is the moſt ſacred, ſince ſo much depends upon it. Men's words, confirmed by oaths and other ſolemn acts, muſt either be binding according to the plain and acknowledged ſenſe of them, or all the ſecurity and confidence of mankind is deſtroyed. No man can be ſafe if this principle is once admitted; that a man is not bound by his promiſes and oaths, unleſs his inward conſent went along with them: and if ſuch a fraudulent thing may be applied to marriages, in which ſo many perſons are concerned, and upon which the order of the world does ſo much depend, it may be very juſtly applied to all other contracts whatſoever, ſo that they may be voided at pleaſure. A man's words and oaths bind him by the eternal laws of fidelity and truth; and it is a juſt prejudice againſt any religion whatſoever, if it ſhould teach a doctrine in which, by the ſecret reſerves of not giving an inward conſent, the faith which is ſolemnly given may be broken. Here ſuch a door is opened to perfidy and treachery, that the world can be no longer ſafe while it is allowed; hereby lewd and vicious perſons may entangle others, and in the mean while order their own thoughts ſo, that they ſhall be all the while free.

Next to *matter* and *form*, we muſt ſee for the inſtitution of this Sacrament. The Church of Rome think that is ſtrong here, though they feel it to be hardly defenſible in



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ART. XXV.

the other points that relate to it. They think that though marriage, as it is a mutual contract, ſubſiſts upon the law of nature, yet a divine virtue is put in it by the Goſpel, expreſſed in theſe words, *This is a great Myſtery or Sacrament*; ſo the explaining theſe words determines this controverſy. The chief point in diſpute at that time was, whether the Gentiles were to be received to equal privileges with the Jews, in the diſpenſation of the Meſſias. The Jews do not to this day deny, but that the Gentiles may be admitted to it; but ſtill they think that they are to be conſidered as a diſtinct body, and in a lower order, the chief dignity being to be reſerved to the ſeed of Abraham. Now St. Paul had in that Epiſtle, as well as in his other Epiſtles, aſſerted, that all were equal in Chriſt; that he had taken away the *middle wall of partition*; that he had aboliſhed the ground of the enmity, which was the Moſaical Law, called *the Law of Commandments contained in ordinances*; *that he might make both Jew and Gentile one new man*; one entire body of a Church; *he being the chief corner-ſtone, in whom the whole building was fitly framed together: and ſo became a holy habitation to God.* Thus he made uſe of the figure of a body, and of a temple, to illuſtrate this matter; and to ſhew how all Chriſtians were to make up but one body, and one Church. So when he came to ſpeak of the rules belonging to the ſeveral ſtates of human life, he takes occaſion to explain the duties of the married ſtate, by comparing that to the relation that the Church has to Chriſt: and when he had ſaid that the married couple make but one body and one fleſh; which declares that, according to the firſt inſtitution, every man was to have but one wife; he adds upon that, *this is a great Myſtery:* that is, from hence another myſtical argument might be brought, to ſhew that Jew and Gentile muſt make one body; for ſince the Church was the ſpouſe of Chriſt, he muſt, according to that figure, have but one wife; and by conſequence the Church muſt be one: otherwiſe the figure will not be anſwered; unleſs we ſuppoſe Chriſt to be in a ſtate anſwering a polygamy, rather than a ſingle marriage. Thus a clear account of theſe words is given, which does fully agree to them, and to what follows, *but I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and the Church.*

Eph. ii. 15, 16, 20, 21.

This, which is all the foundation of making marriage a Sacrament, being thus cleared, there remains nothing to be ſaid on this head, but to examine one conſequence, that has been drawn from the making it a Sacrament, which is, that the bond is indiſſoluble; and that even adultery

ART. XXV.

adultery does not void it. The law of nature or of nations seems very clear, that adultery, at leaſt on the wife's part, ſhould diſſolve it: for the end of marriage being the aſcertaining of the iſſue, and the contract itſelf being a mutual transferring the right to one another's perſon, in order to that end; the breaking this contract and deſtroying the end of marriage does very naturally infer the diſſolution of the bond: and in this both the Attic and Roman laws were ſo ſevere, that a man was infamous who did not divorce upon adultery. Our Saviour, when he blamed the Jews for their frequent divorces, eſtabliſhed this rule, *that whoſoever puts away his wife, except it be for fornication, and ſhall marry another, committeth adultery.* Which ſeems to be a plain and full determination, that in the caſe of fornication, he may put her away and marry another. It is true, St. Mark and St. Luke repeat theſe words, without mentioning this exception; ſo ſome have thought that we ought to bring St. Matthew to them, and not them to St. Matthew. But it is an univerſal rule of expounding Scriptures, that when a place is fully ſet down by one inſpired writer, and leſs fully by another, that the place which is leſs full is always to be expounded by that which is more full. So though St. Mark and St. Luke report our Saviour's words generally, without the exception, which is twice mentioned by St. Matthew, the other two are to be underſtood to ſuppoſe it; for a general propoſition is true when it holds generally; and exceptions may be underſtood to belong to it, though they are not named. The Evangeliſt that does name them muſt be conſidered to have reported the matter more particularly, than the others that do it not. Since then our Saviour has made the exception, and ſince that exception is founded upon a natural equity, that the innocent party has againſt the guilty, there can be no reaſon why an exception ſo juſtly grounded, and ſo clearly made, ſhould not take place.

Matth. v. 32. Matth. xix. 9. Mark x. 11. Luke xvi. 18.

Both Tertullian, Baſil, Chryſoſtom, and Epiphanius, allow of a divorce in caſe of adultery; and in thoſe days they had no other notion of a divorce, but that it was the diſſolution of the bond; the late notion of a ſeparation, the tie continuing, not being known till the Canoniſts brought it in. Such a divorce was allowed by the Council of Elliberis. The Council of Arles did indeed recommend it to the huſband, whoſe wife was guilty of adultery, not to marry; which did plainly acknowledge that he might do it. It was, and ſtill is the conſtant practice of the Greek Church; and as both Pope Gregory and Pope

Tertull. lib. iv. cont. Marcion. c. 34. Baſil. Ep. ad Amphil. c. 9. Chryſoſ. hom. 17, in Matth. Epiph. Hæreſ. 59. Cath. Conc. Ellib. c. 65.



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ART. XXV.

Zachary allowed the innocent perſon to marry, ſo in a Synold held at Rome in the tenth century, it was ſtill allowed. When the Greeks were reconciled to the Latins in the Council of Florence, this matter was paſſed over, and the care of it was only recommended by the Pope to the Emperor. It is true, Eugenius put it in his inſtruction to the Armenians; but though that paſſes generally for a part of the Council of Florence, yet the Council was over and up before that was given out.

Conc. Arel. c. 10. Conc. Afric. c. 102. Cauſa 32. q. 7. Indecr. Eug. in Conc. Flor.

This doctrine of the indiſſolubleneſs of marriage, even for adultery, was never ſettled in any Council before that of Trent. The Canoniſts and Schoolmen had indeed generally gone into that opinion; but not only Eraſmus, but both Cajetan and Catherinus declared themſelves for the lawfulneſs of it: Cajetan indeed uſed a ſalvo, in caſe the Church had otherwiſe defined, which did not then appear to him. So that this is a doctrine very lately ſettled in the Church of Rome. Our Reformers here had prepared a title in the new body of the Canon Law, which they had digeſted, allowing marriage to the innocent party; and upon a great occaſion then in debate, they declared it to be lawful by the law of God: and if the opinion, that marriage is a Sacrament, falls, the conceit of the abſolute indiſſolubleneſs of marriage will fall with it.

Eraſm. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. vii. Cajetan. in Matth. xix. c. 9. Cathar. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. vii. l. 5. Annot.

The laſt Sacrament which is rejected by this Article, that is, the fifth, as they are reckoned up in the Church of Rome, is *Extreme Unction*. In the commiſſion that Chriſt gave his Apoſtles, among the other powers that were given them to confirm it, one was to *cure diſeaſes* and *heal the ſick*; purſuant to which St. Mark tells, that *they anointed with oil many that were ſick, and healed them*. The Prophets uſed ſome ſymbolical actions when they wrought miracles; ſo Moſes uſed his rod often; Eliſha uſed Elijah's mantle; our Saviour put his finger into the deaf man's ear, and made clay for the blind man; and oil being upon almoſt all occaſions uſed in the Eaſtern parts, the Apoſtles made uſe of it: but no hint is given that this was a ſacramental action. It was plainly a miraculous virtue that healed the ſick, in which oil was made uſe of as a ſymbol accompanying it. It was not preſcribed by our Saviour, for any thing that appears, as it was not blamed by him neither. It was no wonder, if, upon ſuch a precedent, thoſe who had that extraordinary gift, did apply it with the uſe of *oil*; not as if *oil* was the ſacramental conveyance; it was only uſed with it. The end of it was miraculous; it was in order to the *recovery of the ſick*, and had no relation to their ſouls, though with the cure wrought

Mark vi. 13.

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wrought on the body, there might ſometimes be joined an operation upon the ſoul; and this appears clearly from St. James's words, *Is any ſick among you, let him call for the Elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up.* All hitherto is one period, which is here cloſed. The following words contain new matter quite of a different kind; *and if he have committed ſins, they ſhall be forgiven him.* It appears clearly that this was intended for the recovery of the ſick perſon, which is the thing that is poſitively promiſed; the other concerning the pardon of ſins, comes in on the bye, and ſeems to be added only as an acceſſary to the other, which is the principal thing deſigned by this whole matter. Therefore ſince anointing was in order to healing, either we muſt ſay that the gift of healing is ſtill depoſited with the *Elders of the Church*, which no body affirms; or this *oil* was only to be uſed by thoſe who had that ſpecial gift; and therefore if there are none now who pretend to have it, and if the Church pretends not to have it lodged with her, then the anointing with oil cannot be uſed any more; and therefore thoſe who uſe it not in order to the recovery of the perſon, delaying it till there is little or no hope left, uſe not that unction mentioned by St. James, but another of their own deviſing, which they call the *Sacrament of the dying.* It is a vain thing to ſay, that becauſe *ſaving* and *raiſing up* are ſometimes uſed in a ſpiritual ſenſe, that therefore the *ſaving the ſick* here, and that of the *Lord's raiſing him up*, are to be ſo meant. For the forgiveneſs of ſin, which is the ſpiritual bleſſing, comes afterwards, upon ſuppoſition that the ſick perſon had committed ſins. The *ſaving* and *raiſing up* muſt ſtand in oppoſition to the ſickneſs: ſo ſince all acknowledge that the one is literal, the other muſt be ſo too. The ſuppoſition of ſin is added, becauſe ſome perſons, upon whom this miracle might have been wrought, might be eminently pious; and if at any time it was to be applied to ill men who had committed ſome notorious ſins, perhaps ſuch ſins as had brought their ſickneſs upon them, theſe were alſo to be forgiven.

ART. XXV.

James v. 14, 15.

In the uſe of miraculous powers, thoſe to whom that gift was given, were not empowered to uſe it at pleaſure; they were to feel an inward impulſe exciting them to it, and they were obliged upon that firmly to believe, that God, who had given them the impulſe, would not be wanting to them in the execution of it. This confidence



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ART. XXV.

in God was the *faith of miracles*, of which Christ said, *If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say to this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and nothing shall be impossible unto you.* Of this also St. Paul meant, when he said, *If I have all faith.* So from this we may gather the meaning of the *prayer of faith, and the anointing with oil*; that if the *Elders of the Church*, or such others with whom this power was lodged, felt an inward impulse moving them to call upon God, in order to a miraculous cure of a sick person, then they were to *anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord:* that is, by the authority that they had from Christ, to heal all manner of diseases: and they were to pray, believing firmly, that God would make good that inward motion which he had given them to work this miracle; and in that case the effect was certain, the sick person would certainly recover, for that is absolutely promised. Every one that was sick was not to be anointed, unless an authority and motion from Christ had been secretly given for doing it; but every one that was anointed was certainly healed. Christ had promised that *whatsoever they should ask in his name, he would do it. His name* must be restrained to his authority, or pursuant to such secret motions as they shall receive from him. This is the *prayer of faith* here mentioned by St. James; it being an earnest application to God to join his omnipotent power to perform a wonderful work, to which a person so divinely qualified felt himself inwardly moved by the spirit of Christ. The supposition of the sick person's *having committed sins*, which is added, shews that sometimes this virtue was applied to persons of that eminent piety, that though all men are guilty in the sight of God, yet they could not be said to have committed sins, in the sense in which St. John uses the phrase; signifying by it, either that they had lived in the habits of sin, or that they had committed some notorious sin: but if some should happen to be sick, who had been eminent sinners, and those sins had drawn down the judgments of God upon them, which seems to be the natural meaning of these words, *if he have committed sins*; then, with his bodily health, he was to receive a much greater blessing, even the pardon of his sins. And thus the *anointing* mentioned by St. James was in order to a miraculous cure, and the cure did constantly follow it: so that it can be no precedent for an extreme unction, that is never given till the recovery of the person is despaired of, and by which it is not pretended that any cure is wrought.

Matth. xxi. 21.

1 Cor. xiii. 2.

John xiv. 13.

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ART. XXV.

The matter of it is *oil-olive* bleſſed by the Biſhop; the form is the applying it to the five ſenſes, with theſe words, *Per hanc ſacram unctionem, et ſuam piiſſimam miſericordiam indulgeat tibi Deus quicquid peccaſti, per viſum, auditum, olfactum, guſtum, et tactum.* The proper word to every ſenſe being repeated as the organ of that ſenſe is anointed. It is adminiſtered by a Prieſt, and gives the final pardon, with all neceſſary aſſiſtances in the laſt agony. Here is then an inſtitution, that, if warranted, is matter of great comfort; and if not warranted, is matter of as great preſumption. In the firſt ages we find mention is made frequently of perſons that were cured by an anointing with oil: oil was then much uſed in all their rituals, the Catechumens being anointed with oil before they were baptized, beſides the chriſm that was given after it. Oil grew alſo to be uſed in ordinations, and the dead were anointed in order to their burial: ſo that the ordinary uſe of oil on other occaſions brought it to be very frequently uſed in their ſacred rites; yet how cuſtomary ſoever the practice of anointing grew to be, we find no mention of any unction of the ſick before the beginning of the fifth century. This plainly ſhews that they underſtood St. James's words as relating to a miraculous power, and not to a function that was to continue in the Church, and to be eſteemed a Sacrament.

Rituale Rom. Con. Trid. Seſſ. 14.

Conſ. Apoſt. l. iii. c. 16. l. vii. c. 42, 44. Tertul. de bapt. c. 10. Cypr. Ep. 70. Clem. Alex. pædag. l. xi. c. 8. Dionyſ. Areop. de Eccleſ. hier. c. 7, 8.

That earlieſt mention of it by Pope Innocent the Firſt, how much ſoever it is inſiſted on, is really an argument that proves againſt it, and not for it. For not to enlarge on the many idle things that are in that Epiſtle, which have made ſome think that it could not be genuine, and that do very much ſink the credit both of the teſtimony and of the man; for it ſeems to be well proved to be his: the paſſage relating to this matter is in anſwer to a demand that was made to him by the Biſhop of Eugubium, whether the ſick might be anointed with the oil of the chriſm? and whether the Biſhop might anoint with it? To theſe he anſwers, that no doubt is to be made but that St. James's words are to be underſtood of the faithful that were ſick, who may be anointed by the chriſm; which may be uſed not only by the Prieſts, but by all Chriſtians, not only in their own neceſſities, but in the neceſſities of any of their friends: and he adds, that it was a needleſs doubt that was made, whether a Biſhop might do it; for Preſbyters are only mentioned, becauſe the Biſhop could not go to all the ſick; but certainly he who made the chriſm itſelf, might anoint with it. A Biſhop aſking theſe queſtions of another, and the anſwers which the other gives

Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent.

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ART. XXV.

gives him, do plainly ſhew that this was no Sacrament practiſed from the beginnings of Chriſtianity; for no Biſhop could be ignorant of thoſe. It was therefore ſome newly begun cuſtom, in which the world was not yet ſufficiently inſtructed. And ſo it was indeed, for the ſubject of theſe queſtions was not pure oil, ſuch as now they make to be the matter of extreme unction; but the oil of *chriſm*, which was made and kept for other occaſions; and it ſeems very clear, that the miraculous power of healing having ceaſed, and none being any more anointed in order to that; ſome began to get a portion of the oil of chriſm, which the Laity, as well as the Prieſts, applied both to themſelves and to their friends, hoping that they might be cured by it. Nothing elſe can be meant by all this, but a ſuperſtitious uſing the *chriſm*, which might have ariſen out of the memory that remained of thoſe who had been cured by oil, as the uſe of *bread* in the Euchariſt brought in the *holy bread*, that was ſent from one Church to another; and as from the uſe of *water* in *baptiſm* ſprung the uſe of *holy water*. This then being the clear meaning of thoſe words, it is plain that they prove quite the contrary of that for which they are brought; and though in that Epiſtle the Pope calls *chriſm* a kind of Sacrament, that turns likewiſe againſt them; to ſhew that he did not think it was a Sacrament, ſtrictly ſpeaking. Beſides, that the ancients uſed that word very largely, both for every myſterious doctrine, and for every holy rite that they uſed. In this very Epiſtle, when he gives directions for the carrying about that *bread*, which they bleſſed, and ſent about as an emblem of their communion with other Churches; he orders them to be ſent about only to the Churches within the city, becauſe he conceived the Sacraments were not to be carried a great way off; ſo theſe loaves are called by him not only a *kind of Sacrament*, but are ſimply reckoned to be *Sacraments*.

We hear no more of anointing the ſick with the chriſm, among all the ancients; which ſhews, that as that practice was newly begun, ſo it did not ſpread far, nor continue long. No mention is made of this neither in the firſt three ages, nor in the fourth age; though the writers, and particularly the Councils of the fourth age are very copious in rules concerning the Sacraments. Nor in all their penitentiary canons, when they define what ſins are to be forgiven, and what not, when men were in their laſt extremities, is there ſo much as a hint given concerning the laſt unction. The Conſtitutions, and the pretended Dionyſius, ſay not a word of it, though they are very full upon

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upon all the rituals of that time in which thoſe works were forged, in the fourth or fifth century. In none of the lives of the Saints before the ninth century, is there any mention made of their having extreme unction, though their deaths are ſometimes very particularly related, and their receiving the Euchariſt is oft mentioned. Nor was there any queſtion made in all that time concerning the perſons, the time, and the other circumſtances relating to this unction; which could not have been omitted, eſpecially when almoſt all that was thought on, or writ of, in the eighth and ninth century, relates to the Sacraments, and the other rituals of the Church. ART. XXV.

It is true, from the ſeventh century on to the twelfth, they began to uſe an anointing of the ſick, according to that mentioned by Pope Innocent, and a peculiar office was made for it; but the prayers that were uſed in it, ſhew plainly that it was all intended only in order to their recovery. Lib. Sacram. Gregor. Menardi Notæ.

Of this anointing many paſſages are found in Bede, and in the other writers and councils of the eighth and ninth century. But all theſe do clearly expreſs the uſe of it, not as a Sacrament for the good of the ſoul, but as a rite that carried with it health to the body; and ſo it is ſtill uſed in the Greek Church. No doubt they ſupported the credit of this with many reports, of which ſome might be true, of perſons that had been recovered upon uſing it. But becauſe that failed ſo often, that the credit of this rite might ſuffer much in the eſteem of the world, they began in the tenth century to ſay, that it did good to the ſoul, even when the body was not healed by it; and they applied it to the ſeveral parts of the body. This begun from the cuſtom of applying it at firſt to the diſeaſed parts. This was carried on in the eleventh century. And then in the twelfth, thoſe prayers that had been formerly made for the ſouls of the ſick, though only as a part of the office, the pardon of ſin being conſidered as preparatory to their recovery, came to be conſidered as the main and moſt eſſential part of it: then the Schoolmen brought it into ſhape, and ſo it was decreed to be a Sacrament, by Pope Eugenius, and finally eſtabliſhed at Trent. Bede Hiſt. Ang. l iii. c. 15. Euchol. Gra. p. 408. Dec. Eug. in Con. Flor. Con. Trid. Seſſ. 14.

The argument that they draw from a parity in reaſon, that becauſe there is a Sacrament for ſuch as come into the world, there ſhould be alſo one for thoſe that go out of it, is very trifling; for Chriſt has either inſtituted this to be a Sacrament, or it is not one: if he has not inſtituted it, this pretended fitneſs is only an argument that he ought to have done ſomewhat, that he has not done.

The

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ART. XXV.

The Euchariſt was conſidered by the ancients as the only viaticum of Chriſtians, in their laſt paſſage: with them we give that, and no more.

Thus it appears upon what reaſon we reject thoſe five Sacraments, though we allow both of *Confirmation* and *Orders* as holy functions, derived to us down from the Apoſtles; and becauſe there is a viſible action in theſe, though in ſtrictneſs they cannot be called a Sacrament, yet ſo the thing be rightly underſtood, we will not diſpute about the extent of a word that is not uſed in Scripture. Marriage is in no reſpect to be called a Sacrament of the Chriſtian religion; though it being a ſtate of ſuch importance to mankind, we hold it very proper, both for the ſolemnity of it, and for imploring the bleſſing of God upon it, that it be done with prayers and other acts of religious worſhip: but a great difference is to be made between a pious cuſtom begun and continued by public authority, and a Sacrament appointed by Chriſt. We acknowledge true repentance to be one of the great conditions of the New Covenant; but we ſee nothing of the nature of a Sacrament in it: and for extreme unction, we do not pretend to have the gift of healing among us: and therefore we will not deceive the world, by an office that ſhall offer at that, which we acknowledge we cannot do: nor will we make a Sacrament for the good of the ſoul, out of that which is mentioned in Scripture, only as a rite that accompanied the curing the diſeaſes of the body.

The laſt part of this Article, concerning the uſe of the Sacraments, conſiſts of two parts: the *firſt* is negative, that they are not ordained to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but to be uſed: and this is ſo expreſs in the Scripture, that little queſtion can be made about it. The inſtitution of Baptiſm is, *go preach and baptize:* and the inſtitution of the Euchariſt is, *take, eat, and drink ye all of it:* which words being ſet down before thoſe in which the conſecrating them is believed to be made, *this is my body*; and *this is my blood*; and the conſecratory words being delivered as the reaſon of the command, *take, eat, and drink*; nothing can be more clearly expreſſed than this, that the Euchariſt is conſecrated only, that it may be uſed; that it may be *eat* and *drunk*.

The *ſecond* part of this period is, that the effect of the Sacraments comes only upon the worthy receiving of them; of this ſo much was already ſaid, upon the firſt paragraph of this Article, that it is not neceſſary to add any more here. The pretending that Sacraments have their effect

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effect any other way, is the bringing in the doctrine and practice of charms into the Christian religion: and it tends to dissolve all obligations to piety and devotion, to a holiness of life, or a purity of temper, when the being in a passive and perhaps insensible state, while the Sacraments are applied, is thought a disposition sufficient to give them their virtue. Sacraments are federal acts, and those visible actions are intended to quicken us, so that in the use of them we may raise our inward acts to the highest degrees possible; but not to supply their defects and imperfections. Our opinion in this point represents them as means to raise our minds, and to kindle our devotion; whereas the doctrine of the Church of Rome represents them as so many charms, which may heighten indeed the authority of him that administers them, but do extinguish and deaden all true piety, when such helps are offered, by which the worst of men, living and dying in a bad state, may by a few feint acts, and perhaps by none at all of their own, be well enough taken care of and secured. But as we have not so learned Christ, so neither dare we corrupt his doctrine, in its most vital and essential parts. ART. XXV.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXVI.

### Of the Unworthineſs of the Miniſters, which hinders not the Effect of the Sacraments.

**Although in the Viſible Church, the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and ſometimes the Evil have chief Authority in the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments; yet for as much as they do not the ſame in their own Name, but in Chriſt's, and do miniſter by his Commiſſion and Authority, we may uſe their Miniſtry both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving the Sacraments. Neither is the Effect of Chriſt's Ordinance taken away by their Wickedneſs: Nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminiſhed from ſuch as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments miniſtered unto them, which be Effectual becauſe of Chriſt's Inſtitution and Promiſe, although they be miniſtred by Evil Men.**

**Nevertheleſs it appertaineth to the Diſcipline of the Church, that Enquiry be made of Evil Miniſters; and that they be accuſed by thoſe that have knowledge of their Offences, and finally being found guilty, by juſt Judgment be depoſed.**

THE occaſion that was given to this Article, was the heat of ſome in the beginnings of the Reformation; who being much offended at the public ſcandal which was given by the enormous vices, that were without any diſguiſe practiſed by the Roman Clergy of all ranks, did from thence revive the conceit of the Donatiſts, who thought that not only hereſy and ſchiſm did invalidate ſacred functions, but that perſonal ſins did alſo make them void.

It cannot be denied but that there are many paſſages in St. Cyprian that look this way; and which ſeem to make the Sacraments depend as much on the good ſtate that he was in who adminiſtered them, as the anſwer of their other prayers did.

In the progreſs of the controverſy with the Donatiſts, they carried this matter very far; and conſidered the effect of the Sacraments as the anſwer of prayers: ſo ſince the prayers of a wicked man are abomination to God, they thought

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thought the virtue of these actions depended wholly on him that officiated. ART. XXVI.

Against this St. Augustin set himself very zealously; he answered all that was brought from St. Cyprian in such a manner, that by it he has set us a pattern, how we ought to separate the just respect that we pay the Fathers, from an implicit receiving of all their notions. If this conceit were allowed of, it must go to the secret thoughts and inward state in which he is who officiates; for if the Sacraments are to be considered only as prayers offered up by him, then a man can never be sure that he receives them; since it is impossible to see into the hearts, or know the secrets of men. Sacraments therefore are to be considered only as the public acts of the Church: and though the effect of them, as to him that receives them, depends upon his temper, his preparation and application; yet it cannot be imagined that the virtue of those federal acts, to which Christians are admitted in them, the validity of them, or the blessings that follow them, can depend on the secret state or temper of him that officiates. Even in the case of public scandals, though they may make the holy things to be loathed by the aversion that will naturally follow upon them; yet after all, though that aversion may go too far, we must still distinguish between the things that the Ministers of the Church do as they are public officers, and what they do as they are private Christians. Their prayers, and every thing else that they do, as they are private Christians, have their effect only according to the state and temper that they are in when they offer them up to God: but their public functions are the appointments of Christ, in which they officiate; they can neither make them the better nor the worse by any thing that they join to them. And if miraculous virtues may be in bad men, so that in the great day some of those, to whom Christ shall say, *I never knew you*; *depart from me ye that work iniquity*, may yet say to him, *Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out Devils, and in thy name have done many wonderful works?* then certainly this may be concluded much more concerning those standing functions and appointments that are to continue in the Church. Nor can any difference be made in this matter between public scandals and secret sins; for if the former make void the Sacraments, the latter must do so too. The only reason that can be pretended for the one, will also fall upon the other: for if the virtue of the Sacraments is thought to be derived upon them as an answer of prayer; then since the prayers of hypocrites

Matth. vii. 22, 23.

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ART. XXVI.

hypocrites are as little effectual as the prayers of those who are openly vicious, the inference is good, that if the Sacraments administered by a scandalous man are without any effect, the Sacraments administered by a man that is inwardly corrupted, though that can be only known to God, will be also of no effect; and therefore this opinion that was taken up, perhaps from an inconsiderate zeal against the sins and scandals of the Clergy, is without all foundation, and must needs cast all men into endless scruples, which can never be cured.

The Church of Rome, though they reject this opinion, yet have brought in another very like it, which must needs fill the minds of men with endless distractions and fears; chiefly considering of what necessity and efficacy they make the Sacraments to be. They do teach that the intention of him that gives the Sacrament is necessary to the essence of it, so that without it no Sacrament can be administered. This was expressly affirmed by Pope Eugenius in his decree, and an anathema passed at Trent against those that deny it. They do indeed define it to be only an intention of doing that which the Church intends to do; and though the surest way they say is to have an actual intention, yet it is commonly taught among them, that an habitual or virtual intention will serve. But they do all agree in this, that, if a Priest has a secret intention not to make a Sacrament, in that case no Sacrament is made; and this is carried so far, that in one of the rubrics of the Missal it is given as a rule, that if a Priest who goes to consecrate twelve Hosties, should have a general intention to leave out one of them from being truly consecrated, and should not apply that to any one, but let it run loosely through them all, that in such case he should not consecrate any one of the twelve; that loose exception falling upon them all, because it is not restrained to any one particular. And among the Articles that were condemned by Pope Alexander the Eighth, the 7th of December 1690, the 28th runs thus; *Valet baptismus collatus a Ministro, qui omnem ritum externum formamque baptizandi observat, intus vero in corde suo apud se resolvit, non intendo quod facit Ecclesia.* And thus they make the secret acts of a Priest's mind enter so far into those divine appointments, that by his malice, irreligion, or atheism, he can make those Sacraments, which he visibly blesses and administers, to be only the outward shews of Sacraments, but no real ones. We do not pretend that the Sacraments are of the nature of charms; so that if a man should in a way of open mockery and profanation go about them,

Miss. Rom. Rubr. de defectu Intent. art. 1.

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them, that therefore, becauſe matter and form are obſerved, they ſhould be true Sacraments. But though we make the ſerious appearances of a Chriſtian action to be neceſſary to the making it a Sacrament; yet we carry this no further, to the inward and ſecret acts of the Prieſt, as if they were eſſential to the being of it. If this is true, no man can have quiet in his mind. ART. XXVI.

It is a profanation for an unbaptized perſon to receive the Euchariſt; ſo if baptiſm is not true when a Prieſt ſets his intention croſs to it, then a man in orders muſt be in perpetual doubts, whether he is not living in a continual ſtate of ſacrilege in adminiſtering the other Sacraments while he is not yet baptized; and if baptiſm be ſo neceſſary to ſalvation, that no man who is not baptized can hope to be ſaved, here a perpetual ſcruple muſt ariſe, which can never be removed. Nor can a man be ſure but that, when he thinks he is worſhipping the true body of Jeſus Chriſt, he is committing idolatry, and worſhipping only a piece of bread; for it is no more according to them, if the Prieſt had an intention againſt conſecrating it. No orders are given if an intention lies againſt them; and then he who paſſes for a Prieſt is no Prieſt; and all his conſecrations and abſolutions are ſo many invalid things, and a continued courſe of ſacrilege.

Now what reaſon ſoever men may have in this caſe to hope for the pardon of thoſe ſins, ſince it is certain that the ignorance is invincible; yet here ſtrange thoughts muſt ariſe concerning Chriſt and his Goſpel; if in thoſe actions that are made neceſſary to ſalvation, it ſhould be in the power of a falſe Chriſtian, or an atheiſtical Prieſt or Biſhop, to make them all void; ſo that by conſequence it ſhould be in his power to damn them: for ſince they are taught to expect grace and juſtification from the Sacraments, if theſe are no true Sacraments which they take for ſuch, but only the ſhadows and the phantaſms of them, then neither grace nor juſtification can follow upon them. This may be carried ſo far as even to evacuate the very being of a Church: for a man not truly baptized can never be in orders; ſo that the whole ordinations of a Church, and the ſucceſſion of it, may be broke by the impiety of any one Prieſt. This we look on as ſuch a chain of abſurdities, that if this doctrine of intention were true, it alone might ſerve to deſtroy the whole credit of the Chriſtian religion, in which the Sacraments are taught to be both ſo neceſſary and ſo efficacious; and yet all this is made to depend on that which can neither be known nor prevented.



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ART. XXVI.

The laſt paragraph of this Article is ſo clear, that it needs no explanation, and is ſo evident, that it wants no proof. Eli was ſeverely threatened for ſuffering his ſons to go on in their vices, when by their means the ſacrifice of God was abhorred. God himſelf ſtruck Nadab and Abihu dead, when they offered ſtrange fire at his altar; and upon that theſe words were uttered, *I will be ſanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people will I be glorified.* Timothy was required to receive *an accuſation of an Elder*, when regularly tendered to him; and to *rebuke before all thoſe that ſinned*; and he was charged to withdraw himſelf from *thoſe Teachers who conſented not to wholeſome words*, and that made a gain *of godlineſs*. A main part of the diſcipline of the primitive Church lay heavieſt on the Clergy: and ſuch of them as either apoſtatized, or fell into ſcandalous ſins, even upon their repentance, were indeed received into the peace of the Church; but they were appointed to communicate among the Laity, and were never after that admitted to the body of the Clergy, or to have a ſhare in their privileges. Certainly there is nothing more incumbent on the whole body of the Church, than that all poſſible care be taken to diſcover the bad practices that may be among the Clergy; which will ever raiſe ſtrong prejudices, not only againſt their perſons, but even againſt their profeſſion, and againſt that religion which they ſeem to advance with their mouths, while in their works, and by their lives, they detract from it, and ſeem to deny its authority. But after all, our zeal muſt go along with juſtice and diſcretion: fame may be a juſt ground to enquire upon; but a ſentence cannot be founded on it. The Laity muſt diſcover what they know, that ſo theſe who have authority may be able to *cut off thoſe that trouble the Church*. Diſcretion will require that things which cannot be proved, ought rather to be covered than expoſed, when nothing but clamour can follow upon it. In ſum, this is a part of the government of the Church, for which God will reckon ſeverely with thoſe, who from partial regards, or other feeble or carnal conſiderations, are defective in that, which is ſo great a part of their duty, and in which the honour of God, and of religion, and the good of ſouls, as well as the order and unity of the Church, are ſo highly concerned.

1 Sam. iii. 11.

Levit. x. 3.

1 Tim. v. 1, 19, 20. vi. 3, 4, 5.

Gal. v. 12.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXVII.

### Of Baptism.

**Baptism is not only a Sign of Profession and Mark of Difference, whereby Christian Men are discerned from others that be not Christened; but it is also a Sign of Regeneration or New Birth, whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church. The Promises of the Forgiveness of Sin, of our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly Signed and Sealed, Faith is confirmed and Grace increased by virtue of Prayer to God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the Institution of Christ.**

WHEN St. John Baptist began first to baptize, we do plainly see by the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, that the Jews were not surprised at the novelty of the rite; for they sent to ask *who he was?* And when he said he was not the Messias, nor Elias, nor that Prophet, they asked, *Why baptizest thou then?* Which shews, not only John i. 25. that they had clear notions of Baptism, but in particular that they thought that if he had been the Messias, or Elias, or that Prophet, he might then have baptized. St. Paul does also say, that the Jews *were all baptized unto* 1 Cor. x. 2. *Moses in the cloud, and in the sea*; which seems to relate to some opinion the Jews had, that by that *cloud*, and their passing through the *sea*, they were purified from the Egyptian defilements, and made meet to become Moses's disciples. Yet in the Old Testament we find no clear warrant for a practice that had then got among the Jews, which is still taught by them, that they were to receive a proselyte, if a male, by *Baptism, Circumcision, and Sacrifice*; and if a female, only by *Baptism and Sacrifice.* Thus they reckoned, that when any came over from heathenism to their religion, they were to use a washing; to denote their purifying themselves from the uncleanness of their former idolatry, and their entering into a holy religion.

And as they do still teach, that when the Messias comes, they are all bound to set themselves to repent of their for-



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ART. XXVII.

mer ſins; ſo it ſeems they then thought, or at leaſt it would have been no ſtrange thing to them, if the Meſſias had received ſuch as came to him by Baptiſm. St. John, by baptizing thoſe who came to him, took them obliged to enter upon a courſe of repentance, and he declared to them the near approach of the Meſſias, and that *the kingdom of God was at hand*; and it is very probable, that thoſe who were baptized by Chriſt, that is, by his Apoſtles; for though it is expreſsly ſaid, that he baptized none, yet what he did by his Diſciples, he might in a more general ſenſe be ſaid to have done himſelf; that theſe, I ſay, were baptized upon the ſame ſponſions, and with the ſame declarations, and with no other; for the diſpenſation of the Meſſias was not yet opened, nor was it then fully declared that he was the Meſſias: howſoever this was a preparatory initiation of ſuch as were fitted for the coming of the Meſſias; by it they owned their expectations of him, as then near at hand, and they profeſſed their repentance of their ſins, and their purpoſes of doing what ſhould be enjoined them by him.

Water was a very proper emblem, to ſignify the paſſing from a courſe of defilement to a greater degree of purity, both in doctrine and practice.

Our Saviour in his ſtate of humiliation, as he was ſubject to the Moſaical Law, ſo he thought fit to fulfil all the obligations that lay upon the other Jews; which, by a phraſe uſed among them, he expreſſes thus, *to fulfil all righteouſneſs*. For though our Saviour had no ſins to confeſs, yet that not being known, he might come to profeſs his belief of the diſpenſation of the Meſſias, that was then to appear. But how well ſoever the Jews might have been accuſtomed to this rite, and how proper a preparation ſoever it might be to the manifeſtation of the Meſſias; yet the inſtitution of Baptiſm, as it is a federal act of the Chriſtian religion, muſt be taken from the commiſſion that our Saviour gave to his Diſciples; *to go preach and make diſciples to him in all nations*, (for that is the ſtrict ſignification of the word,) *baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*; *teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you*.

Matth. xxviii. 19, 20.

By the firſt *teaching* or making of *diſciples*, that muſt go before Baptiſm, is to be meant the convincing the world, that Jeſus is the Chriſt, the true Meſſias, anointed of God, with a fulneſs of grace and of the Spirit without meaſure, and ſent to be the Saviour and Redeemer of the world. And when any were brought to acknowledge this, then they were to baptize them, to initiate them to this religion,

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gion, by obliging them to renounce all idolatry and ungodlineſs, as well as all ſecular and carnal luſts, and then they led them into the water; and with no other garments but what might cover nature, they at firſt laid them down in the water, as a man is laid in a grave, and then they ſaid thoſe words, *I baptize or waſh thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*: then they raiſed them up again, and clean garments were put on them: from whence came the phraſes of *being baptized into Chriſt's death*; of *being buried with him by baptiſm, into death*; of *our being riſen with Chriſt*, and of *our putting on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; of *putting off the Old Man, and putting on the New*. After Baptiſm was thus performed, the baptized perſon was to be farther inſtructed in all the ſpecialities of the Chriſtian religion, and in all the rules of life that Chriſt had preſcribed.

Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5. Col. ii. 12. Col. iii. 1, 9, 10. Rom. xiii. 14.

This was plainly a different Baptiſm from St. John's; a profeſſion was made in it, not in general, of the belief of a Meſſias ſoon to appear, but in particular, that *Jeſus was the Meſſias*.

The ſtipulation in St. John's Baptiſm was *repentance*; but here it is the belief of the whole Chriſtian religion. In St. John's Baptiſm they indeed promiſed repentance, and he received them into the earneſts of the kingdom of the Meſſias; but it does not appear that St. John either did promiſe them *remiſſion of ſins*, or that he had commiſſion ſo to do: for *repentance* and *remiſſion of ſins* were not joined together till after the reſurrection of Chriſt; that he appointed that *repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jeruſalem*.

Luke xxiv. 47.

In the Baptiſm of Chriſt, I mean that which he appointed after his reſurrection, (for the Baptiſm of his Diſciples before that time was, no doubt, the ſame with St. John's Baptiſm,) there was to be an inſtruction given in that great myſtery of the Chriſtian religion concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; which thoſe who had only received St. John's Baptiſm knew not: *they did not ſo much as know that there was a Holy Ghoſt*; that is, they knew nothing of the extraordinary effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. And it is expreſsly ſaid, that thoſe of St. John's Baptiſm, when St. Paul explained to them the difference between the Baptiſm of Chriſt, and that of St. John, that *they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus*. For St. John in his Baptiſm had only initiated them to the belief of a Meſſias; but had not ſaid a word of Jeſus, as being that Meſſias. So that this muſt be fixed, that

Acts xix. 2, 3, 4, 5.



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ART. XXVII.

these two Baptisms were different; the one was a dawning or imperfect beginning to the other, as he that administered the one was like the *Morning Star* before the *Sun of Righteousness*.

Our Saviour had this ordinance (that was then imperfect, and was to be afterwards completed, when he himself had finished all that he came into the world to do)—he had, I say, this visibly in his eye, when he spake to Nicodemus, and told him, that *except a man were born again, he could not see* (or discern) *the kingdom of God:* by which he meant that entire change and renovation of a man's mind, and of all his powers, through which he must pass, before he could discern the true characters of the dispensation of the Messias; for that is the sense in which the kingdom of God does stand, almost universally through the whole Gospel. When Nicodemus was amazed at this odd expression, and seemed to take it literally, our Saviour answered more fully, *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* The meaning of which seems to be this, that except a man came to be renewed, by an ablution like the Baptism which the Jews used, that imported the outward profession of a change of doctrine and of heart; and with that, except he were inwardly changed by a secret power called the *Spirit*, that should transform his nature, he could not become one of his Disciples, or a true Christian; which is meant by his entering into the *kingdom of God*, or the dispensation of the Messias.

John iii. 3, 5, 6.

Upon this institution and commission given by Christ, we see the Apostles went up and down preaching and baptizing. And so far were they from considering Baptism only as a carnal rite, or a low element, above which a higher dispensation of the Spirit was to raise them, that when St. Peter saw the Holy Ghost visibly descend upon Cornelius and his friends, he upon that immediately baptized them; and said, *Can any man forbid* (or deny) *water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?* Our Saviour has also made Baptism one of the *precepts*, though not one of the *means*, necessary to salvation. A *mean* is that which does so certainly procure a thing, that it being had, the thing to which it is a certain and necessary *mean*, is also had; and without it the thing cannot be had; there being a natural connection between it and the end. Whereas a *precept* is an institution, in which there is no such natural efficiency; but it is positively commanded; so that the neglecting

Acts x. 44, 47, 48.

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ing it, is a contempt of the authority that commanded it: and therefore in obeying the *precept*, the value or virtue of the action lies only in the obedience. This distinction appears very clearly in what our Saviour has said both of *Faith* and *Baptism*. *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned.* ART. XXVII. Mark xvi. 16.

Where it appears that Faith is the *mean* of salvation with which it is to be had, and not without it; since such a believing as makes a man receive the whole Gospel as true, and so firmly to depend upon the promises that are made in it, as to observe all the laws and rules that are prescribed by it; such a *Faith* as this gives us so sure a title to all the blessings of this New Covenant, that it is impossible that we should continue in this state, and not partake of them; and it is no less impossible that we should partake of them, unless we do thus believe. It were not suitable to the truth and holiness of the Divine nature, to void a covenant so solemnly made, and that in favour of wicked men, who will not be reformed by it: so *Faith* is the certain and necessary mean of our salvation, and is so put by Christ; since upon our having it we shall be *saved*, as well as *damned* upon our not having it.

On the other hand, the nature of a ritual action, even when commanded, is such, that unless we could imagine that there is a charm in it, which is contrary to the spirit and genius of the Gospel, which designs to save us by reforming our natures, we cannot think that there can be any thing in it, that is of itself effectual as a mean; and therefore it must only be considered as a command that is given us, which we are bound to obey, if we acknowledge the authority of the command. But this being an action that is not always in our power, but is to be done by another, it were to put our salvation or damnation in the power of another, to imagine that we cannot be saved without Baptism; and therefore it is only a precept which obliges us in order to our salvation; and our Saviour, by leaving it out when he reversed the words, saying only, *he that believeth not*, without adding, and is not baptized, shall be *damned*, does plainly insinuate that it is not a mean, but only a precept in order to our salvation.

As for the ends and purposes of Baptism, St. Paul gives us two: the one is, that *we are all baptized into one body, we are made members one of another:* we are admitted to the society of Christians, and to all the rights and privileges of that body, which is the Church. And in order 1 Cor. xii. 13.

ART. XXVII.

to this, the outward action of Baptism, when regularly gone about, is sufficient. We cannot see into the sincerity of men's hearts; outward professions and regular actions are all that fall under men's observation and judgment. But a second end of Baptism is internal and spiritual. Of this St. Paul speaks in very high terms, when he says, that *God has saved us according to his mercy, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.* It were a strange perverting the design of these words, to say, that somewhat spiritual is to be understood by this *washing of regeneration*, and not Baptism; when as to the word *save*, that is here ascribed to it, St. Peter gives that undeniably to Baptism; and St. Paul elsewhere, in two different places, makes our Baptism to represent *our being dead to sin, and buried with Christ*; and our being *risen and quickened with him, and made alive unto God*; which are words that do very plainly import regeneration. So that St. Paul must be understood to speak of Baptism in these words. Here then is the inward effect of Baptism; it is a death to sin, and a new life in Christ, in imitation of him, and in conformity to his Gospel. So that here is very expressly delivered to us somewhat that rises far above the badge of a profession, or a mark of difference.

Tit. iii. 5.

Rom. vi. Col. ii.

That does indeed belong to Baptism; it makes us the visible members of that one body, into which we are baptized, or admitted by Baptism; but that which *saves us* in it, which both deadens and quickens us, must be a thing of another nature. If Baptism were only the receiving us into the society of Christians, there were no need of saying, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* It were more proper to say, *I baptize thee in the name or by the authority of the Church.* Therefore these august words, that were dictated by our Lord himself, shew us that there is somewhat in it that is internal, which comes from God; that it is an admitting men into somewhat that depends only on God, and for the giving of which the authority can only be derived by him. But after all, this is not to be believed to be of the nature of a charm, as if the very act of Baptism carried always with it an inward regeneration. Here we must confess, that very early some doctrines arose upon Baptism, that we cannot be determined by. The words of our Saviour to Nicodemus were expounded so as to import the absolute necessity of Baptism in order to salvation; for it not being observed that the dispensation of the Messias was meant by the kingdom of God,

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God, but it being taken to ſignify eternal glory, that expreſſion of our Saviour's was underſtood to import this, that no man could be ſaved unleſs he were baptized; ſo it was believed to be ſimply neceſſary to ſalvation. A natural conſequence that followed upon that, was to allow all perſons leave to baptize, clergy and laity, men and women, ſince it ſeemed neceſſary to ſuffer every perſon to do that without which ſalvation could not be had. Upon this, theſe haſty Baptiſms were uſed, without any ſpecial ſponſion on the part of thoſe who deſired it; of which it may be reaſonably doubted whether ſuch a Baptiſm be true, in which no ſponſion is made; and this cannot be well anſwered, but by ſaying, that a general and an implied ſponſion is to be conſidered to be made by their parents while they deſire them to be baptized. ART. XXVII.

Another opinion that aroſe out of the former, was the mixing of the outward and the inward effects of Baptiſm; it being believed that every perſon that was *born of the water*, was alſo *born of the Spirit*; and that the *renewing of the Holy Ghoſt* did always accompany the *waſhing of regeneration*. And this obliged St. Auſtin (as was formerly told) to make that difference between the *Regenerate* and the *Predeſtinated*; for he thought that all who were baptized were alſo *regenerated*. St. Peter has ſtated this ſo fully, that if his words are well conſidered, they will clear the whole matter. He, after he had ſet forth the miſerable ſtate in which mankind was, under the figure of the deluge, in which an ark was prepared for Noah and his family, ſays upon that, *the like figure whereunto even Baptiſm doth alſo now ſave us*. Upon which he makes a ſhort digreſſion to explain the nature of Baptiſm, *not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer* (or the demand and interrogation) *of a good conſcience towards God; by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, who is gone into heaven*. The meaning of all which is, that Chriſt having riſen again, and having then had *all power in heaven and in earth* given to him, he had put that virtue in Baptiſm, that by it we are *ſaved*, as in an ark, from that miſerable ſtate in which the world lies, and in which it muſt periſh. But then he explains the way how it ſaves us; that it is not as a phyſical action, as it waſhes away the filthineſs of the fleſh, or of the body, like the notion that the Gentiles might have of their *februations*; or, which is more natural, conſidering to whom he writes, like the opinions that the Jews had of their *cleanſings* after their *legal impurities*, from which their waſhings and bathings did abſolutely free them. The ſalvation that we

1 Pet. iii. 21.

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ART. XXVII.

we Chriſtians have by Baptiſm, is effected by that federation into which we enter, when upon the demands that are made of our renouncing the *Devil*, the *world*, and the *fleſh*, and of our believing in Chriſt, and our *repentance* towards God, we make ſuch *anſwers* from a *good conſcience*, as agree with the end and deſign of Baptiſm; then by our thus coming into covenant with God, we are ſaved in Baptiſm. So that the ſalvation by Baptiſm is given by reaſon of the federal compact that is made in it. Now this being made outwardly, according to the rules that are preſcribed, that muſt make the Baptiſm good among men, as to all the outward and viſible effects of it: but ſince it is the *anſwer of a good conſcience* only that *ſaves*, then an anſwer from a bad conſcience, from a hypocritical perſon, who does not inwardly think, or purpoſe, according to what he profeſſes outwardly, cannot ſave, but does on the contrary aggravate his damnation. Therefore our Article puts the efficacy of Baptiſm, in order to the forgiveneſs of our ſins, and to our adoption and ſalvation, upon the virtue of prayer to God; that is, upon thoſe vows and other acts of devotion that accompany them: ſo that when the ſeriouſneſs of the mind accompanies the regularity of the action, then both the outward and inward effects of Baptiſm are attained by it; and we are not only *baptized into one body*, but are alſo *ſaved by Baptiſm*. So that upon the whole matter, Baptiſm is a federal admiſſion into Chriſtianity, in which, on God's part, all the bleſſings of the Goſpel are made over to the baptized; and, on the other hand, the perſon baptized takes on him, by a ſolemn profeſſion and vow, to obſerve and adhere to the whole Chriſtian religion. So it is a very natural diſtinction to ſay, that the outward effects of Baptiſm follow it as outwardly performed; but that the inward effects of it follow upon the inward acts: but this difference is ſtill to be obſerved between inward acts and outward actions, that when the outward action is rightly performed, the Church muſt reckon the Baptiſm good, and never renew it: but if one has been wanting in the inward acts, thoſe may be afterwards renewed, and that want may be made up by repentance.

Thus all that the Scriptures have told us concerning Baptiſm, ſeems to be ſufficiently explained. There remains only one place that may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange.

1 Cor. i. 17. St. Paul ſays, that *Chriſt ſent him not to baptize, but to preach*; which ſome have carried ſo far as to infer from thence, that preaching is of more value than Baptiſm. But it is to be conſidered, that the preaching of the Apoſtles

ſtles was of the nature of a promulgation made by heralds; it was an act of a ſpecial authority, by which he in particular was to convert the world from Idolatry and Judaiſm, to acknowledge *Jeſus to be the true Meſſias.* ART. XXVII. Acts viii. 26. to the end.

Now when men, by the preaching of the Apoſtles, and by the miracles that accompanied it, were ſo wrought on, as to believe that *Jeſus was the Chriſt*; then, according to the practice of Philip towards the Eunuch of Ethiopia, and of St. Paul to his Jailor at Philippi, they might immediately baptize them; yet moſt commonly there was a ſpecial inſtruction to be uſed, before perſons were baptized, who might in general have ſome conviction, and yet not be ſo fully ſatisfied, but that a great deal of more pains was to be taken to carry them on to that full aſſurance of faith which was neceſſary. This was a work of much time, and was to be managed by the Paſtors or Teachers of the ſeveral Churches; ſo that the meaning of what St. Paul ſays was this, that he was to publiſh the Goſpel from city to city, but could not deſcend to the particular labour of preparing and inſtructing of the perſons to be baptized, and to the baptizing them when ſo prepared. If he had entered upon this work, he could not have made that progreſs, nor have founded thoſe Churches that he did. All this is therefore miſunderſtood, when it is applied to ſuch preaching as is ſtill continued in the Church; which does not ſucceed the apoſtolical preaching, that was inſpired and infallible, but comes in the room of that inſtruction and teaching which was then performed by the Paſtors of the Church. Acts xvi. 31, 32, 33.

The laſt head in this Article relates to the Baptiſm of Infants, which is ſpoken of with that moderation, which appears very eminently through the whole Articles of our Church. On this head, it is only ſaid to be moſt agreeable with the inſtitution of Chriſt, and that therefore it is to be in any ways retained in the Church. Now to open this, it is to be conſidered, that though Baptiſm and Circumciſion do not in every particular come to a parallel, yet they do agree in two things: the one is, that both were the rites of admiſſion into their reſpective covenants, and to the rights and privileges that did ariſe out of them; and the other is, that in them both there was an obligation laid on the perſons to the obſervance of that whole law to which they were ſo initiated. St. Paul, arguing againſt circumciſion, lays this down as an unconteſted maxim, that if a man was circumciſed, *he became thereby a debtor to the whole law.* Galat. v. 3.

Parents had, by the Jewiſh conſtitution, an authority given

ART. XXVII.

given them to conclude their children under that obligation; so that the soul and will of the child was so far put in the power of the parents, that they could bring them under federal obligations, and thereby procure to them a share in federal blessings. And it is probable, that from hence it was, that when the Jews made proselytes, they considered them as having such authority over their children, that they baptized them first, and then circumcised them, though infants.

Now since Christ took Baptism from them, and appointed it to be the federal admission to his religion, as Circumcision had been in the Mosaical dispensation, it is reasonable to believe, that except where he declared a change that he made in it, in all other respects it was to go on and to continue as before; especially when the Apostles in their first preaching told the Jews, that the promises were made to them and to their children; which the Jews must have understood according to what they were already in possession of, that they could initiate their children into their religion, bring them under the obligations of it, and procure to them a share in those blessings that belonged to it. The law of nature and nations puts children in the power of their parents; they are naturally their guardians; and if they are entitled to any thing, their parents have a right to transact about it, because of the weakness of the child; and what contracts soever they make, by which the child does not lose, but is a gainer, these do certainly bind the child. It is then suitable both to the constitution of mankind, and to the dispensation of the Mosaical covenant, that parents may dedicate their children to God, and bring them under the obligations of the Gospel; and if they may do that, then they certainly procure to them with it, or in lieu of it, a share in the blessings and promises of the Gospel. So that they may offer their children either themselves, or by such others of their friends, to whom for that occasion they transfer that right which they have, to transact for and to bind their children.

Acts ii. 39.

All this receives a great confirmation from the decision which St. Paul makes upon a case that must have happened commonly at that time; which was, when one of the parties in a married state, *husband* or *wife*, was converted, while the other continued still in the former state of idolatry, or infidelity: here then a scruple naturally arose, whether a Believer or Christian might still live in a married state with an Infidel. Besides the ill usage to which that diversity of religion might give occasion; another

other difficulty might be made, whether a perſon defiled by idolatry did not communicate that impurity to the Chriſtian, and whether the children born in ſuch a marriage were to be reckoned a *holy ſeed*, according to the Jewiſh phraſe, or an *unholy*, unclean children, that is Heatheniſh children; who were not to be dedicated to God, nor to be admitted into covenant with him: for *unclean* in the Old Teſtament, and uncircumciſed, ſignify ſometimes the ſame thing; and ſo St. Peter ſaid that in the caſe of Cornelius God had ſhewed him, that he ſhould call no man *common* or *unclean*; in alluſion to all which St. Paul determines the caſe, not by an immediate revelation, but by the inferences that he drew from what had been revealed to him; he does appoint the Chriſtian to live with the Infidel, and ſays, that the Chriſtian is ſo far from being defiled by the Infidel, that there is a communication of a bleſſing that paſſes from the Chriſtian to the Infidel; the one being the better for the prayers of the other, and ſharing in the bleſſings beſtowed on the other: the better part was accepted of God, *in whom mercy rejoices over judgment*. There was a communication of a bleſſing that the Chriſtian derived to the Infidel; which at leaſt went ſo far, that their children were not *unclean*; that is, ſhut out from being dedicated to God, but were *holy*. Now it is to be conſidered that in the New Teſtament *Chriſtians*, and *Saints*, or *Holy*, ſtand all promiſcuouſly. The purity of the Chriſtian doctrine, and the dedication by which Chriſtians offer up themſelves to God, makes them *Holy*.

ART. XXVII.

1 Cor. vii. 14.

In Scripture, *Holineſs* ſtands in a double ſenſe; the one is a true and real purity, by which a man's faculties and actions become holy; the other is a dedicated holineſs, when any thing is appropriated to God; in which ſenſe it ſtands moſt commonly in the Old Teſtament. So times, places, and not only perſons, but even utenſils applied to the ſervice of God, are called *Holy*. In the New Teſtament, *Chriſtian* and *Saint* are the ſame thing; ſo the ſaying that children are *Holy* when one of the parents is a Chriſtian, muſt import this, that the child has alſo a right to be made *Holy*, or to be made a Chriſtian; and by conſequence that by the parents dedication that child may be made *Holy*, or a *Chriſtian*.

Upon theſe reaſons we conclude, that though there is no expreſs precept or rule given in the New Teſtament for the Baptiſm of Infants, yet it is moſt agreeable to the inſtitution of Chriſt, ſince he conformed his inſtitutions to thoſe of the Moſaical Law, as far as could conſiſt with his

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ART. XXVII.

his design; and therefore in a thing of this kind, in which the just tenderness of the human nature does dispose parents to secure to their children a title to the mercies and blessings of the Gospel, there is no reason to think that this being so fully set forth and assured to the Jews in the Old Testament, that Christ should not have intended to give parents the same comforts and assurances by his Gospel, that they had under the Law of Moses: since nothing is said against it, we may conclude from the nature of the two dispensations, and the proportion and gradation that is between them, that children under the New Testament are a *holy seed*, as well as they were under the Old; and by consequence that they may be now baptized as well as they were then circumcised.

If this may be done, then it is very reasonable to say what is said in the Article concerning it, that *it ought in any wise to be retained in the Church:* for the same humanity that obliges parents to feed their children, and to take care of them while they are in such a helpless state, must dictate, that it is much more incumbent on them, and is as much more necessary, as the soul is more valuable than the body, for them to do all that in them lies for the souls of their children, for securing to them a share in the blessings and privileges of the Gospel, and for dedicating them early to the Christian religion. The office for baptizing infants is in the same words with that for persons of riper age; because infants being then in the power of their parents, who are of age, are considered as in them, and as binding themselves by the vows that they make in their name. Therefore the office carries on the supposition of an internal regeneration; and in that helpless state the infant is offered up and dedicated to God; and provided, that when he comes to age he takes those vows on himself, and lives like a person so in covenant with God, then he shall find the full effects of Baptism; and if he dies in that state of incapacity, he being dedicated to God, is certainly accepted of by him; and by being put in the second Adam, all the bad effects of his having descended from the first Adam are quite taken away. Christ, when on earth, encouraged those who brought *little children* to him; *he took them in his arms, and laid his hands on them, and blessed them*, and said, *Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God.* Whatever these words may signify mystically, the literal meaning of them is, that little children may be admitted into the dispensation of the Messias, and by consequence that they may be baptized.

Matt. xix. 13, 14.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE XXVIII.

### Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a Sign of the Love that Chriſtians ought to have among themſelves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Chriſt's Death: Inſomuch that to ſuch as rightly, worthily, and with Faith, receive the ſame, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Chriſt, and likewiſe the Cup of Bleſſing is a partaking of the Blood of Chriſt. Tranſubſtantiation (or the Change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but it is repugnant to the plain Words of Scripture, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath given Occaſion to many Superſtitions. The Body of Chriſt is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a Heavenly and Spiritual Manner; and the mean whereby the Body of Chriſt is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Chriſt's Ordinance reſerved, carried about, lifted up, and worſhipped.

In the Edition of theſe Articles in Edward VI's Reign, there was another long Paragraph againſt Tranſubſtantiation added in theſe words: Foraſmuch as the Truth of Man's Nature requireth that the Body of one and the ſelf-ſame Man cannot be at one time in divers Places, but muſt needs be in one certain Place; therefore the Body of Chriſt cannot be preſent at one time in many and divers Places: and becauſe, as Holy Scripture doth teach, Chriſt was taken up into Heaven, and there ſhall continue unto the End of the World; a Faithful Man ought not either to believe, or openly confeſs the Real and Bodily Preſence, as they term it, of Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

When

ART. XXVIII.

WHEN these Articles were at first prepared by the convocation in Queen Elizabeth's reign, this paragraph was made a part of them; for the original subscription by both houses of convocation, yet extant, shews this. But the design of the government was at that time much turned to the drawing over the body of the nation to the reformation, in whom the old leaven had gone deep; and no part of it deeper than the belief of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Sacrament; therefore it was thought not expedient to offend them by so particular a definition in this matter; in which the very word *Real Presence* was rejected. It might, perhaps, be also suggested, that here a definition was made that went too much upon the principles of natural philosophy; which how true soever, they might not be the proper subject of an Article of Religion. Therefore it was thought fit to suppress this paragraph; though it was a part of the Article that was subscribed, yet it was not published, but the paragraph that follows, *The Body of Christ*, &c. was put in its stead, and was received and published by the next convocation; which upon the matter was a full explanation of the way of Christ's presence in this sacrament; that *he is present in a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that faith is the mean by which he is received.* This seemed to be more theological; and it does indeed amount to the same thing. But howsoever we see what was the sense of the first convocation in Queen Elizabeth's reign; it differed in nothing from that in King Edward's time: and therefore though this paragraph is now no part of our Articles, yet we are certain that the Clergy at that time did not at all doubt of the truth of it: we are sure it was their opinion; since they subscribed it, though they did not think fit to publish it at first; and though it was afterwards changed for another, that was the same in sense.

In the treating of this Article, I shall first lay down the doctrine of this Church, with the grounds of it; and then I shall examine the doctrine of the Church of Rome, which must be done copiously: for next to the doctrine of Infallibility, this is the most valued of all their other tenets; this is the most important in itself, since it is the main part of their worship, and the chief subject of all their devotions. There is not any one thing in which both Clergy and Laity are more concerned; which is more generally studied, and for which they pretend they have more plausible colours, both from Scripture and the Fathers: and if sense and reason seem to press hard upon it,

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it, they reckon, that, as they understand the words of St. Paul, *every thought must be captivated into the obedience of faith.* ART. XXVIII.

In order to the expounding our doctrine, we must consider the occasion and the institution of this Sacrament. The Jews were required once a year to meet at Jerusalem, in remembrance of the deliverance of their fathers out of Egypt. Moses appointed that every family should kill a lamb, whose blood was to be sprinkled on their door-posts and lintels, and whose flesh they were to eat; at the sight of which *blood* thus sprinkled, the destroying Angel, that was to be sent out to kill the first-born of every family in Egypt, was to *pass over* all the houses that were so marked: and from that *passing by* or *over* the Israelites, the lamb was called *the Lord's passover*, as being then the sacrifice, and afterwards the memorial of that *passover*. The people of Israel were required to keep up the memorial of that transaction, by slaying a lamb before the place where God should set his name; and by eating it up that night: they were also to eat with it a sallad of bitter herbs and unleavened bread; and when they went to eat of the lamb, they repeated these words of Moses; *that it was the Lord's passover*. Now though the first lamb that was killed in Egypt was indeed the sacrifice upon which God promised to *pass over* their houses; yet the lambs that were afterwards offered were only the memorials of it; though they still carried that name, which was given to the first, and were called the *Lord's passover*. 2 Cor. x. 5. Exod. xii. 11.

So that the Jews were in the *paschal supper* accustomed to call the memorial of a thing, by the name of that of which it was the memorial: and as the deliverance out of Egypt was a type and representation of that greater deliverance, that we were to have by the Messias, the first lamb being the sacrifice of that deliverance, and the succeeding lambs the memorials of it; so, in order to this new and greater deliverance, Christ himself was our *passover, that was sacrificed for us*: He was the *Lamb of God* that was both to *take away the sins of the world*, and was to lead captivity captive; to bring us out of the bondage of sin and Satan, into the obedience of his Gospel. 1 Cor. v. 7. John i. 29. Compare Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22.

He therefore chose the time of the passover, that he might be then offered up for us; and did institute this memorial of it, while he was celebrating the Jewish *pascha* with his Disciples, who were so much accustomed to the forms and phrases of that *supper*, in which every master of a family did officiate among his household, that it was very natural to them to understand all that our Saviour said Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 23.



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ART. XXVIII.

or did, according to thoſe forms with which they were acquainted.

There were after ſupper, upon a new covering of the table, loaves of unleavened bread, and cups of wine ſet on it; in which though the bread was very unacceptable, yet they drank liberally of the wine: Chriſt took a portion of that bread, and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *This is my body which is broken for you: Do this in remembrance of me.* He did not ſay only, *this is my body*, but, *this is my body broken*; ſo that his body muſt be underſtood to be there in its broken ſtate, if the words are to be expounded literally. And no reaſon can be aſſigned why the word *broken* ſhould be ſo ſeparated from *body*; or that the *bread* ſhould be literally his *body*, and not literally his *body broken*: the whole period muſt be either literally true, or muſt be underſtood myſtically. And if any will ſay, that his body cannot be there but in the ſame ſtate in which it is now in heaven; and ſince it is not now *broken*, nor is the *blood ſhed* or ſeparated from the body there, therefore the words muſt be underſtood thus; *This is my body which is to be broken.* But from thence we argue, that ſince all is one period, it muſt be all underſtood in the ſame manner: and ſince it is impoſſible that *broken* and *ſhed* can be underſtood literally of the *body* and *blood*, that therefore the whole is to be myſtically underſtood: and this appears more evident, ſince the Diſciples, who were naturally ſlow at underſtanding the eaſieſt myſteries, that he opened to them, muſt naturally have underſtood thoſe words as they did the other words of the paſchal ſupper, *This is the Lord's paſſover*; that is, this is the memorial of it: and that the rather, ſince Chriſt added theſe words, *Do this in remembrance of me.* If they had underſtood them in any other ſenſe, that muſt have ſurpriſed them, and naturally have led them to aſk him many queſtions: which we find them doing upon occaſions that were much leſs ſurpriſing, as appears by the queſtions in the 14th of St. John, that diſcourſe coming probably immediately after this inſtitution: whereas no queſtion was aſked upon this; ſo it is reaſonable to conclude that they could underſtand theſe words, *This is my body*, no other way, but as they underſtood that of the lamb, *This is the Lord's paſſover.* And by conſequence, as their celebrating the *paſcha* was a conſtant memorial of the deliverance out of Egypt, and was a ſymbolical action by which they had a title to the bleſſings of the covenant that Moſes made with their fathers; it was natural for them to conclude, that after Chriſt had made

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ART. XXVIII.

made himself to be truly that, which the first lamb was in a type, the true *sacrifice* of a greater and better *passover*; they were to commemorate it, and to communicate in the benefits and effects of it, by continuing that action of *taking*, *blessing*, *breaking*, and *distributing* of bread: which was to be the memorial and the communion of his death in all succeeding ages.

This will yet appear more evident from the second part of this institution: he took the cup and blessed it, and gave it to them, saying, *This cup is the New Testament*, or New Covenant, *in my blood: drink ye all of it.* Or, as the other Gospels report it, *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* As Moses had enjoined the sprinkling of the blood of the lamb, so he himself sprinkled both the book of the law, and all the people, with the blood of calves and of goats, saying, *This is the blood of the Testament* (or Covenant) *which God hath enjoined* you. The blood of the paschal lamb was the token of that covenant which God made then with them. Heb. ix. 20.

The Jews were under a very strict prohibition of eating no blood at all: but it seems by the Psalms, that when they paid their vows unto God, they took in their hands *a cup of salvation*, that is, of an acknowledgment of their salvation, and so were to rejoice before the Lord. Psal. cxvi.

These being the laws and customs of the Jews, they could not without horror have heard Christ, when he gave them the cup, say, *This is my blood:* the prohibition of blood was given in such severe terms, as that *God would set his face against him that did eat blood, and cut him off from among his people.* And this was so often repeated in the books of Moses, that besides the natural horror which humanity gives at the mention of drinking a man's blood, it was a special part of their religion to make no use of blood: yet after all this, the Disciples were not startled at it; which shews that they must have understood it in such a way as was agreeable to the law and customs of their country: and since St. Luke and St. Paul report the words that our Saviour said when he gave it, differently from what is reported by St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is most probable that he spake both the one and the other; that he first said, *This is my blood*, and then, as a clearer explanation of it, he said, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood:* the one being a more easy expression, and in a style to which the Jews had been more accustomed. They knew that the blood of the lamb was sprinkled; and by their so doing they entered into a covenant with God: Levit. vii. 26, 27. Levit. xvii. 14.



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ART. XXVIII.

and though the blood was never to be ſprinkled after the firſt paſſover; yet it was to be poured out before the Lord, in remembrance of that ſprinkling in Egypt: in remembrance of that deliverance, they drank of the cup of bleſſing and ſalvation, and rejoiced before the Lord. So that they could not underſtand our Saviour otherwiſe, than that the cup ſo bleſſed was to be to them the aſſurance of a *New Teſtament* or *Covenant*, which was to be eſtabliſhed by the blood of Chriſt; and which was to be ſhed: in lieu of which they were to drink this *cup of bleſſing* and praiſe.

According to their cuſtoms and phraſes, the Diſciples could underſtand our Saviour's words in this ſenſe, and in no other. So that if he had intended that they ſhould have underſtood him otherwiſe, he muſt have expreſſed himſelf in another manner; and muſt have enlarged upon it, to have corrected thoſe notions, into which it was otherwiſe moſt natural for Jews to have fallen. Here is alſo to be remembered that which was formerly obſerved upon the word *broken*, that if the words are to be expounded literally, then if the cup is literally *the blood of Chriſt*, it muſt be his blood *ſhed*, poured out of his veins, and ſeparated from his body. And if it is impoſſible to underſtand it ſo, we conclude that we are in the right to underſtand the whole period in a myſtical and figurative ſenſe. And therefore ſince a man born and bred a Jew, and more particularly accuſtomed to the paſchal ceremonies, could not have underſtood our Saviour's words, chiefly at the time of that feſtivity, otherwiſe than of a new *covenant* that he was to make, in which his *body was to be broken*, and his *blood ſhed* for the *remiſſion of ſins*; and that he was to ſubſtitute bread and wine, to be the laſting memorials of it; in the repeating of which, his Diſciples were to renew their covenant with God, and to claim a ſhare in the bleſſings of it; this, I ſay, was the ſenſe that muſt naturally have occurred to a Jew; upon all this, we muſt conclude, that this is the true ſenſe of theſe words; or, that otherwiſe our Saviour muſt have enlarged more upon them, and expreſſed his meaning more particularly. Since therefore he ſaid no more than what, according to the ideas and cuſtoms of the Jews, muſt have been underſtood as has been explained, we muſt conclude, that it, and it only, is the true ſenſe of them.

But we muſt next conſider the importance of a long diſ-
John vi. 32, 33. courſe of our Saviour's, ſet down by St. John, which ſeems ſuch a preparation of his Apoſtles to underſtand this inſtitution literally, that the weight of this argument muſt turn upon the meaning of that diſcourſe. The deſign of that

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ART. XXVIII.

that was to ſhew, that the doctrine of Chriſt was more excellent than the law of Moſes; that though Moſes gave the Iſraelites manna from heaven, to nouriſh their bodies, yet notwithſtanding that *they died in the wilderneſs:* but Chriſt was to give his followers ſuch food that it ſhould give them *life*; ſo that if they *did eat of it, they ſhould never die:* where it is apparent, that the bread and nouriſhment muſt be ſuch as the *life* was; and that being eternal and ſpiritual, the bread muſt be ſo underſtood: for it is clearly expreſſed how that food was to be received; *he that believeth on me hath everlaſting life.* John vi. 40.

Since then he had formerly ſaid, that the *bread* which he was to give, ſhould make them *live for ever*; and ſince here it is ſaid, that this life is given by faith; then this bread muſt be his doctrine: for, this is that which faith receives. And when the Jews deſired him to give them evermore of that bread, he anſwered, *I am the bread of life: he that comes to me ſhall never hunger; and he that believeth on me ſhall never thirſt.* ver. 47, 48, 51.

In theſe words he tells them that they received that bread by coming to him, and by believing on him. Chriſt calls himſelf that *bread*, and ſays, that a *man muſt eat thereof*; which is plainly a figure: and if figures are confeſſed to be in ſome parts of their diſcourſe, there is no reaſon to deny that they run quite through it. Chriſt ſays, that this *bread was his fleſh, which he was to give for the life of the world*; which can only be meant of his offering himſelf up upon the croſs for the ſins of the world. The Jews murmured at this, and ſaid, *How can this man give us his fleſh to eat?* To which our Saviour anſwers, that *except they did eat the fleſh and drink the blood of the Son of man, they had no life in them.* ver. 53, 54, 55.

Now if theſe words are to be underſtood of a literal eating of his fleſh in the Sacrament, then no man can be ſaved that does not receive it: it was a natural conſequence of the expounding theſe words of the Sacrament, to give it to children, ſince it is ſo expreſsly ſaid, that life is not to be had without it. But the words that come next carry this matter farther; *whoſo eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life.* It is plain that Chriſt is here ſpeaking of that, without which no man can have *life*, and by which all who receive it have *life:* if therefore this is to be expounded of the Sacrament, none can be damned that does receive it, and none can be ſaved that receives it not.

Therefore ſince *eternal life* does always follow the *eating of Chriſt's fleſh*, and the *drinking his blood*, and cannot



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ART. XXVIII.

be had without it; then this muſt be meant of an internal and ſpiritual feeding on him: for, as none are ſaved without that, ſo all are ſaved that have it. This is yet clearer from the words that follow, *my fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed:* it may well be inferred, that Chriſt's fleſh is eaten in the ſame ſenſe, in which he ſays it is *meat:* now certainly it is not literally *meat*; for none do ſay that the body is nouriſhed by it; and yet there is ſomewhat emphatical in this, ſince the word *indeed* is not added in vain, but to give weight to the expreſſion.

John vi. 56. It is alſo ſaid, *he that eats my fleſh and drinks my blood, dwells in me and I in him.* Here the deſcription ſeems to be made of that eating and drinking of his fleſh and blood; that it is ſuch as the mutual indwelling of Chriſt and believers is. Now that is certainly only internal and ſpiritual, and not carnal or literal: and therefore ſuch alſo muſt the *eating* and *drinking* be.

All this ſeems to be very fully confirmed from the concluſion of that diſcourſe, which ought to be conſidered as the key to it all; for when the Jews were offended at the ver. 63. hardneſs of Chriſt's diſcourſe, he ſaid, *It is the ſpirit that quickeneth; the fleſh profiteth nothing: the words I ſpeak unto you, they are ſpirit, and they are life:* which do plainly import, that his former diſcourſe was to be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe, that it was a divine *ſpirit* that *quickened* them, or gave them that *eternal* life, of which he had been ſpeaking; and that the *fleſh*, his natural body, was not the conveyer of it.

All that is confirmed by the ſenſe in which we find *eating* and *drinking* frequently uſed in the Scriptures, according to what is obſerved by Jewiſh writers; they ſtand for wiſdom, learning, and all intellectual apprehenſions, through which the ſoul of man is preſerved, by the perfection that is in them, as the body is preſerved by food: So, *Buy and eat; eat fat things; drink of wine well refined.*

Marc Nevochim. Maimonides alſo obſerves, that whenſoever eating and drinking are mentioned in the Book of Proverbs, they are to be underſtood of wiſdom and the law: and after he has brought ſeveral places of Scripture to this purpoſe, he concludes, that becauſe *this acceptation of eating occurs ſo often, and is ſo manifeſt, as if it were the primary and moſt proper ſenſe of the word; therefore hunger and thirſt ſtand for a privation of wiſdom and underſtanding.* And the Chal-

Iſa. xii. 3. dee Paraphraſt turns theſe words, *ye ſhall draw water out of the wells of ſalvation*; thus, *ye ſhall receive a new doctrine with joy from ſome ſelect perſons.*

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Since then the figure of *eating* and *drinking* was uſed among the Jews, for receiving and imbibing a doctrine; it was no wonder if our Saviour purſued it in a diſcourſe, in which there are ſeveral hints given to ſhew us that it ought to be ſo underſtood. ART. XXVIII.

It is further obſervable, that our Saviour did frequently follow that common way of inſtruction among the Eaſtern nations, by figures, that to us would ſeem ſtrong and bold. Theſe were much uſed in thoſe parts, to excite the attention of the hearers; and they are not always to be ſeverely expounded according to the full extent that the words will bear. The parable of the unjuſt judge, of the unjuſt ſteward, of the ten virgins, of plucking out the right eye, and cutting off the right hand or foot, and ſeveral others, might be inſtanced. Our Saviour in theſe conſidered the genius of thoſe to whom he ſpoke: ſo that theſe figures muſt be reſtrained only to that particular, for which he meant them; and muſt not be ſtretched to every thing to which the words may be carried. We find our Saviour compares himſelf to a great many things; to a vine, a door, and a way: and therefore when the ſcope of a diſcourſe does plainly run in a figure, we are not to go and deſcant on every word of it; much leſs may any pretend to ſay, that ſome parts of it are to be underſtood literally, and ſome parts figuratively.

For inſtance, if that chapter of St. John is to be underſtood literally, then Chriſt's *fleſh* and *blood* muſt be the nouriſhment of our bodies, ſo as to be *meat indeed*; and that we ſhall *never hunger any more, and never die after* we have eat of it. If therefore all do confeſs that thoſe expreſſions are to be underſtood figuratively, then we have the ſame reaſon to conclude that the whole is a figure: for it is as reaſonable for us to make all of it a figure, as it is for them to make thoſe parts of it a figure, which they cannot conveniently expound in a literal ſenſe. From all which it is abundantly clear that nothing can be drawn from that diſcourſe of our Saviour's, to make it reaſonable to believe that the words of the inſtitution of this Sacrament ought to be literally underſtood: on the contrary, our Saviour himſelf calls the wine, after thoſe words had been uſed by him, the *fruit of the vine*, which is as ſtrict a form of ſpeech as can well be imagined, to make us underſtand that the nature of the wine was not altered: and when St. Paul treats of it in thoſe two chapters, in which all that is left us beſides the hiſtory of the inſtitution concerning the Sacrament is to be found, he



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ART. XXVIII.

calls it five times bread, and never once *the body of Christ*. In one place he calls it the *communion of the body, as the cup is the communion of the blood of Christ*. Which is rather a saying, that it is in some sort, and after a manner, the body and the blood of Christ, than that it is so strictly speaking.

1 Cor. x. 16.

If this Sacrament had been that mysterious and unconceivable thing which it has been since believed to be, we cannot imagine, but that the books of the New Testament, the *Acts* of the Apostles, and their *Epistles*, should have contained fuller explanations of it, and larger instructions about it.

There is enough indeed said in them to support the plain and natural sense, that we give to this institution; and because no more is said, and the design of it is plainly declared to be to remember Christ's death, and *to shew it forth till he come*, we reckon that by this natural simplicity, in which this matter is delivered to us, we are very much confirmed in that plain and easy signification, which we put upon our Saviour's words. Plain things need not be insisted on: but if the most sublime and wonderful thing in the world seems to be delivered in words that yet are capable of a lower and plainer sense, then unless there is a concurrence of other circumstances, to force us to that higher meaning of them, we ought not to go into it; for simple things prove themselves: whereas the more extraordinary that any thing is, it requires a fulness and evidence in the proof, proportioned to the uneasiness of conceiving or believing it.

We do therefore understand our Saviour's institution thus, that as he was to give *his body to be broken* and his *blood to be shed for our sins*, so he intended that this his death and suffering should be still commemorated by all such as look for *remission of sins* by it, not only in their thoughts and devotions, but in a visible representation: which he appointed should be done in symbols, that should be both very plain and simple, and yet very expressive of that which he intended should be remembered by them.

*Bread* is the plainest food that the body of man can receive, and *wine* was the common nourishing liquor of that country; so he made choice of these materials, and in them appointed a representation and remembrance to be made of his *body broken*, and of his *blood shed*; that is, of his death and sufferings till his *second coming*: and he obliged his followers to repeat this frequently. In the doing of

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of it according to his inſtitution, they profeſs the belief of his death, for the remiſſion of their ſins, and that they look for his ſecond coming. ART. XXVIII.

This does alſo import, that as bread and wine are the ſimpleſt of bodily nouriſhments, ſo his death is that which reſtores the ſouls of thoſe that do believe in him: as bread and wine convey a vital nouriſhment to the body, ſo the ſacrifice of his death conveys ſomewhat to the ſoul that is vital, that fortifies and exalts it. And as water in Baptiſm is a natural emblem of the purity of the Chriſtian religion, bread and wine in the Euchariſt are the emblems of ſomewhat that is derived to us, that raiſes our faculties, and fortifies all our powers.

St. Paul does very plainly tell us, that *unworthy receivers*, that did neither examine nor diſcern themſelves, nor yet diſcern the Lord's body, *were guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and did eat and drink their own damnation:* that is, ſuch as do receive it without truly believing the Chriſtian religion, without a grateful acknowledgment of Chriſt's death and ſufferings, without feeling that they are walking ſuitably to this religion that they profeſs, and without that decency and charity, which becomes ſo holy an action; but that receive the bread and wine only as bare bodily nouriſhments, without conſidering that Chriſt has inſtituted them to be the memorials of his death; ſuch perſons are guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt: that is, they are guilty either of a profanation of the Sacrament of his body and blood, or they do in a manner crucify him again, and put him to an open ſhame; when they are ſo faulty as the Corinthians were, in obſerving this holy inſtitution with ſo little reverence, and with ſuch ſcandalous diſorders, as thoſe were for which he reproached them. 1 Cor. xi. 27. 29.

Of ſuch as did thus profane this inſtitution, he ſays farther, that they do eat and drink their own *damnation*, or *judgment*; that is, puniſhment; for the word rendered *damnation* ſignifies ſometimes only temporary puniſhments.

So it is ſaid, that *judgment* (the word is the ſame) *muſt begin at the houſe of God:* God had ſent ſuch judgments upon the Corinthians for thoſe diſorderly practices of theirs, that ſome had fallen ſick, and others had died, perhaps by reaſon of their drinking to exceſs in thoſe feaſts: but as God's judgments had come upon them; ſo the words that follow ſhew that theſe judgments were only chaſtiſements, in order to the delivering them from the condemnation, under which the world lies. It being ſaid, that 1 Pet. iv. 17.

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ART. XXVIII.

1 Cor. xi. 32.

that *when we are judged, we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould not be condemned with the world.* Therefore though God may very juſtly and even in great mercy puniſh men who profane this holy ordinance; yet it is an unreaſonable terror, and contrary to the nature of the Goſpel covenant, to carry this ſo far, as to think that it is an unpardonable ſin; which is puniſhed with eternal damnation.

We have now ſeen the ill effects of unworthy receiving, and from hence according to that gradation, that is to be obſerved in the mercy of God in the Goſpel, that it not only holds a proportion with his juſtice, but *rejoiceth over it*, we may well conclude that the good effects upon the worthy receiving of it are equal if not ſuperior to the bad effects upon the unworthy receiving of it: and that the nouriſhment which the types, the *bread* and the *wine*, give the *body*, are anſwered in the effects, that the thing ſignified by them has upon the *ſoul*.

In explaining this there is ſome diverſity: ſome teach that this memorial of the death of Chriſt, when ſeriouſly and devoutly gone about, when it animates our faith, increaſes our repentance, and inflames our love and zeal, and ſo unites us to God and to our brethren; that, I ſay, when theſe follow it, which it naturally excites in all holy and good minds, then they draw down the returns of prayer, and a farther increaſe of grace in us; according to the nature and promiſes of the New Covenant: and in this they put the virtue and efficacy of this Sacrament.

But others think that all this belongs only to the inward acts of the mind, and is not ſacramental: and therefore they think that the Euchariſt is a federal act, in which as on the one hand we renew our baptiſmal covenant with God, ſo on the other hand we receive in the Sacrament a viſible conſignation, as in a tradition by a ſymbol or pledge, of the bleſſings of the New Covenant, which they think is ſomewhat ſuperadded to thoſe returns of our prayers, or of other inward acts.

This they think anſwers the nouriſhment which the body receives from the ſymbols of *bread* and *wine*; and ſtands in oppoſition to that of the unworthy receivers being guilty of *the body and blood of the Lord*; and their *eating* and *drinking* that which will bring ſome judgment upon themſelves. This they alſo found on theſe words of St. Paul, *The cup of bleſſing that we bleſs, is it not the communion of the blood of Chriſt? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt?*

St. Paul conſiders the *bread* which was offered by the people

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people as an emblem of their unity, that as there was one loaf, so they were *one body*; and that they were all *partakers* of that one loaf: from hence it is inferred, that since the word rendered *communion*, signifies a *communication in fellowship*, or partnership, that therefore the meaning of it is, that in the Sacrament there is a distribution made in that symbolical action of the death of Christ, and of the benefits and effects of it. *The communion of the Holy Ghost*, is a common sharing in the effusion of the Spirit: the same is meant by that, *if there is any fellowship of the Spirit*; *that is*, *if* we do all partake of the same Spirit, we are said to have a *fellowship in the sufferings of Christ*, in which every one must take his share. *The communication*, or fellowship, *of the mystery of the Gospel*, was its being shared equally among both Jews and Gentiles; and the fellowship in which the first converts to Christianity lived, was their liberal distribution to one another, they holding all things in common. In these and some other places it is certain, that communion signifies somewhat that is more real and effectual, than merely men's owning themselves to be joined together in a society; which it is true it does also often signify: and therefore they conclude, that as in bargains or covenants, the ancient method of them before writings were invented was the mutual delivering of some pledges, which were the symbols of that faith, which was so plighted, instead of which the sealing and delivering of writings is now used among us; so our Saviour instituted this in compliance with our frailty, to give us an outward and sensible pledge of his entering into covenant with us, of which the *bread* and *wine* are constituted the symbols.

ART. XXVIII.

2 Cor. xiii. last verse. Phil. ii. 1. Eph. iii. 9. Phil. iii. 10.

Others think, that by the communion of the body and blood of Christ can only be meant, the joint owning of Christ and of his death, in the receiving the Sacrament; and that no *communication* nor partnership can be inferred from it: because St. Paul brings it in to shew the Corinthians, how detestable a thing it was for a Christian to join in the idols' feasts; that it was to be a *partaker with Devils*: so they think that the *fellowship* or communion of Christians in the Sacrament must be of the same nature with the *fellowship of Devils* in acts of idolatry: which consisted only in their associating themselves with those that worshipped idols; for that upon the matter was the worshipping of Devils: and this seems to be confirmed by that which is said of the Jews, that they *who did eat of the sacrifices were partakers of the altar*; which it seems can signify no more but that they professed that religion of which

1 Cor. x. 18, 20.

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ART. XXVIII.

which the altar was the chief inſtrument; the ſacrifices being offered there.

To all this it may be replied, that it is reaſonable enough to believe, that according to the power which God ſuffered the Devil to exerciſe over the idolatrous world, there might be ſome inchantment in the ſacrifices offered to idols, and that the Devil might have ſome power over thoſe that did partake of them: and in order to this, St. Paul removed an objection that might have been made, that there could be no harm in their joining to the idol feaſts; for *an idol was nothing*; and ſo that which was offered to an idol could contract no defilement from the idol, it being *nothing*. Now if the meaning of their being *partakers with Devils* imports only their joining themſelves in acts of fellowſhip with idolaters, then the ſin of this would have eaſily appeared, without ſuch a re-inforcing of the matter; for though an idol was *nothing*, yet it was ſtill a great ſin to join in the acts that were meant to be the worſhip of this *nothing*: this was a diſhonouring of God, and a debaſing of man. But St. Paul ſeems to carry the argument farther; that how true ſoever it was that the *idol* was *nothing*, that is, a dead and lifeleſs thing, that had no virtue nor operation, and that by conſequence could derive nothing to the ſacrifice that was offered to it; yet ſince thoſe idols were the inſtruments by which the Devil kept the world in ſubjection to him, all ſuch as did *partake* in their ſacrifices might come under the effects of that magic, that might be exerted about their temples or ſacrifices: by which the credit of idolatry was much kept up.

And though every Chriſtian had a ſure defence againſt the powers of darkneſs, as long as he continued true to his religion, yet if he went out of that protection into the empire of the Devil, and joined in the acts that were as a homage to him, he then fell within the reach of the Devil, and might juſtly fear his being brought into a *partnerſhip* of thoſe magical poſſeſſions or temptations that might be ſuffered to fall upon ſuch Chriſtians, as ſhould aſſociate themſelves in ſo deteſtable a ſervice.

In the ſame ſenſe it was alſo ſaid, *that all the* Iſraelites *who did eat of the ſacrifices were partakers of the altar*: that is, that all of them who joined in the acts of that religion, ſuch as the offering their peace-offerings, for of thoſe of that kind they might only eat, all theſe were *partakers of the altar*; that is, of all the bleſſings of their religion, of all the expiations, the burnt-offerings and ſin-offerings, that were offered on the altar, for the ſins of the whole congregation: for that as a great

1 Cor. x. 18.

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ſtock went in a common dividend among ſuch as obſerved the precepts of that law, and joined in the acts of worſhip preſcribed by it: thus it appears, that ſuch as joined in the acts of idolatry became *partakers* of all that influence that Devils might have over thoſe ſacrifices; and all that continued in the obſervances of the Moſaical Law, had thereby a *partnerſhip* in the expiations of the altar: ſo likewiſe all Chriſtians who receive this ſacrament *worthily*, have by their ſo doing a ſhare in that which is repreſented by it, the death of Chriſt, and the expiation and other benefits that follow it. ART. XXVIII.

This ſeemed neceſſary to be fully explained: for this matter, how plain ſoever in itſelf, has been made very dark, by the ways in which ſome have pretended to open it. With this I conclude all that belongs to the firſt part of the Article, and that which was firſt to be explained of our doctrine concerning the ſacrament: by which we aſſert a *real preſence* of the *body* and *blood* of Chriſt; but not of his *body* as it is now glorified in heaven, but of his *body* as it was *broken* on the croſs, when his *blood was ſhed* and ſeparated from it: that is, his death, with the merit and effects of it, are in a viſible and federal act offered in this ſacrament to all worthy believers.

By *real* we underſtand *true*, in oppoſition both to fiction and imagination: and to thoſe ſhadows that were in the Moſaical diſpenſation, in which the *manna*, the *rock*, the *brazen ſerpent*, but moſt eminently the *cloud of glory*, were the types and ſhadows of the Meſſias, that was to come: with whom came *grace and truth*; that is, a moſt wonderful manifeſtation of the mercy or grace of God, and a verifying of the promiſes made under the Law: in this ſenſe we acknowledge a *real preſence* of Chriſt in the ſacrament: though we are convinced that our firſt Reformers judged right concerning the uſe of the phraſe *real preſence*, that it were better to be let fall than to be continued, ſince the uſe of it, and that idea which does naturally ariſe from the common acceptation of it, may ſtick deeper, and feed ſuperſtition more, than all thoſe larger explanations that are given to it can be able to cure.

But howſoever in this ſenſe it is innocent of itſelf, and may be lawfully uſed; though perhaps it were more cautiouſly done not to uſe it, ſince advantages have been taken from it, to urge it farther than we intend it; and ſince it has been a ſnare to ſome:

I go in the next place to explain the doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning this ſacrament. Tranſubſtantiation does expreſs it in one word: but that a full idea

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ART. XXVIII.

idea may be given of this part of their doctrine, I ſhall open it in all its branches and conſequences.

The matter of this ſacrament is not *bread* and *wine*: for they are annihilated when the ſacrament is made. They are only the remote matter, out of which it is made: but when the ſacrament is made, they ceaſe to be; and inſtead of them their outward appearances or *accidents* do only remain: which though they are no *ſubſtances*, yet are ſuppoſed to have a nature and eſſence of their own, ſeparable from matter: and theſe appearances, with the body of Chriſt under them, are the *matter* of the ſacrament.

Now though the natural and viſible *body of Chriſt* could not be the ſacrament of his *body*, yet they think his *real body* being thus veiled under the appearances of bread and wine, may be the ſacrament of his glorified body.

Yet, it ſeeming ſomewhat ſtrange to make a *true body* the ſacrament of itſelf, they would willingly put the ſacrament in the appearances; but that would ſound very harſh, to make accidents which are not *matter*, to be the *matter* of the ſacrament: therefore ſince theſe words, *This is my body*, muſt be literally underſtood, the matter muſt be the *true body of Chriſt*; ſo that *Chriſt's body* is the ſacrament of his *body*.

Chriſt's body, though now in heaven, is, as they think, preſented in every place where a true conſecration is made. And though it is in heaven in an extended ſtate, as all other bodies are, yet they think that extenſion may be ſeparated from matter, as well as the other appearances or accidents are believed to be ſeparated from it. And whereas our ſouls are believed to be ſo in our bodies, that though the whole ſoul is in the whole body, yet all the ſoul is believed to be in every part of it; but ſo that if any part of the body is ſeparated from the reſt, the ſoul is not divided, being one ſingle ſubſtance, but retires back into the reſt of the body: they apprehend that Chriſt's body is preſent after the manner of a ſpirit, without extenſion, or the filling of ſpace; ſo that the ſpace which the appearances poſſeſs is ſtill a vacuum, or only filled by the accidents: for a body without extenſion, as they ſuppoſe Chriſt's body to be, can never fill up an extenſion.

Chriſt's body in the ſacrament is denominated one; yet ſtill as the ſpecies are broken and divided, ſo many new bodies are divided from one another; every crumb of bread and drop of wine that is ſeparated from the whole, is a new body, and yet without a new miracle, all being done in conſequence of the firſt great one that was all at once wrought.

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The body of Chriſt continues in this ſtate, as long as the accidents remain in theirs; but how it ſhould alter is not eaſy to apprehend: the corruption of all other accidents ariſes from a change in the common ſubſtance, out of which new accidents do ariſe, while the old ones vaniſh; but accidents without a ſubject may ſeem more fixed and ſtable: yet they are not ſo, but are as ſubject to corruption as other accidents are: howſoever, as long as the alteration is not total; though the bread ſhould be both muſty and mouldy, and the wine both dead and ſour, yet as long as the bread and wine are ſtill ſo far preſerved, or rather that their appearances ſubſiſt, ſo long the body of Chriſt remains: but when they are ſo far altered, that they ſeem to be no more bread and wine, and that they are corrupted either in part or in whole, Chriſt's body is withdrawn, either in part or in whole. ART. XXVIII.

It is a great miracle to make the accidents of bread and wine ſubſiſt without a ſubject; yet the new accidents that ariſe upon theſe accidents, ſuch as mouldineſs or ſourneſs, come on without a miracle, but they do not know how. When the main accidents are deſtroyed, then the preſence of Chriſt ceaſes: and a new miracle muſt be ſuppoſed to produce new matter, for the filling up of that ſpace which the ſubſtance of bread and wine did formerly fill; and which was all this while poſſeſſed by the accidents. So much of the matter of this Sacrament.

The form of it is in the words of conſecration, which though they ſound declarative as if the thing were already done; *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*; yet they believe them to be productive. But whereas the common notion of the form of a ſacrament is, that it ſanctifies and applies the matter; here the former matter is ſo far from being conſecrated by it, that it is annihilated, and new matter is not ſanctified, but brought thither or produced: and whereas whenſoever we ſay of any thing, *this is*, we ſuppoſe that the thing is, as we ſay it is, before we ſay it; yet here all the while that this is a ſaying till the laſt ſyllable is pronounced, it is not that which it is ſaid to be, but in the minute in which the laſt ſyllable is uttered, then the change is made: and of this they are ſo firmly perſuaded, that they do preſently pay all that adoration to it, that they would pay to the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt if he were viſibly preſent: though the whole virtue of the conſecration depends on the intention of a Prieſt: ſo that he with a croſs intention hinders all this ſeries of miracles, as he fetches it all on, by letting his intention go along with it.

If it may be ſaid of ſome doctrines, that the bare expoſing

ART. XXVIII.

ing them is a moſt effectual confutation of them; certainly that is more applicable to this, than to any other that can be imagined: for though I have in ſtating it conſidered ſome of the moſt important difficulties, which are ſeen and confeſſed by the Schoolmen themſelves, who have poiſed all theſe with much exactneſs and ſubtilty; yet I have paſſed over a great many more, with which thoſe that deal in ſchool-divinity will find enough to exerciſe both their thoughts and their patience. They run out in many ſubtilties, concerning the accidents both *primary* and *ſecondary*; concerning the ubication, the production and reproduction of bodies; concerning the penetrability of matter, and the organization of a penetrable body; concerning the way of the deſtruction of the ſpecies; concerning the words of conſecration; concerning the water that is mixed with the wine, whether it is firſt changed by natural cauſes into wine; and ſince nothing but wine is tranſubſtantiated, what becomes of ſuch particles of water that are not turned into wine? What is the grace produced by the ſacrament, what is the effect of the preſence of Chriſt ſo long as he is in the body of the communicant; what is got by his preſence, and what is loſt by his abſence? In a word, let a man read the ſhorteſt body of ſchool-divinity that he can find, and he will ſee in it a vaſt number of other difficulties in this matter, of which their own authors are aware, which I have quite paſſed over. For when this doctrine fell into the hands of nice and exact men, they were ſoon ſenſible of all the conſequences that muſt needs follow upon it, and have purſued all theſe with a cloſeneſs far beyond any thing that is to be found among the writers of our ſide.

But that they might have a ſalvo for every difficulty, they framed a new model of philoſophy; new theories were invented, of ſubſtances and accidents, of matter and of ſpirits, of extenſion, ubication, and impenetrability; and by the new definitions and maxims to which they accuſtomed men in the ſtudy of philoſophy, they prepared them to ſwallow down all this more eaſily, when they ſhould come to the ſtudy of divinity.

The infallibility of the Church that had expreſsly defined it, was to bear a great part of the burden: if the Church was infallible, and if they were that Church, then it could be no longer doubted of. In dark ages miracles and viſions came in abundantly to ſupport it: in ages of more light, the infinite power of God, the words of the inſtitution, it being the teſtament of our Saviour then dying, and ſoon after confirmed with his blood, were things of great

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great pomp, and such as were apt to strike men that could not distinguish between the shews and the strength of arguments. But when all our senses, all our ideas of things rise up so strongly against every part of this chain of wonders, we ought at least to expect proofs suitable to the difficulty of believing such a flat contradiction to our reasons, as well as to our senses. ART. XXVIII.

We have no other notion of accidents, but that they are the different shapes or modes of matter; and that they have no being distinct from the body in which they appear: we have no other notion of a body, but that it is an extended substance, made up of impenetrable parts, one without another; every one of which fills its proper space: we have no other notion of a body's being in a place, but that it fills it, and is so in it, as that it can be no where else at the same time: and though we can very easily apprehend that an infinite power can both create and annihilate beings at pleasure; yet we cannot apprehend that God does change the essences of things, and so make them to be contrary to that nature and sort of being of which he has made them.

Another argument against Transubstantiation is this; God has made us capable to know and serve him: and, in order to that, he has put some senses in us, which are the conveyances of many subtile motions to our brains, that give us apprehensions of the objects, which by those motions are represented to us.

When those motions are lively, and the object is in a due distance; when we feel that neither our organs nor our faculties are under any disorder, and when the impression is clear and strong, we are determined by it; we cannot help being so. When we see the sun risen, and all is bright about us, it is not possible for us to think that it is dark night; no authority can impose it on us; we are not so far the masters of our own thoughts, as to force ourselves to think it, though we would; for God has made us of such a nature, that we are determined by such an evidence, and cannot contradict it. When an object is at too great a distance, we may mistake; a weakness or an ill disposition in our sight may misrepresent it; and a false medium, water, a cloud, or a glass, may give it a tincture or cast, so that we may see cause to correct our first apprehensions, in some sensations: but when we have duly examined every thing, when we have corrected one sense by another, we grow at last to be so sure, by the constitution of that nature that God has given us, that we



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ART. XXVIII.

cannot doubt, much leſs believe in contradiction to the expreſs evidence of our ſenſes.

It is by this evidence only that God convinces the world of the authority of thoſe whom he ſends to ſpeak in his name; he gives them a power to work miracles, which is an appeal to the ſenſes of mankind; and it is the higheſt appeal that can be made; for thoſe who ſtood out againſt the conviction of Chriſt's miracles, had no cloak for their ſins. It is the utmoſt conviction that God offers, or that man can pretend to: from all which we muſt infer this, that either our ſenſes in their cleareſt apprehenſions, or rather repreſentations of things, muſt be infallible, or we muſt throw up all faith and certainty; ſince it is not poſſible for us to receive the evidence that is given us of any thing but by our ſenſes; and ſince we do naturally acquieſce in that evidence, we muſt acknowledge that God has ſo made us, that this is his voice in us; becauſe it is the voice of thoſe faculties that he has put in us; and is the only way by which we can find out truth, and be led by it: and if our faculties fail us in any one thing, ſo that God ſhould reveal to us any thing, that did plainly contradict our faculties, he ſhould thereby give us a right to diſbelieve them for ever.

If they can miſtake when they bring any object to us with the fulleſt evidence that they can give, we can never depend upon them, nor be certain of any thing, becauſe they ſhew it. Nay, we are not, and cannot be bound to believe that, nor any other revelation that God may make to convince us. We can only receive a revelation by hearing or reading, by our ears or our eyes. So if any part of this revelation deſtroys the certainty of the evidence, that our ſenſes, our eyes, or our ears, give us, it deſtroys itſelf: for we cannot be bound to believe it upon the evidence of our ſenſes, if this is a part of it, that our ſenſes are not to be truſted. Nor will this matter be healed, by ſaying, that certainly we muſt believe God more than our ſenſes: and therefore, if he has revealed any thing to us, that is contrary to their evidence, we muſt as to that particular believe God before our ſenſes; but that as to all other things where we have not an expreſs revelation to the contrary, we muſt ſtill believe our ſenſes.

There is a difference to be made between that feeble evidence that our ſenſes give us of remote objects, or thoſe looſe inferences that we may make from a ſlight view of things, and the full evidence that ſenſe gives us; as when we

we ſee and ſmell to, we handle and taſte the ſame object: this is the voice of God to us; he has made us ſo that we are determined by it: and as we ſhould not believe a prophet that wrought ever ſo many miracles, if he ſhould contradict any part of that which God had already revealed; ſo we cannot be bound to believe a revelation contrary to our ſenſe; becauſe that were to believe God in contradiction to himſelf; which is impoſſible to be true. For we ſhould believe that revelation certainly upon an evidence, which itſelf tells us is not certain; and this is a contradiction. We believe our ſenſes upon this foundation, becauſe we reckon there is an intrinſic certainty in their evidence; we do not believe them as we believe another man, upon a moral preſumption of his truth and ſincerity; but we believe them, becauſe ſuch is the nature of the union of our ſouls and bodies, which is the work of God, that upon the full impreſſions that are made upon the ſenſes, the ſoul does neceſſarily produce, or rather feel thoſe thoughts and ſenſations ariſe with a full evidence, that correſpond to the motions of ſenſible objects, upon the organs of ſenſe. The ſoul has a ſagacity to examine theſe ſenſations, to correct one ſenſe by another; but when ſhe has uſed all the means ſhe can, and the evidence is ſtill clear, ſhe is perſuaded, and cannot help being ſo; ſhe naturally takes all this to be true, becauſe of the neceſſary connection that ſhe feels between ſuch ſenſations, and her aſſent to them. Now, if ſhe ſhould find that ſhe could be miſtaken in this, even though ſhe ſhould know this, by a divine revelation, all the intrinſic certainty of the evidence of ſenſe, and that connection between thoſe ſenſations and her aſſent to them, ſhould be hereby diſſolved. ART. XXVIII.

To all this another objection may be made from the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion: which contradict our reaſon, and yet we are bound to believe them; although reaſon is a faculty much ſuperior to ſenſe. But all this is a miſtake; we cannot be bound to believe any thing that contradicts our reaſon; for the evidence of reaſon as well as that of ſenſe is the voice of God to us. But as great difference is to be made between a feeble evidence that ſenſe gives us of an object that is at a diſtance from us, or that appears to us through a falſe medium; ſuch as a concave or a convex glaſs; and the full evidence of an object that is before us, and that is clearly apprehended by us: ſo there is a great difference to be made between our reaſonings upon difficulties that we can neither underſtand nor reſolve, and our reaſonings upon clear principles. The one may be falſe, and the other muſt be true: we are



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ART. XXVIII.

ſure that a thing cannot be one and three in the ſame reſpect; our reaſon aſſures us of this, and we do and muſt believe it; but we know that in different reſpects the ſame thing may be one and three. And ſince we cannot know all the poſſibilities of thoſe different reſpects, we muſt believe upon the authority of God revealing it, that the ſame thing is both *one* and *three*; though if a revelation ſhould affirm that the ſame thing were *one* and *three* in the ſame reſpect, we ſhould not, and indeed could not believe it.

This argument deſerves to be fully opened; for we are ſure either it is true, or we cannot be ſure that any thing elſe whatſoever is true. In confirmation of this we ought alſo to conſider the nature and ends of miracles. They put nature out of its channel, and reverſe its fixed laws and motions; and the end of God's giving men a power to work them, is, that by them the world may be convinced, that ſuch perſons are commiſſionated by him, to deliver his pleaſure to them in ſome particulars. And as it could not become the infinite wiſdom of the great Creator, to change the order of nature (which is his own workmanſhip) upon ſlight grounds; ſo we cannot ſuppoſe that he ſhould work a chain of extraordinary miracles to no purpoſe. It is not to give credit to a revelation that he is making; for the ſenſes do not perceive it; on the contrary, they do reject and contradict it; and the revelation, inſtead of getting credit from it, is loaded by it, as introducing that which deſtroys all credit and certainty.

In other miracles our ſenſes are appealed to; but here they muſt be appealed from; nor is there any ſpiritual end ſerved in working this miracle: for it is acknowledged, that the effects of this ſacrament are given upon our due coming to it, independent upon the corporal preſence: ſo that the grace of the ſacrament does not always accompany it, ſince unworthy receivers, though, according to the Romiſh doctrine, they receive the true body of Chriſt, yet they do not receive grace with it: and the grace that is given in it to the worthy receivers, ſtays with them after that, by the deſtruction of the ſpecies of the bread and wine, the body of Chriſt is withdrawn. So that it is acknowledged, that the ſpiritual effect of the ſacrament does not depend upon the corporal preſence.

Here then it is ſuppoſed, that God is every day working a great many miracles, in a vaſt number of different places; and that of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it muſt be confeſſed, they are far beyond all the other wonders, even

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even of omnipotence; and yet all this is to no end, that we can apprehend; neither to any ſenſible and viſible end, nor to any internal and ſpiritual one. This muſt needs ſeem an amazing thing, that God ſhould work ſuch a miracle on our behalf, and yet ſhould not acquaint us with any end for which he ſhould work it. ART. XXVIII.

To conclude this whole argument, we have one great advantage in this matter, that our doctrine concerning the ſacrament, of a myſtical preſence of Chriſt in the ſymbols, and of the effects of it on the worthy and unworthy receivers, is all acknowledged by the Church of Rome; but they have added to this the wonder of the corporal preſence: ſo that we need bring no proofs to them at leaſt, for that which we teach concerning it; ſince it is all confeſſed by them. But as to that which they have added, it is not neceſſary for us to give proofs againſt it; it is enough for us, if we ſhew that all the proofs that they bring for it are weak and unconcluding. They muſt be very demonſtrative, if it is expected, that, upon the authority and evidence of them, we ſhould be bound to believe a thing which they themſelves confeſs to be contrary both to our ſenſe and reaſons. We cannot by the laws of reaſoning be bound to give arguments againſt it; it is enough if we can ſhew that neither the words of the inſtitution, nor the diſcourſe in the ſixth of St. John, do neceſſarily infer it; and if we ſhew that thoſe paſſages can well bear another ſenſe, which is agreeable both to the words themſelves, and to the ſtyle of the Scriptures, and more particularly to the phraſeology to which the Jews were accuſtomed, upon the occaſion on which this was inſtituted; and if the words can well bear the ſenſe that we give them, then the other advantages that are in it, of its being ſimple and natural, of its being ſuitable to the deſign of a ſacrament, and of its having no hard conſequences of any ſort depending upon it; then, I ſay, by all the rules of expounding Scripture, we do juſtly infer, that our ſenſe of thoſe words ought to be preferred.

This is according to a rule that St. Auguſtin gives to judge what expreſſions in Scripture are figurative, and what not; "If any place ſeems to command a crime or "horrid action, it is figurative: and for an inſtance of "this he cites thoſe words, *except ye eat the fleſh and drink "the blood of the Son of man, you have no life in you:* which "ſeems to command a crime and a horrid action; and "therefore it is a figure commanding us to communicate "in the paſſion of our Lord, and to lay up in our memory "with delight and profit, that his fleſh was crucified and "wounded Lib. iii. de Doct. Chriſt. c. 16.

ART. XXVIII. "wounded for us." As this was given for a rule by the great doctor of the Latin Church, ſo the ſame maxim had been delivered almoſt two ages before him, by the great doctor of the Greek Church, Origen, who ſays, "that "the underſtanding our Saviour's words of eating his "fleſh and drinking his blood, according to the letter, is "a letter that kills." Theſe paſſages I cite by an anticipation, before I enter upon the enquiry into the ſenſe of the ancient Church, concerning this matter; becauſe they belong to the words of the inſtitution, at leaſt to the diſcourſe in St. John: now if the ſenſe that we give to theſe words is made good, we need be at no more pains to prove that they are capable of no other ſenſe; ſince this muſt prove that to be the only true ſenſe of them.

Hom. 7. in Levit.

So that for all the arguments that have been brought by us againſt this doctrine, ariſing out of the fruitfulneſs of the matter, we were not bound to uſe them: for, our doctrine being confeſſed by them, it wants no proof; and we cannot be bound to prove a negative. Therefore though the copiouſneſs of this matter has afforded us many arguments for the negative, yet that was not neceſſary: for, as a negative always proves itſelf; ſo that holds more eſpecially here, where that which is denied is accompanied with ſo many and ſo ſtrange abſurdities, as do follow from this doctrine.

The laſt topic in this matter is the ſenſe that the ancient Church had of it: for, as we certainly have both the Scriptures and the evidence of our ſenſes and reaſon of our ſide, ſo that will be much fortified, if it appears that no ſuch doctrine was received in the firſt and beſt ages; and that it came in not all at once, but by degrees. I ſhall firſt urge this matter by ſome general preſumptions; and then I ſhall go to plain proofs. But though the preſumptions ſhall be put only as preſumptions; yet if they appear to be violent, ſo that a man cannot hold giving his aſſent to the concluſion that follows from them, then though they are put in the form of preſumptive arguments, yet that will not hinder them from being conſidered as concluding ones.

By the ſtating this doctrine it has appeared how many difficulties there are involved in it: theſe are difficulties that are obvious and ſoon ſeen: they are not found out by deep enquiry and much ſpeculation: they are ſoon felt, and are very hardly avoided: and ever ſince the time that this doctrine has been received by the Roman Church, theſe have been much inſiſted on; explanations have been offered to them all; and the whole principles of natural philoſophy

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philoſophy have been caſt into a new mould, that they might ply to this doctrine: at leaſt thoſe who have ſtudied their philoſophy in that ſyſtem, have had ſuch notions put in them, while their minds were yet tender and capable of any impreſſions, that they have been thereby prepared to this doctrine before they came to it, by a train of philoſophical terms and diſtinctions, ſo that they were not much alarmed at it, when it came to be ſet before them. ART. XXVIII.

They are accuſtomed to think that ubication, or the being in a place, is but an accident to a ſubſtance: ſo that the ſame bodies being in more places, is only its having a few more of thoſe accidents produced in it by God: they are accuſtomed to think that accidents are beings different from matter: like a ſort of clothing to it, which do indeed require the having of a ſubſtance for their ſubject: but yet ſince they are believed to have a being of their own, God may make them ſubſiſt: as the ſkin of a man may ſtand out in its proper ſhape and colour, though there were nothing but air or vacuity within it.

They are accuſtomed to think, that as an accident may be without its proper ſubſtance, ſo ſubſtance may be without its proper accidents; and they do reckon extenſion and impenetrability, that is, a body's ſo filling a ſpace, that no other body can be in the ſame ſpace with it, among its accidents: ſo that a body compoſed of organs and of large dimenſions, may be not only all crowded within one wafer, but an entire diſtinct body may be in every ſeparable part of this wafer; at leaſt in every piece that carries in it the appearance of bread.

Theſe, beſides many other leſſer ſubtilties, are the evident reſults of this doctrine: and it was a natural effect of its being received, that their philoſophy ſhould be ſo tranſformed as to agree to it, and to prepare men for it.

Now to apply this to the matter we are upon, we find none of theſe ſubtilties among the ancients. They ſeem to apprehend none of thoſe difficulties, nor do they take any pains to ſolve or clear them. They had a philoſophical genius, and ſhewed it in all other things: they diſputed very nicely concerning the attributes of God, concerning his eſſence, and the Perſons of the Trinity: they ſaw the difficulties concerning the incarnation of the Eternal Word, and Chriſt's being both God and man: they treat of original ſin, of the power of grace, and of the decrees of God.

They explained the reſurrection of our bodies, and the different ſtates of the bleſſed and the damned.

They ſaw the difficulties in all theſe heads, and were



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ART. XXVIII.

very copious in their explanations of them: and they may be rather thought by ſome too full, than too ſparing in the canvaſſing of difficulties: but all thoſe were mere ſpeculative matters, in which the difficulty was not ſo ſoon ſeen as on this ſubject: yet they found theſe out, and purſued them with that ſubtilty that ſhewed they were not at all diſpleaſed, when occaſions were offered them to ſhew their ſkill in anſwering difficulties: which, to name no more, appears very evidently to be St. Auguſtin's character. Yet neither he nor any of the other Fathers ſeem to have been ſenſible of the difficulties in this matter.

They neither ſtate them nor anſwer them; nor do they uſe thoſe reſerves when they ſpeak of philoſophical matters, that men muſt have uſed who were poſſeſſed of this doctrine: for a man cannot hold it without bringing himſelf to think and ſpeak otherways upon all natural things than the reſt of mankind do.

They are ſo far from this, that, on the contrary, they deliver themſelves in a way that ſhews they had no ſuch apprehenſions of things.

They thought that all creatures were limited to one place: and from thence they argued againſt the heathens, who believed that their deities were in every one of thoſe ſtatues which they conſecrated to them.

From this head they proved the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt; becauſe he wrought in many different places at once: which he could not do if he were only a creature.

They affirm, that Chriſt can be no more on earth, ſince he is now in heaven, and that he can be but in one place.

They ſay, that which hath no bounds nor figure, and that can neither be touched nor ſeen, cannot be a body: that bodies are extended in ſome place, and cannot exiſt after the manner of ſpirits.

They argue againſt the eternity of matter, from this, that nothing could be produced, that had a being before it was produced; and on all occaſions they appeal to the teſtimony of our ſenſes as infallible.

They ſay, that to believe otherwiſe tended to reverſe the whole ſtate of life, and order of nature, and to reproach the providence of God; ſince it muſt be ſaid, that he has given the knowledge of all his works to liars and deceivers, if our ſenſes may be falſe: that we muſt doubt of our faith, if the teſtimony of hearing, ſeeing, and feeling, could deceive us.

And in their conteſts with the Marcionites and others, concerning the truth of Chriſt's body, they appeal always to

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ART. XXVIII.

to the teſtimony of the ſenſes as infallible: and even treating of the ſacrament, they ſay, without limitation or exception, that it was bread, as their eyes witneſſed, and true wine that Chriſt did conſecrate to be the memorial of his body and blood; and they tell us in this very particular, that we ought not to doubt of the teſtimony of our ſenſes.

Another preſumptive proof, that the ancients knew nothing of this doctrine, is, that the Heathens and the Jews, who charged them, and their doctrine, with every thing that they could invent to make both it and them odious and ridiculous, could never have paſſed over this, in which both ſenſe and reaſon ſeemed to be ſo evidently on their ſide.

They reproach the Chriſtians for believing a God that was born, a God of fleſh that was crucified and buried: they laughed at their belief of a judgment to come, of endleſs flames, of a heavenly paradiſe, and of the reſurrection of the body. Thoſe who writ the firſt apologies for the Chriſtian religion, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Arnobius, and Minutius Felix, have given us a large account of the blaſphemies both of Jews and Gentiles, againſt the doctrines of Chriſtianity.

Cyril of Alexandria has given us Julian's objections in his own words; who having been not only initiated into the Chriſtian religion, but having read the Scriptures in the Churches, and being a philoſophical and inquiſitive man, muſt have been well inſtructed concerning the doctrine and the ſacraments of this religion: and his relation to the Emperor Conſtantine muſt have made the Chriſtians concerned to take more than ordinary pains on him. When he made apoſtaſy from the faith, he reproached the Chriſtians with the doctrine of Baptiſm, and laughed at them for thinking that there was an ablution and ſanctification in it, conceiving it a thing impoſſible that water ſhould waſh or cleanſe a ſoul: yet neither he nor Porphyry, nor Celſus before them, did charge this religion with the abſurdities of tranſubſtantiation.

It is reaſonable to believe, that if the Chriſtians of that time had any ſuch doctrine among them, it muſt have been known. Every Chriſtian muſt have known in what ſenſe thoſe words, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*, were underſtood among them. All the apoſtates from Chriſtianity muſt have known it, and muſt have publiſhed it, to excuſe or hide the ſhame of their apoſtaſy; ſince apoſtates are apt to ſpread lies of them whom they forſake, but not to conceal ſuch truths as are to their prejudice.

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ART. XXVIII.

dice. Julian muſt have known it; and if he had known it, his judgment was too true, and his malice to the Chriſtian religion too quick, to overlook or neglect the advantages which this part of their doctrine gave him. Nor can this be carried off by ſaying, that the *eating of human fleſh* and the *Thyeſtean ſuppers*, which were objected to the Chriſtians, relate to this: when the Fathers anſwer that, they tell the Heathens that it was a downright calumny and lie; and do not offer any explanations or diſtinctions taken from their doctrine of the Sacrament, to clear them from the miſtake and malice of this calumny. The truth is, the execrable practices of the Gnoſtics, who were called Chriſtians, gave the riſe to thoſe as well as to many other calumnies: but they were not at all founded on the doctrine of the Euchariſt, which is never once mentioned as the occaſion of this accuſation.

Another preſumption, from which we conclude that the ancients knew nothing of this doctrine, is, that we find hereſies and diſputes ariſing concerning all the other points of religion: there were very few of the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, and not any of the myſteries of the faith, that did not fall under great objections: but there was not any one hereſy raiſed upon this head: men were never ſo meek and tame as eaſily to believe things, when there appeared ſtrong evidence, or at leaſt great preſumptions, againſt them. In theſe laſt eight or nine centuries, ſince this doctrine was received, there has been a perpetual oppoſition made to it, even in dark and unlearned ages; in which implicit faith and blind obedience have carried a great ſway. And though the ſecular arm has been employed with great and unrelenting ſeverities to extirpate all that have oppoſed it; yet all the while many have ſtood out againſt it, and have ſuffered much and long for their rejecting it. Now it is not to be imagined that ſuch an oppoſition ſhould have been made to this doctrine, during the nine hundred years laſt paſt, and that for the former eight hundred years there ſhould have been no diſputes at all concerning it: and that while all other things were ſo much queſtioned, that ſeveral Fathers writ, and councils were called to ſettle the belief of them, yet that for about eight hundred years, this was the ſingle point that went down ſo eaſily, that no treatiſe was all that while writ to prove it, nor council held to eſtabliſh it.

Certainly the reaſon of this will appear to be much rather, that ſince there have been conteſts upon this point theſe laſt nine ages, and that there were none the firſt eight,

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eight, this doctrine was not known during thoſe firſt ages; and that the great ſilence about it for ſo long a time, is a very ſtrong preſumption, that in all that time this doctrine was not thought of. ART. XXVIII.

The laſt of thoſe conſiderations that I ſhall offer, which are of the nature of preſumptive proofs, is, that there are a great many rites and other practices, that have ariſen out of this doctrine as its natural conſequences, which were not thought of for a great many ages; but that have gone on by a perpetual progreſs, and have increaſed very fruitfully, ever ſince this doctrine was received. Such are the elevation, adoration, and proceſſions, together with the doctrine of concomitance, and a vaſt number of rites and rubrics; the firſt occaſions and beginnings of which are well known. Theſe did all ariſe from this doctrine, it being natural, eſpecially in the ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, for men upon the ſuppoſition of Chriſt's being corporally preſent, to run out into all poſſible inventions of pomp and magnificence about this ſacrament; and it is very reaſonable to think, ſince theſe things are of ſo late and ſo certain a date, that the doctrine upon which they are founded is not much ancienter.

The great ſimplicity of the primitive forms, not only as they are reported by Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian in the ages of the poverty and perſecutions of the Church, but as they are repreſented to us in the fourth and fifth centuries by Cyril of Jeruſalem, the *Conſtitutions*, and the pretended *Areopagite*, have nothing of that air that appears in the latter ages. The ſacrament was then given in both kinds; it was put in the hands of the faithful; they reſerved ſome portions of it: it was given to children for many ages: the laity and even boys were employed to carry it to dying penitents; what remained of it was burnt in ſome places, and conſumed by the clergy, and by children in other places; the making cataplaſms of it, the mixing the wine with ink, to ſign the condemnation of heretics, are very clear preſumptions that this doctrine was not then known.

But above all, their not adoring the ſacrament, which is not done to this day in the Greek Church, and of which there is no mention made by all thoſe who writ of the offices of the Church in the eighth and ninth centuries ſo copiouſly; this, I ſay, of their not adoring it, is perhaps more than a preſumption, that this doctrine was not then thought on. But ſince it was eſtabliſhed, all the old forms and rituals have been altered, and the adoring the ſacrament is now become the main act of devotion and of religious

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ART. XXVIII.

religious worſhip among them. One ancient form is indeed ſtill continued, which is of the ſtrongeſt kind of preſumptions that this doctrine came in much later than ſome other ſuperſtitions which we condemn in that Church. In the maſſes that are appointed on Saints-days, there are ſome collects in which it is ſaid, that the ſacrifice is offered up in *honour to the Saint*; and it is prayed, that it may become the *more valuable and acceptable, by the merits and interceſſions of the Saint*. Now when a practice will well agree with one opinion, but not at all with another, we have all poſſible reaſon to preſume at leaſt, that at firſt it came in under that opinion with which it will agree, and not under another which cannot conſiſt with it. Our opinion is, that the ſacrament is a federal act of our Chriſtianity, in which we offer up our higheſt devotions to God through Chriſt, and receive the largeſt returns from him: it is indeed a ſuperſtitious conceit to celebrate this to the honour of a Saint; but howſoever upon the ſuppoſition of Saints hearing our prayers, and interceding for us, there is ſtill good ſenſe in this: but if it is believed that Chriſt is corporally preſent, and that he is offered up in it, it is againſt all ſenſe, and it approaches to blaſphemy, to do this to the honour of a Saint, and much more to deſire that this, which is of infinite value, and is the foundation of all God's bleſſings to us, ſhould receive any addition or increaſe in its value or acceptation from the *merits or interceſſion* of Saints. So this, though a late practice, yet does fully evince, that the doctrine of the corporal preſence was not yet thought on, when it was firſt brought into the office.

So far I have gone upon the preſumptions that may be offered to prove that this doctrine was not known to the anoients. They are not only juſt and lawful preſumptions, but they are ſo ſtrong and violent, that when they are well conſidered, they force an aſſent to that which we infer from them. I go next to the more plain and direct proofs that we find of the opinion of the ancients in this matter.

They call the elements bread and wine after the conſecration. Juſtin Martyr calls them *bread and wine, and a nouriſhment which nouriſhed:* he indeed ſays it is not *common bread and wine*; which ſhews that he thought it was ſtill ſo in ſubſtance: and he illuſtrates the ſanctification of the elements by the incarnation of Chriſt, in which the human nature did not loſe or change its ſubſtance by its union with the divine: ſo the bread and the wine do not, according to that explanation, loſe their proper *ſubſtance*, when they become the fleſh and blood of Chriſt.

Apolog. 2.

Irenæus

Irenæus calls it that *bread over which thanks are given*, and ſays, it is *no more common bread, but the Euchariſt conſiſting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly.*

Tertullian, arguing againſt the Marcionites, who held two Gods, and that the Creator of this earth was the bad God; but that Chriſt was contrary to him; urges againſt them this, that Chriſt made uſe of the creatures: and ſays, *he did not reject bread by which he repreſents his own body:* and in another place he ſays, *Chriſt calls bread his body*, that from thence you may underſtand, *that he gave the figure of his body to the bread.* Lib. iv. de Hær. c. 34. Lib. i. adver. Marcion. c. 14. Lib. iii. adver. Marcion. c. 19.

Origen ſays, we eat of the loaves that are ſet before us *Which by prayer are become a certain holy body, that ſanctifies thoſe who uſe them with a ſound purpoſe.* Lib. viii. contra Celſum.

St. Cyprian ſays, *Chriſt calls the bread that was compounded of many grains, his body; and the wine that is preſſed out of many grapes, his blood, to ſhew the union of his people.* And in another place, writing againſt thoſe who uſed only water, but no wine, in the Euchariſt, he ſays, *We cannot ſee the blood by which we are redeemed, when wine is not in the chalice; by which the blood of Chriſt is ſhewed.* Ep. 76. Ep. 63.

Epiphanius being to prove that man may be ſaid to be made after the image of God, though he is not like him, urges this, *That the bread is not like Chriſt, neither in his inviſible Deity, nor in his incarnate likeneſs, for it is round and without feeling as to its virtue.* In Anchoreto.

Gregory Nyſſen ſays, *the bread in the beginning is common; but after the myſtery has conſecrated it, it is ſaid to be, and is, the body of Chriſt:* to this he compares the ſanctification of the myſtical oil, of the water in baptiſm, and the ſtones of an altar, or church, dedicated to God. In orat. de Baptiſ. Chriſti.

St. Ambroſe calls it ſtill bread; and ſays, this *bread is made the food of the Saints.* De Benedict. Patriarch. c. 9.

St. Chryſoſtom on theſe words, *the bread that we break*, ſays, *What is the bread? The body of Chriſt: What are they made to be who take it? The body of Chriſt.* Which ſhews that he conſidered the bread as being ſo the body of Chriſt, as the worthy receivers became his body; which is done, not by a change of ſubſtance, but by a ſanctification of their natures. Hom. 24. in Ep. ad Cor.

St. Jerome ſays, *Chriſt took bread, that as Melchiſedec had in the figure offered bread and wine, he might alſo repreſent the truth* (that is in oppoſition to the figure) *of his body and blood.* Comm. in St. Matt. c. 26.

St. Auguſtin does very largely compare the ſacraments being called the body and blood of Chriſt, with thoſe other Ch. apud Fulgent. de Baptiſmo.

ART. XXVIII.

other places in which the Church is called his body, and all Chriſtians are his members: which ſhews that he thought the one was to be underſtood myſtically as well as the other. He calls the Euchariſt frequently our daily bread, and the ſacrament of bread and wine. All theſe call the Euchariſt *bread and wine* in expreſs words: but when they call it *Chriſt's body and blood*, they call it ſo *after a ſort*, or that *it is ſaid to be*, or with ſome other mollifying expreſſion.

Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 33.

St. Auguſtin ſays this plainly, *after ſome ſort the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt is his body, and the ſacrament of his blood is the blood of Chriſt; he carried himſelf in his own hands in ſome ſort, when he ſaid, This is my body.*

Chryſ. Ep. ad Cæſar. et in Comm. in Ep. ad Gal. c. 5.

St. Chryſoſtom ſays, *the bread is thought worthy to be called the body of our Lord:* and in another place, reckoning up the improper ſenſes of the word *fleſh*, he ſays, the Scriptures uſe to call the *myſteries* (that is, the ſacrament) *by the name of fleſh, and ſometimes the whole Church is ſaid to be the body of Chriſt.*

Tertul. Lib. iv. adv. Marc. c. 40.

So Tertullian ſays, *Chriſt calls the bread his body, and names the bread by his body.*

The Fathers do not only call the conſecrated elements bread and wine; they do alſo affirm, that they retain their proper nature and ſubſtance, and are the ſame thing as to their nature, that they were before. And the occaſion upon which the paſſages, that I go next to mention, are uſed by them, does prove this matter beyond contradiction.

Apollinaris did broach that hereſy which was afterwards put in full form by Eutyches; and that had ſo great a party to ſupport it, that as they had one General Council (a pretended one at leaſt) to favour them, ſo they were condemned by another. Their error was, that the human nature of Chriſt was ſwallowed up by the divine, if not while he was here on earth, yet at leaſt after his aſcenſion to heaven. This error was confuted by ſeveral writers who lived very wide one from another, and at a diſtance of above a hundred years one from another. St. Chryſoſtom at Conſtantinople, Theodoret in Aſia, Ephrem Patriarch of Antioch, and Gelaſius Biſhop of Rome. All thoſe write to prove, that the human nature did ſtill remain in Chriſt, not changed, nor ſwallowed up, but only ſanctified by the divine nature that was united to it. They do all fall into one argument, which very probably thoſe who came after St. Chryſoſtom took from him: ſo that though both Theodoret and Gelaſius's words are much fuller, yet becauſe the argument is the ſame with that

Epiſt. ad Ceſarium.

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ART. XXVIII.

that which St. Chryſoſtom had urged againſt Apollinaris, I ſhall firſt ſet down his words. He brings an illuſtration from the doctrine of the Sacrament, to ſhew that the human nature was not deſtroyed by its union with the divine; and has upon that theſe words, *As before the bread is ſanctified, we call it bread; but when the divine grace has ſanctified it by the means of the Prieſt, it is freed from the name of bread, and is thought worthy of the name of the Lord's body, though the nature of bread remain in it: and yet it is not ſaid there are two bodies, but one body of the Son: ſo the divine nature being joined to the body, both theſe make one Son and one Perſon.*

Ephrem of Antioch ſays, *The body of Chriſt received by the faithful, does not depart from its ſenſible ſubſtance: ſo baptiſm*, ſays he, *does not loſe its own ſenſible ſubſtance, and does not loſe that which it was before.* In Photii Bibli. Cod. 229.a

Theodoret ſays, *Chriſt does honour the ſymbols with the name of his body and blood; not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature.* In another place, purſuing the ſame argument, he ſays, *The myſtical ſymbols after the ſanctification do not depart from their own nature: for they continue in their former ſubſtance, figure, and form, and are viſible and palpable as they were before: but they are underſtood to be that which they are made.* Dial. 1. et 2. cont. Eutych.

Pope Gelaſius ſays, *The ſacraments of the body and blood of Chriſt are a divine thing; for which reaſon we become by them partakers of the divine nature: and yet the ſubſtance of bread and wine does not ceaſe to exiſt: and the image and likeneſs of the body and blood of Chriſt are celebrated in holy myſteries.* Upon all theſe places being compared with the deſign with which they were written, which was to prove that Chriſt's human nature did ſtill ſubſiſt, unchanged, and not ſwallowed up by its union with the Divinity, ſome reflections are very obvious: Firſt, if the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament had been then received in the Church, the natural and unavoidable argument in this matter, which muſt put an end to it, with all that believed ſuch corporal preſence, was this: Chriſt has certainly a natural body ſtill, becauſe the bread and the wine are turned to it; and they cannot be turned to that which is not. In their writings they argued againſt the poſſibility of a ſubſtantial change of a human nature into the divine; but that could not have been urged by men who believed a ſubſtantial mutation to be made in the ſacrament: for then the Eutychians might have retorted the argument with great advantage upon them. Lib. de duabus nat. Chriſt.

The

ART. XXVIII.

The Eutychians did make uſe of ſome expreſſions, that were uſed by ſome in the Church, which ſeemed to import that they did argue from the ſacrament, as Theodoret repreſents their objections. But to that he anſwers as we have ſeen, denying that any ſuch ſubſtantial change was made. The deſign of thoſe Fathers was to prove, that things might be united together, and continue ſo united, without a change of their ſubſtances, and that this was true in the two natures in the perſon of Chriſt: and to make this more ſenſible, they bring in the matter of the Sacrament, as a thing known and confeſſed: for in their arguing upon it they do ſuppoſe it as a thing out of diſpute.

Now, according to the Roman doctrine, this had been a very odd ſort of an argument, to prove that Chriſt's human nature was not ſwallowed up of the divine; becauſe the myſteries or elements in the ſacrament are changed into the *ſubſtance of Chriſt's body, only they retain the outward appearances of bread and wine.*

To this an Eutychian might readily have anſwered, that then the human nature might be believed to be deſtroyed: and though Chriſt had appeared in that likeneſs, he retained only the accidents of human nature; but that the human nature itſelf was deſtroyed, as the *bread* and the *wine* were deſtroyed in the euchariſt.

This had been a very abſurd way of arguing in the Fathers, and had indeed delivered up the cauſe to the Eutychians: whereas thoſe Fathers make it an argument againſt them, to prove, that notwithſtanding an union of two beings, and ſuch an union as did communicate a ſanctification from the one to the other, yet the two *natures* might remain ſtill diſtinguiſhed; and that it was ſo in the *euchariſt:* therefore it might be ſo in the perſon of Chriſt. This ſeems to be ſo evident an indication of the doctrine of the whole Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, when ſo many of the moſt eminent writers of thoſe ages do urge it ſo home as an argument in ſo great a point, that we can ſcarce think it poſſible for any man to conſider it fully without being determined by it. And ſo far we have conſidered the authorities from the Fathers, to ſhew that they believed that the ſubſtance of bread and wine did ſtill remain in the ſacrament.

Another head of proof is, that they affirm, that our bodies are nouriſhed by the ſacrament; which ſhews very plainly, that they had no notion of a change of ſubſtance made in it.

Juſtin

*crament of his body and blood, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, is called his body and blood: not that the bread is properly his body, or the cup properly his blood; but because they contain in them the mystery of his body and blood.* ART. XXVIII.

St. Austin says, *That sacraments must have some resemblance of those things of which they are the sacraments: so the sacrament of the body of Christ is after some manner his body; and the sacrament of his blood is after some manner his blood.* And speaking of the eucharist as a sacrifice of praise, he says, *The flesh and blood of this sacrifice was promised before the coming of Christ, by the sacrifices that were the types of it. In the passion the sacrifice was truly offered; and after his ascension it is celebrated by the sacrament of the remembrance of it.* Ep. 23. ad Bonifac.

And when he speaks of the murmuring of the Jews, upon our Saviour's speaking of giving his flesh to them, to eat it; he adds, *They foolishly and carnally thought, that he was to cut off some parcels of his body, to be given to them: but he shews that there was a sacrament hid there.* Lib. xx. con. Faust. c. 21. in Psal. xcviii. 5. And he thus paraphrases that passage, *The words that I have spoken to you, they are spirit and life: understand spiritually that which I have said; for it is not this body which you see, that you are to eat, or to drink this blood which they shall shed, who crucify me. But I have recommended a sacrament to you, which being spiritually understood, shall quicken you: and though it be necessary that it be celebrated visibly, yet it must be understood invisibly.*

Primasius compares the sacrament to a pledge, which a dying man leaves to any one whom he loved. But that which is more important than the quotation of any of the words of the Fathers is, that the author of the books of the sacrament, which pass under the name of St. Ambrose, though it is generally agreed that those books were writ some ages after his death, gives us the prayer of consecration, as it was used in his time: he calls it the *heavenly words*, and sets it down. The offices of the Church are a clearer evidence of the doctrine of that Church, than all the discourses that can be made by any doctor in it; the one is the language of the whole body, whereas the other are only the private reasonings of particular men: and, of all the parts of the office, the prayer of consecration is that which does most certainly set out to us the sense of that Church that used it. But that which makes this remark the more important is, that the prayer, as set down by this pretended St. Ambrose, is very near the same with that which is now in the canon of the *Mass*; only there is one very important variation, which will best appear by setting both down. Comm. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. Lib. iv. de Sacram. c. 5.



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ART. XXVIII.

That of St. Ambroſe is, *Fac nobis hanc oblationem, aſcriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod eſt figura corporis et ſanguinis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui pridie quam pateretur, &c.* That in the canon of the Maſs is, *Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæ ſumus benedictam, aſcriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris: ut nobis corpus et ſanguis fiat dilectiſſimi Filii tui Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.*

We do plainly ſee ſo great a reſemblance of the latter to the former of theſe two prayers, that we may well conclude, that the one was begun in the other; but at the ſame time we obſerve an eſſential difference. In the former this ſacrifice is called the *figure of the body and blood of Chriſt.* Whereas in the latter it is prayed, that *it may become to us the body and blood of Chriſt.* As long as the former was the prayer of conſecration, it is not poſſible for us to imagine, that the doctrine of the corporal preſence could be received; for that which was believed to be the *true body and blood of Chriſt*, could not be called, eſpecially in ſuch a part of the office, the *figure of his body and blood*; and therefore the change that was made in this prayer was an evident proof of a change in the doctrine; and if we could tell in what age that was done, we might then upon greater certainty fix the time, in which this change was made, or at leaſt in which the inconſiſtency of that prayer with this doctrine was obſerved.

I have now ſet down a great variety of proofs reduced under different heads; from which it appears evidently that the Fathers did not believe this doctrine, but that they did affirm the contrary very expreſsly. This ſacrament continued to be ſo long conſidered as the figure or image of Chriſt's body, that the ſeventh General Council, which met at Conſtantinople in the year 754, and conſiſted of above three hundred and thirty Biſhops, when it condemned the worſhip of images, affirmed that this was the only *image* that we might lawfully have of Chriſt; and that he had appointed us to offer this *image of his body*, to wit, the *ſubſtance of the bread.* That was indeed contradicted with much confidence by the ſecond Council of Nice, in which, in oppoſition to what appears to this day in all the Greek liturgies, and the Greek Fathers, they do poſitively deny, that the ſacrament was ever called the *image of Chriſt*; and they affirm it to be the *true body of Chriſt.*

In concluſion, I ſhall next ſhew how this doctrine crept into the Church; for this ſeems plauſible, that a doctrine of

ART. XXVIII.

of this nature could never have got into the Church in any age, if thoſe of the age that admitted it had not known that it had been the doctrine of the former age, and ſo upwards to the age of the Apoſtles. It is not to be denied, but that very early both Juſtin Martyr and Irenæus thought, that there was ſuch a ſanctification of the elements, that there was a divine virtue in them: and in thoſe very paſſages which we have urged from the arguings of the Fathers againſt the *Eutychians*, though they do plainly prove that they believed that the *ſubſtance of bread and wine* did ſtill remain; yet they do ſuppoſe an union of the elements to the body of Chriſt, like that of the human nature's being united to the divine. Here a foundation was laid for all the ſuperſtructure that was afterwards raiſed upon it. For though the liturgies and public offices continued long in the firſt ſimplicity, yet the Fathers, who did very much ſtudy eloquence, chiefly the Greek Fathers, carried this matter very far in their ſermons and homilies. They did only apprehend the profanation of the ſacrament, from the unworthineſs of thoſe who came to it; and being much ſet on the begetting a due reverence for ſo holy an action, and a ſeriouſneſs in the performance of it, they urged all the *topics* that ſublime figures or warm expreſſions could help them with; and with this exalted eloquence of theirs we muſt likewiſe obſerve the ſtate that the world fell in, in the fifth century: vaſt ſwarms out of the North over-run the Roman empire, and by a long continued ſucceſſion of new invaders all was ſacked and ruined. In the Weſt, the Goths were followed by the Vandals, the Alans, the Gepides, the Franks, the Sweves, the Huns, and the Lombards, ſome of theſe nations; and in the concluſion the Saracens and Turks in the Eaſt made havoc of all that was polite or learned; by which we loſt the chief writings of the firſt and beſt times; but inſtead of theſe, many ſpurious ones were afterwards produced, and they paſſed eaſily in dark and ignorant ages. All fell under much oppreſſion and miſery, and Europe was ſo over-run with barbarity and ignorance, that it cannot be eaſily apprehended, but by ſuch as have been at the pains to go through one of the ungratefulleſt pieces of ſtudy that can be well imagined, and have read the productions of thoſe ages. The underſtanding the Scriptures, or languages, or hiſtory, was not ſo much as thought on. Some affected homilies or deſcantings on the rituals of the Church, full of many very odd ſpeculations about them, are among the beſt of the writings of thoſe times. They were eaſily



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ART. XXVIII.

impoſed on by any new forgery; witneſs the reception and authority that was given to the *Decretal Epiſtles* of the Popes of the firſt three centuries; which for many ages maintained its credit, though it was plainly a forgery of the eighth century, and was contrived with ſo little art, that there is not in them colour enough to excuſe the ignorance of thoſe that were deceived by it. As it is an eaſy thing to miſlead ignorant multitudes, ſo there is ſomewhat in incredible opinions and ſtories, that is ſuited to ſuch a ſtate of mankind; and as men are apt to fancy that they ſee ſprights, eſpecially in the night, ſo the more of darkneſs and unconceivableneſs that there is in an opinion, it is the more properly calculated for ſuch times. The ages that ſucceeded were not only times of ignorance, but they were alſo times of much corruption. The writers of the fourth and fifth centuries give us diſmal repreſentations of the corruptions of their times; and the ſcandalous unconſtancy of the councils of thoſe ages, is too evident a proof of what we find ſaid by the good men of thoſe days: but things fell lower and lower in the ſucceeding ages. It is an amazing thing, that in the very office of conſecrating biſhops, examinations are ordered concerning thoſe crimes, the very mention of which give horror; *De Coitu cum Maſculo et cum Quadrupedibus*.

The Popes more particularly were ſuch a ſucceſſion of men, that, as their own hiſtorians have deſcribed them, nothing in any hiſtory can be produced that is like them. The characters they give them are ſo monſtrous, that nothing under the authority of unqueſtioned writers, and the evidence of the facts themſelves, could make them credible.

But that which makes the introduction of this doctrine appear the more probable is, that we plainly ſee the whole body of the Clergy was every where ſo influenced by the management of the Popes, that they generally entered into combinations to ſubject the temporalty to the ſpiritualty; and therefore every opinion that tended to render the perſons of the Clergy ſacred, and to raiſe their character high, was ſure to receive the beſt entertainment, and the greateſt encouragement poſſible. Nothing could carry this ſo far as an opinion that repreſented the Prieſt as having a character by which, with a few words, he could make a God. The opinion of *Tranſubſtantiation* was ſuch an engine, that it being once ſet on foot, could not but meet with a favourable reception from thoſe who were then ſeeking all poſſible colours to give credit to their

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their authority, and to advance it. The numbers of the Clergy were then ſo great, and their contrivances were ſo well ſuited to the credulity and ſuperſtition of thoſe times, that, by viſions and wonderful ſtories confidently vouched, they could eaſily infuſe any thing into weak and giddy multitudes. Beſides, that the genius of thoſe times led them much to the love of pomp and ſhew; they had loſt the true power and beauty of religion, and were willing, by outward appearances, to balance or compenſate for their great defects. ART. XXVIII.

But beſides all thoſe general conſiderations, which ſuch as are acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe ages know do belong to them in a much higher degree than is here ſet forth; there are ſome ſpecialties that relate to this doctrine in particular, which will make the introduction of it appear the more practicable. This had never been condemned in any former age: for as none condemn errors by anticipation or prophecy; ſo the promoters of it had this advantage, that no formal deciſion had been made againſt them. It did alſo in the outward ſound agree with the words of the inſtitution, and the phraſes generally uſed, of the elements being changed into the body and blood of Chriſt: outward ſound and appearance was enough in ignorant ages to hide the change that was made. The ſtep that is made from believing any thing in general, with an indiſtinct and confuſed apprehenſion, to a determined way of explaining it, is not hard to be brought about.

The people in general believed that Chriſt was in the ſacrament, and that the elements were his body and blood, without troubling themſelves to examine in what manner all this was done: ſo it was no great ſtep in a dark age to put a particular explanation of this upon them: and this change being brought in without any viſible alterations made in the worſhip, it muſt needs have paſſed with the world the more eaſily: for in all times viſible rites are more minded by the people than ſpeculative points, which they conſider very little. No alterations were at firſt made in the worſhip; the adoration of the hoſt, and the proceſſions invented to honour it, came afterwards.

Honorius the IVth, who firſt appointed the adoration, does not pretend to found it on ancient practice: only he commands the prieſts to tell the people to do it: and he at firſt enjoined only an inclination of the head to the ſacrament. But his ſucceſſor Gregory the IXth did more reſolutely command it, and ordered a bell to be rung at Greg. Decret. Lib. iii. Tit. 42. cap. 10.

ART. XXVIII.

the conſecration and elevation, to give notice of it, that ſo all thoſe who heard it might kneel and join their hands, and ſo worſhip the hoſt.

The firſt controverſy about the manner of the preſence aroſe incidentally upon the controverſy of images: the Council at Conſtantinople decreed, that the ſacrament was the *image of Chriſt, in which the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained.* Thoſe of Nice, how furiouſly ſoever they fell upon them for calling the ſacrament the *image of Chriſt*, yet do no where blame them for ſaying that *the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in it:* for indeed the opinion of Damaſcene, and of moſt of the Greek Church, was, that *there was an aſſumption of the bread and wine into an union with the body of Chriſt.* The Council of Conſtantinople brought in their deciſion occaſionally, that being conſidered as the ſettled doctrine of the Church; whereas thoſe of Nice did viſibly innovate and falſify the tradition: for they affirm, as Damaſcene had done before them, that the elements were called the *antitypes of Chriſt's body*, only before they were conſecrated, but not after it: which they ſay none of the Fathers had done. This is ſo notoriouſly falſe, that no man can pretend now to juſtify them in it, ſince there are above twenty of the Fathers that were before them, who in plain words call the elements after conſecration, the *figure and antitype of Chriſt's body:* here then was the tradition and practice of the Church falſified, which is no ſmall prejudice againſt thoſe that ſupport the doctrine, as well as againſt the credit of that Council.

About thirty years after that Council, Paſchaſe Radbert, Abbot of Corby in France, did very plainly aſſert the corporal preſence in the euchariſt: he is acknowledged both by Bellarmine and Sirmondus to be the firſt writer that did on purpoſe advance and explain that doctrine: he himſelf values his pains in that matter; and as he laments the ſlowneſs of ſome in believing it, ſo he pretends that he had moved many to aſſent to it. But he confeſſes, that ſome blamed him for aſcribing a ſenſe to the words of Chriſt, that was not conſonant to truth. There was but one book writ in that age to ſecond him; the name of the author was loſt, till Mabillon diſcovered that it was writ by one Herigerus, Abbot of Cob. But all the eminent men and the great writers of that time wrote plainly againſt this doctrine, and affirmed, that the bread and wine remained in the ſacrament, and did nouriſh our bodies as other meats do. Thoſe were Rabanus Maurus, Archbiſhop of Mentz; Amalarius, Archbiſhop of Triers; Heribald,

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Heribald, Biſhop of Auxerre; Bertram, or Ratramne; John Scot, Erigena; Walafridus Strabus; Florus, and [redacted]rian Druthmar. Three of theſe ſet themſelves on purpoſe to refute Paſchaſe. ART. XXVIII.

Rabanus Maurus, in an epiſtle to Abbot Egilon, wrote againſt Paſchaſe for ſaying, that it was that body that was born of the Virgin, that was crucified and raiſed up again, which was daily offered up. And though that book is loſt, yet as he himſelf refers his reader to it in his Penitential, ſo we have an account given of it by the anonymous defender of Paſchaſe.

Ratramne was commanded by Charles the Bald, then Emperor, to write upon that ſubject; which he in the beginning of his book promiſes to do, not truſting to his own ſenſe, but following the ſteps of the holy Fathers. He tells us, that there were different opinions about it: ſome believing that the body of Chriſt was there without a *figure*: others ſaying that it was there in a *figure*, or *myſtery*: upon which he apprehended that a great ſchiſm muſt follow. His book is very ſhort, and very plain: he aſſerts our doctrine as expreſsly as we ourſelves can do: he delivers it in the ſame words, and proves it by many of the ſame arguments and authorities, that we bring.

Raban and Ratramne were, without diſpute, reckoned among the firſt men of that age.

John Scot was alſo commanded by the ſame Emperor to write on the ſame ſubject: he was one of the moſt learned and the moſt ingenious men of the age; and was in great eſteem both with the Emperor, and with our King Alfred. He was reckoned both a ſaint and a martyr. He did formally refute Paſchaſe's doctrine, and aſſert ours. His book is indeed loſt; but a full account of it is given us by other writers of that time. And it is a great evidence, that his opinion in this matter was not then thought to be contrary to the general ſenſe of the Church in that age: for he having writ againſt St. Auſtin's doctrine concerning Predeſtination, there was a very ſevere cenſure of him and of his writings, publiſhed under the name of the Church of Lyons: in which they do not once reflect on him for his opinions touching the Euchariſt. It appears from this, that their doctrine concerning the Sacrament was then generally received; ſince both Ratramne and he, though they differed extremely in the point of Predeſtination, yet both agreed in this. It is probable that the Saxon homily, that was read in England on Eaſter-day, was taken from Scot's book; which does fully reject the corporal preſence. This is enough

to

ART. XXVIII.

to ſhew that Paſchaſe's opinion was an innovation broached in the ninth century, and was oppoſed by all the great men of that age.

The tenth century was the blackeſt and moſt ignorant of all the ages of the Church: there is not one writer in that age that gives us any clear account of the doctrine of the Church: ſuch remote hints as occur do ſtill ſavour of Ratramne's doctrine. All men were then aſleep, and ſo it was a fit time for the tares that Paſchaſe had ſown to grow up in it. The Popes of that age were ſuch a ſucceſſion of monſters, that Baronius cannot forbear to make the ſaddeſt exclamations poſſible againſt their debaucheries, their cruelties, and their other vices. About the middle of the eleventh century, after this diſpute had ſlept almoſt two hundred years, it was again revived.

Bruno, Biſhop of Angiers, and Berengarius his Archdeacon, maintained the doctrine of Ratramne. Little mention is made of the Biſhop; but the Archdeacon is ſpoken of as a man of great piety; ſo that he paſſed for a ſaint, and was a man of ſuch learning, that when he was brought before Pope Nicolaus, no man could reſiſt him. He writ againſt Paſchaſe, and had many followers: the hiſtorians of that age tell us, that his doctrine had overſpread all France. The books writ againſt him by Lanfranc and others are filled with an impudent corrupting of all antiquity. Many councils were held upon this matter; and theſe, together with the terrors of burning, which was then beginning to be the common puniſhment of hereſy, made him renounce his opinion: but he returned to it again; yet he afterwards renounced it: though Lanfranc reproached him, that it was not the love of truth, but the fear of death, that brought him to it. And his final retracting of that renouncing of his opinion is lately found in France, as I have been credibly informed. Thus this opinion, that in the ninth century was generally received, and was condemned by neither Pope nor Council, was become ſo odious in the eleventh century, that none durſt own it: and he who had the courage to own it, yet was not reſolute enough to ſtand to it: for about this time the doctrine of extirpating heretics, and of depoſing ſuch princes as were defective in that matter, was univerſally put in practice: great bodies of men began to ſeparate from the Roman communion in the ſouthern parts of France; and one of the chief points of their doctrine was their believing that Chriſt was not corporally preſent in the euchariſt; and that he was there only in a *figure* or *myſtery*. But now that the contrary doctrine was eſtabliſhed,

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eſtabliſhed, and that thoſe who denied it were adjudged to be burnt, it is no wonder if it quickly gained ground, when on the one hand the prieſts ſaw their intereſt in promoting it, and all people felt the danger of denying it. The anathemas of the Church, and the terrors of burning, were infallible things to ſilence contradiction at leaſt, if not to gain aſſent. ART. XXVIII.

Soon after this doctrine was received, the Schoolmen began to refine upon it, as they did upon every thing elſe. The maſter of the ſentences would not determine how Chriſt was preſent; whether formally or ſubſtantially, or ſome other way. Some Schoolmen thought that the *matter* of bread was deſtroyed; but that the *form* remained, to be the *form* of Chriſt's body, that was the *matter* of it. Others thought that the *matter* of the elements remained, and that the *form* only was deſtroyed: but that to which many inclined, was the aſſumption of the elements into an union with the body of Chriſt, or a hypoſtatical union of the Eternal Word to them, by which they became as truly a body to Chriſt, as that which he has in heaven: yet it was not the ſame, but a different body. Lib. iv. Diſt. 11.

Stephen Biſhop of Autun was the firſt that fell on the word *Tranſubſtantiation*. Amalric, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, denied in expreſs words the corporal preſence: he was condemned in the fourth Council of the Lateran as an heretic, and his body was ordered to be taken up and burnt: and in oppoſition to him Tranſubſtantiation was decreed. Yet the Schoolmen continued to offer different explanations of this for a great while after that: but in concluſion all agreed to explain it as was formerly ſet forth. It appears, by the crude way in which it was at firſt explained, that it was a novelty; and that men did not know how to mould and frame it: but at laſt it was licked into ſhape; the whole philoſophy being caſt into ſuch a mould as agreed with it. And therefore in the preſent age, in which that philoſophy has loſt its credit, great pains are taken to ſuppreſs the new and freer way of philoſophy, as that which cannot be ſo eaſily ſubdued to ſupport this doctrine, as the old one was. And the arts, that thoſe who go into the new philoſophy take to reconcile their ſcheme to this doctrine, ſhew that there is nothing that ſubtile and unſincere men will not venture on: for, ſince they make *extenſion* to be of the *eſſence of matter*, and think that *accidents* are only the *modes of matter*, which have no proper being of themſelves, it is evident, that a body cannot be without its *extenſion*, De Sacram. Altaris, c. 13.

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ART. XXVIII.

*tenſion*, and that *accidents* cannot ſubſiſt without their ſubject; ſo that this can be in no ſort reconciled to Tranſubſtantiation: and therefore they would willingly avoid this ſpecial manner of the preſence, and only in general aſſert that Chriſt is corporally preſent. But the decrees of the Lateran and Trent Councils make it evident, that *Tranſubſtantiation* is now a doctrine that is bound upon them by the authority of the Church and of tradition; and that they are as much bound to believe it, as to believe the corporal preſence itſelf. Thus the going off from the ſimplicity in which Chriſt did deliver the ſacrament, and in which the Church at firſt received it, into ſome ſublime expreſſions about it, led men once out of the way, and they ſtill went farther and farther from it. Pious and rhetorical figures, purſued far by men of heated imaginations and of inflamed affections, were followed with explanations invented by colder and more deſigning men afterwards, and ſo it increaſed till it grew by degrees to that to which at laſt it ſettled on.

But after all, if the doctrine of the Corporal Preſence had reſted only in a ſpeculation, though we ſhould have judged thoſe who held it to be very bad philoſophers, and no good critics; yet we could have endured it, if it had reſted there, and had not gone on to be a matter of practice, by the adoration and proceſſions, with every thing elſe of that kind, which followed upon it; for this corrupted the worſhip.

The Lutherans believe a Conſubſtantiation, and that both Chriſt's body and blood, and the ſubſtance of the elements, are together in the ſacrament: that ſome explain by an *ubiquity*, which they think is communicated to the human nature of Chriſt, by which his body is every where as well as in the ſacrament; whereas others of them think, that ſince the words of Chriſt muſt needs be true in a literal ſenſe, his body and blood is therefore in the ſacrament, but *in*, *with*, and *under* the bread and wine. All this we think is ill grounded, and is neither agreeable to the words of the inſtitution, nor to the nature of things. A great deal of that which was formerly ſet forth in defence of our doctrine falls likewiſe upon this. The *ubiquity* communicated to the human nature, as it ſeems a thing in itſelf impoſſible, ſo it gives no more to the ſacrament than to every thing elſe. Chriſt's body may be ſaid to be in every thing, or rather every thing may be ſaid to be his *body* and *blood*, as well as the elements in the ſacrament. The impoſſibility of a body's being without extenſion, or in more places at once, lies againſt

againſt this, as well as againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*. But yet, after all, this is only a point of ſpeculation, nothing follows upon it in practice, no adoration is offered to the elements; and therefore we judge that ſpeculative opinions may be borne with, when they neither fall upon the fundamentals of Chriſtianity, to give us falſe ideas of the eſſential parts of our religion, nor affect our practice; and chiefly when the worſhip of God is maintained in its purity, for which we ſee God has expreſſed ſo particular a concern, giving it the word which of all others raiſes in us the moſt ſenſible and the ſtrongeſt ideas, calling it *jealouſy*; that we reckon, we ought to watch over this with much caution. We can very well bear with ſome opinions, that we think ill grounded, as long as they are only matters of opinion, and have no influence neither on men's morals nor their worſhip. We ſtill hold communion with bodies of men, that, as we judge, think wrong, but yet do both live well, and maintain the purity of the worſhip of God. We know the great deſign of religion is to govern men's lives, and to give them right ideas of God, and of the ways of worſhipping him. All opinions that do not break in upon theſe, are things in which great forbearance is to be uſed; large allowances are to be made for men's notions in all other things; and therefore we think that neither *Conſubſtantiation* nor *Tranſubſtantiation*, how ill grounded ſoever we take both to be, ought to diſſolve the union and communion of Churches: but it is quite another thing, if under either of theſe opinions an adoration of the elements is taught and practiſed. ART. XXVIII.

This we believe is plain idolatry, when an inſenſible piece of matter, ſuch as bread and wine, has divine honours paid it: when it is believed to be God, when it is called God, and is in all reſpects worſhipped with the ſame adoration that is offered up to Almighty God. This we think is groſs idolatry. Many writers of the Church of Rome have acknowledged, that if *Tranſubſtantiation* is not true, their worſhip is a ſtrain of idolatry beyond any that is practiſed among the moſt depraved of all the heathens.

The only excuſe that is offered in this matter is, that ſince the declared object of worſhip is Jeſus Chriſt, believed to be there *preſent*, then, whether he is *preſent* or *not*, the worſhip terminates in him; both the ſecret acts of the worſhippers and the profeſſed doctrine of the Church do lodge it there. And therefore it may be ſaid, that though he ſhould not be actually preſent, yet the act of adora-

ART. XXVIII.

adoration being directed to him, must be accepted of God, as right meant, and duly directed, even though there should happen to be a mistake in the outward application of it.

In answer to this, we do not pretend to determine how far this may be pardoned by God; whose mercies are infinite, and who does certainly consider chiefly the hearts of his creatures, and is merciful to their infirmities, and to such errors as arise out of their weakness, their hearts being sincere before him. We ought to consider this action as it is in itself, and not according to men's apprehensions and opinions about it. If the conceits that the ancient idolaters had both concerning their Gods, and the Idols that they worshipped, will excuse from idolatry, it will be very hard to say that there were ever any idolaters in the world. Those who worshipped the *Sun*, thought that the great Divinity was lodged there, as in a vehicle or temple; but yet they were not by reason of that misconception excused from being idolaters.

If a false opinion upon which a practice is founded, taken up without any good authority, will excuse men's sins, it will be easy for them to find apologies for every thing. If the worship of the elements had been commanded by God, then an opinion concerning it might excuse the carrying of that too far: but there being no command for it, no hint given about it, nor any insinuation given of any such practice in the beginnings of Christianity; an opinion that men have taken up cannot justify a new practice, of which neither the first, nor a great many of the following ages knew any thing. An opinion cannot justify men's practice founded upon it, if that proves to be false. All the softening that can be given it is, that it is a sin of ignorance; but that does not change the nature of the action, how far soever it may go with relation to the judgments of God: if the opinion is rashly taken up and stiffly maintained, the worship that is introduced upon it is aggravated by the ill foundation that it is built upon. We know God by his essence is every where; but this will not justify our worshipping any material object upon this pretence, because God is in it; we ought never to worship him towards any visible object, unless he were evidently declaring his glory in it; as he did to Moses in the flaming bush; to the Israelites on mount Sinai, and in the cloud of glory; or to us Christians in a sublimer manner in the human nature of Jesus Christ.

But by this parity of reason, though we were sure that Christ

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Chriſt were in the elements, yet ſince he is there inviſible, as God is by his eſſence every where, we ought to direct no adoration to the elements; we ought only to worſhip God, and his Son Chriſt Jeſus, in the grateful remembrance of his ſufferings for us; which are therein commemorated. We ought not to ſuffer our worſhip to terminate on the viſible elements; becauſe if Chriſt is in them, yet he does not manifeſt that viſibly to us: ſince therefore the opinion of the Corporal Preſence, upon which this adoration is founded, is falſe, and ſince no ſuch worſhip is ſo much as mentioned, much leſs commanded in Scripture; and ſince there can ſcarce be any idolatry in the world ſo groſs, as that it ſhall not excuſe itſelf by ſome ſuch doctrine, by which all the acts of worſhip are made to terminate finally in God; we muſt conclude that this plea cannot excuſe the Church of Rome from idolatry, even though their doctrine of the Corporal Preſence were true; but much leſs if it is falſe. We do therefore condemn this worſhip as idolatry, without taking upon us to define the extent of the mercies of God towards all thoſe who are involved in it. ART. XXVIII.

If all the premiſes are true, then it is needleſs to inſiſt longer on explaining the following paragraph of the *Article*; that *Chriſt's body is received in the ſacrament in a heavenly and ſpiritual manner, and that the mean by which it is received is faith:* for that is ſuch a natural reſult of them, that it appears evident of itſelf, as being the concluſion that ariſes out of thoſe premiſes.

The laſt paragraph is againſt the *reſerving, carrying about, the lifting up, or the worſhipping the ſacrament.* The point concerning the worſhip, which is the moſt eſſential of them, has been already conſidered. As for the reſerving or carrying the ſacrament about; it is very viſible, that the inſtitution is, *Take, eat,* and *drink ye all of it:* which does import, that the conſuming the elements is a part of the inſtitution; and by conſequence, that they are a ſacrament only as they are diſtributed and received. It is true, the practice of *reſerving* or ſending about the elements began very early; the ſtate of things at firſt made it almoſt unavoidable. When there were yet but a few converted to Chriſtianity, and when there were but few Prieſts to ſerve them, they neither could nor durſt meet all together, eſpecially in the times of perſecution; ſo ſome parts of the elements were ſent to the abſent, to thoſe in priſon, and particularly to the ſick, as a ſymbol of their being parts of the body, and that they were in the peace and communion of the Church. The bread was ſent

ART. XXVIII.

Euſ. Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 44.

ſent with the wine, and it was ſent about by any perſon whatſoever; ſometimes by boys; as appears in the famous ſtory of Serapion in the third century. So that the condition of the Chriſtians in that time made that neceſſary, to keep them all in the ſenſe of their obligation to union and communion with the Church; and that could not well be done in any other way. But we make a great difference between this practice, when taken up out of neceſſity, though not exactly conform to the firſt inſtitution; and the continuing it out of ſuperſtition, when there is no need of it. Therefore inſtead of conſecrating a larger portion of elements than is neceſſary for the occaſion, and the reſerving what is over and above; and the ſetting that out with great pomp on the altar, to be worſhipped, or the carrying it about with a vaſt magnificence in a proceſſion, invented to put the more honour on it; or the ſending it to the ſick with ſolemnity; we chooſe rather to conſecrate only ſo much as may be judged fit for the number of thoſe who are to communicate. And when the ſacrament is over, we do, in imitation of the practice of ſome of the ancients, conſume what is left, that there may be no occaſion given either to ſuperſtition or irreverence. And for the *ſick*, or the *priſoners*, we think it is a greater mean to quicken their devotion, as well as it is a cloſer adhering to the words of the inſtitution, to conſecrate in their preſence: for though we can bear with the practice of the Greek Church, of reſerving and ſending about the euchariſt, when there is no idolatry joined with it; yet we cannot but think that this is the continuance of a practice, which the ſtate of the firſt ages introduced, and that was afterwards kept up, out of a too ſcrupulous imitation of that time; without conſidering that the difference of the ſtate of the Chriſtians, in the former and in the ſucceeding ages, made that what was at firſt innocently practiſed (ſince a real neceſſity may well excuſe a want of exactneſs, in ſome matters that are only poſitive) became afterwards an occaſion of much ſuperſtition, and in concluſion ended in idolatry. Thoſe ill effects that it had, are more than is neceſſary to juſtify our practice in reducing this ſtrictly to the firſt inſtitution.

As for the lifting up of the euchariſt, there is not a word of it in the Goſpel; nor is it mentioned by St. Paul: neither Juſtin Martyr nor Cyril of Jeruſalem ſpeak of it; there is nothing concerning it neither in the *Conſtitutions*, nor in the *Areopagite*. In thoſe firſt ages all the elevation that is ſpoken of, is the lifting up of their hearts to God. The elevation of the ſacrament began to be practiſed in the

ART. XXVIII.

the ſixth century; for it is mentioned in the Liturgy called St. Chryſoſtom's, but believed to be much later than his time. German, a writer of the Greek Church of the thirteenth century, is the firſt that deſcants upon it; he ſpeaks not of it as done, in order to the adoration of it, but makes it to repreſent both Chriſt's being lifted up on the croſs, and alſo his reſurrection. Ivo of Chartres, who lived in the end of the eleventh century, is the firſt of all the Latins that ſpeaks of it; but then it was not commonly practiſed; for the author of the Micrologus, though he writ at the ſame time, yet does not mention it, who yet is very minute upon all particulars relating to this ſacrament. Nor does Ivo ſpeak of it as done in order to adoration, but only as a form of ſhewing it to the people. Durand, a writer of the thirteenth century, is the firſt that ſpeaks of the *elevation* as done in order to the *adoration*. So it appears that our Church, by cutting off theſe abuſes, has reſtored this ſacrament to its primitive ſimplicity, according to the inſtitution and the practice of the firſt ages.

Germ. Conſt. in Theor. Tit. 12. Bibl. patr. Ivo. Carn. Ep. de Sacr. Miſſæ. T. ii. Bibl. pat.

Dur. Rat. div. offic. lib. iv. de ſexta parte Can.



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## ARTICLE XXIX.

### Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Chriſt in the uſe of the Lord's Supper.

**The Wicked and ſuch as be void of a lively Faith, although they do carnally and viſibly preſs with their Teeth (as St. Auſtin ſaith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, yet in no wiſe are they Partakers of Chriſt; but rather, to their Condemnation, do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of ſo great a Thing.**

THIS Article ariſes naturally out of the former, and depends upon it: for if Chriſt's body is corporally preſent in the ſacrament, then all perſons good or bad, who receive the ſacrament, do alſo receive Chriſt: on the other hand, if Chriſt is preſent only in a *ſpiritual manner*, and if the mean that receives Chriſt is *faith*, then ſuch as believe not, do not receive him. So that to prove that the wicked do not receive Chriſt's body and blood, is upon the matter the ſame thing with the proving that he is not corporally preſent: and it is a very conſiderable branch of our argument, by which we prove that the Fathers did not believe the corporal preſence, becauſe they do very often ſay, that the wicked do not receive Chriſt in the ſacrament.

Here the ſame diſtinction is to be made, that was mentioned upon the article of Baptiſm. The ſacraments are to be conſidered either as they are acts of church-communion, or as they are federal acts, by which we enter into covenant with God. With reſpect to the former, the viſible profeſſion that is made, and the action that is done, are all that can fall under human cognizance: ſo a ſacrament muſt be held to be good and valid, when as to outward appearance all things are done according to the inſtitution: but as to the internal effect and benefit of it; that turns upon the truth of the profeſſion that is made, and the ſincerity of thoſe acts which do accompany it: for, if theſe are not ſeriouſly and ſincerely performed, God is diſhonoured, and his inſtitution is profaned. Our Saviour has expreſsly ſaid, that *whoſoever eats his fleſh and drinks his blood, has eternal life.* From thence we conclude, that no man does truly receive Chriſt, who does not at the ſame time receive with him both a right to eternal life, and

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and likewiſe the beginnings and earneſts of it. The ſacrament being a federal act, he who diſhonours God, and profanes this inſtitution, by receiving it unworthily, becomes highly guilty before God, and draws down judgments upon himſelf: and as it is confeſſed on all hands, that the inward and ſpiritual effects of the ſacrament depend upon the ſtate and diſpoſition of him that communicates, ſo we, who own no other preſence but an inward and ſpiritual one, cannot conceive that the wicked, who believe not in Chriſt, do receive him. ART. XXIX.

In this point ſeveral of the Fathers have delivered themſelves very plainly.

Origen ſays, *Chriſt is the true food, whoſoever eats him ſhall live for ever; of whom no wicked perſon can eat; for if it were poſſible that any who continues wicked ſhould eat the word that was made fleſh, it had never been written, Whoſo eats this bread ſhall live for ever.* This comes after a diſcourſe of the ſacrament, which he calls the typical and ſymbolical body, and ſo it can only belong to it. In another place he ſays, *The good eat the living bread, which came down from heaven; but the wicked eat dead bread, which is death.* Comment. in Matth. c. 15.

Zeno, biſhop of Verona, who is believed to have lived near Origen's time, has theſe words: *There is cauſe to fear that he, in whom the Devil dwells, does not eat the fleſh of our Lord, nor drink his blood; though he ſeems to communicate with the faithful: ſince our Lord has ſaid, He that eats my fleſh, and drinks my blood, dwells in me, and I in him.* Tom. ii. Spicil. Sacr. d'Achery.

St. Jerome ſays, *They that are not holy in body and ſpirit, do neither eat the fleſh of Jeſus, nor drink his blood; of which he ſaid, He that eats my fleſh, and drinks my blood, hath eternal life.* In cap. 66. Iſaiæ.

St. Auguſtin expreſſes himſelf in the very words that are cited in the Article, which he introduces with theſe words: *He that does not abide in Chriſt, and in whom Chriſt does not abide, certainly does not ſpiritually eat his fleſh, nor drink his blood, though he may viſibly and carnally preſs with his teeth the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt: but he rather eats and drinks the ſacrament of ſo great a matter to his condemnation.* And in another place he ſays, *neither are they* (ſpeaking of vicious perſons) *to be ſaid to eat the body of Chriſt, becauſe they are not his members:* to which he adds, *He that ſays, Whoſo eats my fleſh, and drinks my blood, abides in me, and I in him, ſhews what it is not only in a ſacrament, but truly to eat the body of Chriſt, and to drink his blood.* He has upon another occaſion thoſe frequently cited words, ſpeaking of the difference between the other Tract. 26. in Joan. Lib. xxi. de Civ. Dei, c. 25.



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ART. XXIX.

Tract. 54. in Joan.

Diſciples and Judas, in receiving this ſacrament: *Theſe did eat the bread that was the Lord* (*panem Dominum*); *but be the bread of the Lord againſt the Lord* (*panem Domini contra Dominum*). To all this a great deal might be added, to ſhew that this was the doctrine of the Greek Church, even after Damaſcene's opinion concerning the aſſumption of the elements into an union with the body of Chriſt, was received among them. But more needs not be ſaid concerning this, ſince it will be readily granted, that, if we are in the right in the main point of denying the Corporal Preſence, this will fall with it.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXX.

### Of both Kinds.

**The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay People. For both Parts of the Sacrament, by Christ's Ordinance and Commandment, ought to be ministred to all Christian Men alike.**

THERE is not any one of all the controverſies that we have with the Church of Rome, in which the deciſion ſeems more eaſy and ſhorter than this. The words of the inſtitution are not only equally expreſs and poſitive as to both kinds, but the diverſity with which that part that relates to the *cup* is ſet down, ſeems to be as clear a demonſtration for us, as can be had in a matter of this kind; and looks like a ſpecial direction given, to warn the Church againſt any corruption that might ariſe upon this head. To all ſuch as acknowledge the immediate union of the Eternal Word with the human nature of Chriſt, and the inſpiration by which the Apoſtles were conducted, it muſt be of great weight to find a ſpecialty marked as to the chalice: of the cup it is ſaid, *Drink ye all of it*; whereas of the bread it is only ſaid, *Take, eat*; ſo we cannot think the word *all* was ſet down without deſign. It is alſo ſaid of the cup, *and they all drank of it*; which is not ſaid of the bread: we think it no piece of trifling nicety to obſerve this ſpecialty. The words added to the giving the cup are very particularly emphatical. *Take, eat, This is my body which is given for you*, is not ſo full an expreſſion, as, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of ſins*. If the ſureſt way to judge of the extent of any precept, to which a reaſon is added, is to conſider the extent of the reaſon, and to meaſure the extent of the precept by that; then ſince all that do communicate, need the remiſſion of ſins, and a ſhare in the *New Covenant*, the reaſon, that our Saviour joins to the diſtribution of the cup, proves that they ought all to receive it. And if that diſcourſe in St. John concerning the eating Chriſt's fleſh, and the drinking his blood, is to be underſtood of the ſacrament, as moſt of the Roman Church affirm, then the *drinking Chriſt's blood* is as neceſſary to *eternal life*, as the *eating his fleſh*; by conſequence it is as neceſſary to receive the cup as the bread. And it is not eaſy to apprehend, why it



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ART. XXX.

ſhould ſtill be neceſſary to conſecrate in both kinds, and not likewiſe to receive in both kinds. It cannot be pretended, that ſince the Apoſtles were all of the ſacred order, therefore their receiving in both kinds is no precedent for giving the laity the cup; for Chriſt gave them both kinds, as they were ſinners, who were now to be admitted into covenant with God by the ſacrifice of his body and blood. They were in that *to ſhew forth his death*, and were to *take, eat, and drink in remembrance of him*. So that this inſtitution was delivered to them as they were *ſinners*, and not as they were *prieſts*. They were not conſtituted by Chriſt the paſtors and governors of his Church, till after his reſurrection, when *he breathed on them, and laid his hands on them, and bleſſed them*. So that at this time they were only Chriſt's diſciples and witneſſes; who had been once ſent out by him on an extraordinary commiſſion; but had yet no ſtated character fixed upon them.

Joh. xx. 22.

To this it is ſaid, that Chriſt, by ſaying, *Do this*, conſtituted them *prieſts*; ſo that they were no more of the laity, when they received the cup. This is a new conceit taken up by the Schoolmen unknown to all antiquity: there is no ſort of tradition that ſupports this expoſition; nor is there any reaſon to imagine, that *Do this*, ſignifies any other than a precept to continue that inſtitution, as a memorial of Chriſt's death; and *Do this*, takes in all that went before, the *taking*, the *giving*, as well as the *bleſſing*, and the *eating*, the bread; nor is there any reaſon to appropriate this to the bleſſing only, as if by this the conſecrating and ſacrificing power were conferred on the Prieſts. From all which we conclude both that the Apoſtles were only diſciples at large, without any ſpecial characters conferred on them, when the euchariſt was inſtituted, and that the euchariſt was given to them only as diſciples, that is, as laymen.

The mention that is made in ſome places of the New Teſtament, only of *breaking of bread*, can furniſh them with no argument; for it is not certain that theſe do relate to the ſacrament; or if they did, it is not certain, that they are to be underſtood ſtrictly; for, by a figure common to the Eaſtern nations, *bread* ſtands for all that belongs to a meal; and if theſe places are applied to the ſacrament, and ought to be ſtrictly underſtood, they will prove too much, that the ſacrament may be conſecrated in one kind; and that the *breaking of bread*, without the *cup*, may be underſtood to be a complete ſacrament. But when St. Paul ſpoke of this ſacrament, he does ſo diſtinctly mention

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mention the *drinking the cup* as well as *eating the bread*, that it is plain from him how the Apoſtles underſtood the words and intent of Chriſt, and how this ſacrament was received in that time. ART. XXX.

From the inſtitution and command, which are expreſs and poſitive, we go next to conſider the nature of ſacramental actions. They have no virtue in them, as charms tied either to elements, or to words; they are only good becauſe commanded. A different ſtate of things may indeed juſtify an alteration as to circumſtances: the danger of *dipping* in cold climates, may be a very good reaſon for changing the form of Baptiſm to *ſprinkling*; and if climates were inhabited by Chriſtians to which wine could not be brought, we ſhould not doubt but that whenſoever God makes a real neceſſity of departing from any inſtitution of his, he does thereby allow of ſuch a change, as that neceſſity muſt draw after it: ſo we do not condemn the licence that is ſaid to have been granted by Pope Innocent the Eighth, to celebrate without wine in Norway; nor ſhould we deny a man the ſacrament who had a natural and unconquerable averſion to wine, or that communicated being near his laſt agonies, and that ſhould have the like averſion to either of the elements. When thoſe things are real and not pretended, *mercy is better than ſacrifice*. The punctual obſervance of a ſacramental inſtitution does only oblige us to the eſſential parts of it, and in ordinary caſes: the pretence of what may be done, or has been done upon extraordinary occaſions, can never juſtify the deliberate and unneceſſary alteration of an eſſential part of the ſacrament. The whole inſtitution ſhews very plainly, that our Saviour meant that the *cup* ſhould be conſidered every whit as eſſential as *bread*; and therefore we cannot but conclude from the nature of things, that ſince the ſacraments have only their effects from their inſtitution, therefore ſo total a change of this ſacrament does plainly evacuate the inſtitution, and by conſequence deſtroy the effect of it.

All reaſoning upon this head is an arguing againſt the inſtitution; as if Chriſt and his Apoſtles had not well enough conſidered it; but that 1200 years after them, a conſequence ſhould be obſerved that till then had not been thought of, which made it reaſonable to alter the manner of it.

The *Concomitance* is the great thing that is here urged; ſince it is believed that Chriſt is entirely under each of the elements; and therefore it is not neceſſary that both



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ART. XXX.

ſhould be received, becauſe Chriſt is fully received in any one. But this ſubſiſts on the doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*; ſo if that is falſe, then here, upon a controverted opinion, an uncontroverted piece of the inſtitution is altered. And if *Concomitance* is a certain conſequence of the doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, then it is a very ſtrong argument againſt the antiquity of that doctrine, that the world was ſo long without the notion of *Concomitance*; and therefore, if *Tranſubſtantiation* had been ſooner received, the *Concomitance* would have been more eaſily obſerved. The inſtitution of the ſacrament ſeems to be ſo laid down, as rather to make us conſider the *body* and *blood* as in a ſtate of ſeparation, than of concomitance; the *body* being repreſented apart, and the *blood* apart; and the *body as broken*, and the *blood as ſhed*. Therefore we conſider the deſign of the ſacrament is, to repreſent Chriſt to us as dead, and in his *crucified*, but not in his *glorified* ſtate. And if the opinion be true, that the glorified bodies are of another texture, than that of fleſh and blood, which ſeems to be very plainly aſſerted by St. Paul, in a diſcourſe intended to deſcribe the nature of the glorified bodies, then this theory of concomitance will fail upon that account. But whatſoever may be in that, an inſtitution of Chriſt's muſt not be altered or violated, upon the account of an inference that is drawn to conclude it needleſs. He who inſtituted it knew beſt what was moſt fitting and moſt reaſonable; and we muſt chooſe rather to acquieſce in his commands, than in our own reaſonings.

If, next to the inſtitution and the theory that ariſes from the nature of a ſacrament, we conſider the practice of the Chriſtian Church in all ages, there is not any one point in which the tradition of the Church is more expreſs, and more univerſal, than in this particular, for above a thouſand years after Chriſt. All the accounts that we have of the ancient rituals, both in Juſtin Martyr, Cyril of Jeruſalem, the *Conſtitutions*, and the pretended *Areopagite*, do expreſsly mention both kinds as given ſeparately in the ſacrament. All the ancient liturgies, as well theſe that go under the names of the Apoſtles, as thoſe which are aſcribed to St. Baſil and St. Chryſoſtom, do mention this very expreſsly; all the offices of the Weſtern Church, both Roman and others; the miſſals of the latter ages, I mean down to the twelfth century, even the *Ordo Romanus*, believed by ſome to be a work of the ninth, and by others of the eleventh century,

Apol. 2. Catech. Miſt. 4ta. Conſt. Apoſt. l. ii. c. 57. Eccleſ. Hiera. c. 3.

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ART. XXX.

tury, are expreſs in mentioning the diſtribution of both kinds. All the Fathers, without excepting one, do ſpeak of it very clearly, as the univerſal practice of their time. They do not ſo much as give a hint of any difference about it. So that from Ignatius down to Thomas Aquinas, there is not any one writer that differs from the reſt in this point; and even Aquinas ſpeaks of the taking away the chalice as the practice only of ſome Churches; other writers of his time had not heard of any of theſe Churches; for they ſpeak of *both kinds* as the univerſal practice.

Aquin. Com. in 6. Johan. v. 53. In Summa. par. 9. quæſt. 80. art. 12.

But beſides this general concurrence, there are ſome ſpecialties in this matter: in St. Cyprian's time ſome thought it was not neceſſary to uſe *wine* in the ſacrament; they therefore uſed *water* only, and were from thence called Aquarii. It ſeems they found that their morning aſſemblies were ſmelled out by the *wine* uſed in the ſacrament; and Chriſtians might be known by the ſmell of *wine* that was ſtill about them; they therefore intended to avoid this, and ſo they had no wine among them, which was a much weightier reaſon, than that of the wine ſticking upon the beards of the laity. Yet St. Cyprian condemned this very ſeverely, in a long epiſtle writ upon that occaſion. He makes this the main argument, and goes over it frequently, that we ought to follow Chriſt, and do what he did: and he has thoſe memorable words, *If it be not lawful to looſe any one of the leaſt commands of Chriſt, how much more is it unlawful to break ſo great and ſo weighty a one; that does ſo very nearly relate to the ſacrament of our Lord's paſſion, and of our redemption; or by any human inſtitution to change it, into that which is quite different from the divine inſtitution.* This is ſo full, that we cannot expreſs ourſelves more plainly.

Cyp. Ep. 63. ad Cecil.

Among the other profanations of the Manicheans, this was one, that they came among the aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, and did receive the bread, but they would not take any *wine*: this is mentioned by Pope Leo in the fifth century; upon which Pope Gelaſius hearing of it in his time, appointed that all perſons ſhould either communicate in the ſacrament *entirely*, or be *entirely* excluded from it; for that ſuch a dividing of one and the ſame ſacrament might not be done without a heinous ſacrilege.

Leo Serm. 4. in Quadrag. Decret. de Conſecr. diſt. 2.

In the ſeventh century a practice was begun of *dipping* the *bread* in the *wine*, and ſo giving both kinds together. This was condemned by the Council of Bracara, as plainly

Decret. de Conſecr. diſt. 2.

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ART. XXX.

ly contrary to the Gospel: *Christ gave his body and blood* to his Apostles *distinctly*, the *bread by itself*, and the *chalice by itself*. This is, by a mistake of Gratian's, put in the Canon-Law, as a decree of Pope Julius to the Bishops of Egypt. It is probable, that it was thus given first to the sick, and to infants; but though this got among many of the Eastern Churches, and was, it seems, practised in some parts of the West; yet in the end of the eleventh century, Pope Urban in the Council of Clermont decreed, that none should communicate without taking the body apart, and the blood apart, except upon necessity, and with caution; to which some copies add, and *that by reason of the heresy of Berengarius, that was lately condemned, which said that the figure was completed by one of the kinds.*

Concil. Claramont. Can. 28.

We need not examine the importance or truth of these last words; it is enough for us to observe the continued practice of communicating in both kinds till the twelfth century; and even then, when the opinion of the corporal presence begot a superstition towards the elements, that had not been known in former ages, so that some drops sticking to men's beards, and the spilling some of it, its freezing or becoming sour, grew to be more considered than the institution of Christ; yet for a while they used to suck it up through small quills or pipes, (called *Fistulæ*, in the *Ordo Romanus*,) which answered the objection from the *beards*.

In the twelfth century, the bread grew to be given generally *dipt in wine*. The writers of that time, though they justify this practice, yet they acknowledge it to be contrary to the institution. Ivo of Chartres says, the people did communicate with *dipt bread, not by authority, but by necessity, for fear of spilling the blood of Christ*. Pope Innocent the Fourth said that all might have the *chalice* who were so cautious, that nothing of it should be spilt.

Euf. Hift. l. vi. c. 44.

In the ancient Church, the instance of Serapion is brought to shew that the bread alone was sent to the sick, which he that carried it was ordered to *moisten* before he gave it him. Justin Martyr does plainly insinuate that both kinds were sent to the absents; so some of the *wine* might be sent to Serapion with the bread; and it is much more reasonable to believe this, than that the bread was ordered to be dipt in *water*; there being no such instance in all history; whereas there are instances brought to shew that both kinds were carried to the sick. St. Ambrose received the bread, but

Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

Paulinus in vita Ambros.

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ART. XXX.

but expired before he received the cup: this proves nothing but the weakneſs of the cauſe that needs ſuch ſupports. Nor can any argument be brought from ſome words concerning the communicating of the *ſick*, or of *infants*. Rules are made from ordinary, and not from extraordinary practices. The ſmall portions of the ſacrament that ſome carried *home*, and reſerved to other occaſions, does not prove that they communicated only in one kind. They received in *both*, only they kept (out of too much ſuperſtition) ſome fragments of the *one*, which could be more eaſily, and with leſs obſervation, ſaved and preſerved, than of the *other:* and yet there are inſtances that they carried off ſome portions of both kinds. The Greek Church communicates during moſt of the days in Lent, in *bread dipt in wine*; and in the *Ordo Romanus*, there is mention made of a particular communion on Good Friday; when ſome of the bread that had been formerly conſecrated was put into a chalice with unconſecrated wine: this was a practice that was grounded on an opinion that the unconſecrated wine was ſanctified and conſecrated by the contact of the bread: and though they uſed not a formal conſecration, yet they uſed other prayers, which was all that the primitive Church thought was neceſſary even to conſecration; it being thought, even ſo late as Gregory the Great's time, that the Lord's Prayer was at firſt the prayer of conſecration.

Theſe are all the colours which the ſtudies and the ſubtilties of this age have been able to produce for juſtifying the decree of the Council of Conſtance; that does acknowledge, that *Chriſt did inſtitute this ſacrament in both kinds, and that the faithful in the primitive Church did receive in both kinds: yet a practice being reaſonably brought in to avoid ſome dangers and ſcandals, they appoint the cuſtom to continue, of conſecrating in both kinds, and of giving to the laity only in one kind: ſince Chriſt was entire and truly under each kind.* They eſtabliſhed this practice, and ordered that it ſhould not be altered without the authority of the Church. So late a practice and ſo late a decree cannot make void the command of Chriſt, nor be ſet in oppoſition to ſuch a clear and univerſal practice to the contrary. The wars of Bohemia that followed upon that decree, and all that ſcene of cruelty which was acted upon John Huſs and Jerom of Prague, at the firſt eſtabliſhment of it, ſhews what oppoſition was made to it even in dark ages, and by men that did not deny

Conc. Conſt. Seſſ. 11.

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ART. XXX.

deny Tranſubſtantiation. Theſe prove that plain ſenſe and clear authorities are ſo ſtrong, even in dark and corrupt times, as not to be eaſily overcome. And this may be ſaid concerning this matter, that as there is not any one point in which the Church of Rome has acted more viſibly contrary to the Goſpel, than in this; ſo there is not any one thing that has raiſed higher prejudices againſt her, that has made more forſake her, and has poſſeſſed mankind more againſt her, than this. This has coſt her dearer than any other.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXXI.

### Of the one Oblation of Chriſt finiſhed upon the Croſs.

**The Offering of Chriſt once made, is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual: And there is none other Satisfaction for Sin but that alone: Wherefore in the Sacrifices of Maſſes, in the which it was commonly ſaid, that the Prieſt did offer Chriſt for the quick and the dead, to have Remiſſion of Pain and Guilt, were blaſphemous Fables and dangerous Deceits.**

IT were a mere queſtion of words to diſpute concerning the term *ſacrifice*, to conſider the extent of that word, and the many various reſpects in which the euchariſt may be called a ſacrifice. In general, all acts of religious worſhip may be called *ſacrifices*: becauſe ſomewhat is in them offered up to God: *Let my prayer be ſet forth before thee as incenſe, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening ſacrifice.* Pſal. cxli. 2. *The ſacrifices of God are a broken ſpirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe.* Pſal. li. 17. Theſe ſhew how largely this word was uſed in the Old Teſtament: ſo in the New we are exhorted by him (that is, by Chriſt) *to offer the ſacrifice of praiſe to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name.* Hebr. xiii. 15. A Chriſtian's dedicating himſelf to the ſervice of God, is alſo expreſſed by the ſame word of *preſenting our bodies a living ſacrifice, holy and acceptable to God.* Rom. xii. 1. All acts of charity are alſo called *ſacrifices, an odour of a ſweet ſmell, a ſacrifice acceptable, well pleaſing to God.* Phil. iv. 18. So in this large ſenſe we do not deny that the *euchariſt* is a *ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving*: and our Church calls it ſo in the office of the Communion. In two other reſpects it may be alſo more ſtrictly called a *ſacrifice*. One is, becauſe there is an oblation of bread and wine made in it, which being ſanctified are conſumed in an act of religion. To this many paſſages in the writings of the Fathers do relate. This was the oblation made at the altar by the people: and though at firſt the Chriſtians were reproached, as having a ſtrange ſort of religion, in which they had neither *temples, altars,* nor *ſacrifices,* becauſe they had not thoſe things in ſo groſs a manner

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ART. XXXI.

a manner as the Heathens had; yet both Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and all the ſucceeding writers of the Church, do frequently mention the oblations that they made: and in the ancient liturgies they did with particular prayers offer the bread and wine to God, as the great Creator of all things; thoſe were called the gifts or offerings which were offered to God, in imitation of Abel, who offered the fruits of the earth, in a ſacrifice to God. Both Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, the *Conſtitutions*, and all the ancient liturgies have very expreſs words relating to this. Another reſpect, in which the *euchariſt* is called a *ſacrifice*, is, becauſe it is a commemoration and a repreſentation to God of the ſacrifice that Chriſt offered for us on the croſs: in which we claim to that, as to our expiation, and feaſt upon it as our *peace-offering*, according to that ancient notion, that covenants were confirmed by a *ſacrifice*, and were concluded in a *feaſt on the ſacrifice*. Upon theſe accounts we do not deny but that the *euchariſt* may be well called a *ſacrifice*: but ſtill it is a commemorative *ſacrifice*, and not propitiatory: that is, we do not diſtinguiſh the *ſacrifice* from the *ſacrament*; as if the Prieſt's conſecrating and conſuming the elements, were in an eſpecial manner a *ſacrifice* any other way, than as the communicating of others with him is one: nor do we think that the conſecrating and conſuming the elements, is an act that does reconcile God to the *quick and the dead*: we conſider it only as a federal act of profeſſing our belief in the death of Chriſt, and of renewing our baptiſmal covenant with him. The virtue or effects of this are not general; they are limited to thoſe who go about this piece of worſhip ſincerely and devoutly; they, and they only, are concerned in it, who go about it: and there is no ſpecial propitiation made by this ſervice. It is only an act of devotion and obedience in thoſe that *eat and drink worthily*; and though in it they ought to pray for the whole body of the Church, yet thoſe their prayers do only prevail with God, as they are devout interceſſions, but not by any peculiar virtue in this action.

On the other hand, the doctrine of the Church of Rome is, that the *euchariſt* is the higheſt act of homage and honour that creatures can offer up to the Creator, as being an oblation of the Son to the Father; ſo that whoſoever procures a maſs to be ſaid, procures a new piece of honour to be done to God, with which he is highly pleaſed; and for the ſake of which he will be reconciled to all that are concerned in the procuring ſuch maſſes to be ſaid; whether they be ſtill on earth, or if they are now in purgatory:

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gatory: and that the Prieſt, in offering and conſuming this *ſacrifice*, performs a true act of prieſthood by reconciling ſinners to God. Somewhat was already ſaid of this on the head of Purgatory. ART. XXXI.

It ſeems very plain by the inſtitution, that our Saviour, as he bleſſed the ſacrament, ſaid, *Take, eat:* St. Paul calls it a *communion of the body and blood of the Lord*; and a *partaking of the Lord's table:* and he, through his whole diſcourſe of it, ſpeaks of it as an action of the Church and of all Chriſtians; but does not ſo much as by a hint intimate any thing peculiar to the Prieſt: ſo that all that the Scripture has delivered to us concerning it, repreſents it as an action of the whole body, in which the Prieſt has no ſpecial ſhare but that of officiating. In the Epiſtle to the Hebrews there is a very long diſcourſe concerning *Sacrifices* and *Prieſts*, in order to the explaining of Chriſt's being both *Prieſt* and *Sacrifice*. There a Prieſt ſtands for a perſon called and conſecrated to offer ſome living *ſacrifice*, and to ſlay it, and to make reconciliation of ſinners to God by the ſhedding, offering, or ſprinkling the blood of the *ſacrifice*. This was the notion that the Jews had of a Prieſt; and the Apoſtle, deſigning to prove that the death of Chriſt was a true *ſacrifice*, brings this for an argument, that there was to be another prieſthood after the *order of Melchiſedec*. He begins the fifth chapter with ſettling the notion of a Prieſt, according to the Jewiſh ideas: and then he goes on to prove that Chriſt was ſuch a Prieſt, *called of God and conſecrated.* But in this ſenſe he appropriates the prieſthood of the New Diſpenſation ſingly to Chriſt, in oppoſition to the many Prieſts of the Levitical Law: *and they truly were many* Prieſts, becauſe *they were not ſuffered to continue, by reaſon of death: but this man, becauſe he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable prieſthood.* Heb. v. 10. ch. vii. 23, 24.

It is clear from the whole thread of that diſcourſe, that, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, Chriſt himſelf is the only *Prieſt* under the Goſpel; and it is alſo no leſs evident that his death is the only *Sacrifice*, in oppoſition to the many oblations that were under the Moſaical Law, to take away ſin; which appears very plain from theſe words, *Who needeth not daily, as thoſe High-Prieſts, to offer up ſacrifice, firſt for his own ſins, and then for the people; for this he did once, when he offered up himſelf.* He oppoſes that to the annual expiation made by the Jewiſh High-Prieſt, *Chriſt entered in once to the holy place, having made redemption for us by his own blood:* and having laid down that general maxim, that *without ſhedding of blood there was no remiſſion,* he ſa— *as offered once to bear the ſins of many:* he puts ver. 27. ch. ix. 22. ver. 28.

ART. XXXI.

puts a queſtion to ſhew that all *ſacrifices* were now to ceaſe; *When the worſhippers are once purged, then would not ſacrifices ceaſe to be offered?* And he ends with this, as a full concluſion to that part of his diſcourſe: *Every Prieſt ſtands daily miniſtering and offering oftentimes the ſame ſacrifices, which can never take away ſin: but this man, after he had offered up one ſacrifice for ſins, for ever ſat down on the right hand of God.* Here are not general words, ambiguous expreſſions, or remote hints, but a thread of a full and clear diſcourſe, to ſhew that, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the words, we have but one *Prieſt*, and likewiſe but one *Sacrifice* under the Goſpel: therefore how largely ſoever thoſe words of *Prieſt* or *Sacrifice* may have been uſed; yet, according to the true idea of a propitiatory *Sacrifice*, and of a *Prieſt* that reconciles ſinners to God, they cannot be applied to any acts of our worſhip, or to any order of men upon earth. Nor can the value and virtue of any inſtituted act of religion be carried, by any inferences or reaſonings, beyond that which is put in them by the inſtitution: and therefore ſince the inſtitution of this ſacrament has nothing in it, that gives us this idea of it, we cannot ſet any ſuch value upon it: and ſince the reconciling ſinners to God, and the pardoning of ſin, are free acts of his grace, it is therefore a high preſumption in any man to imagine they can do this by any act of theirs, without powers and warrants for it from Scripture. Nor can this be pretended to without aſſuming a moſt ſacrilegious ſort of power over the attributes of God: therefore all the virtue that can be in the ſacrament is, that we do therein gratefully commemorate the *ſacrifice* of Chriſt's death, and, by renewed acts of faith, preſent that to God as our *ſacrifice*, in the memorial of it, which he himſelf has appointed: by ſo doing we renew our covenant with God, and ſhare in the effects of that death which he ſuffered for us. All the ancient liturgies have this as a main part of the office, that being mindful of the death of Chriſt, or commemorating it, they offered up the gifts.

Heb. x. 2. ver. 11, 12.

This is the language of Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and of all the following writers. They do compare this *ſacrifice* to that of Melchiſedec, who offered *bread and wine:* and though the text imports only his *giving bread and wine to Abraham* and his followers, yet they applied that generally to the oblation of *bread and wine* that was made on the altar: but this ſhews that they did not think of any ſacrifice made by the offering up of Chriſt. It was the bread and the wine only which they thought the Prieſts of the Chriſtian religion did offer to

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ART. XXXI.

to God. And therefore it is remarkable, that when the Fathers anſwer the reproach of the Heathens, who charged them with irreligion and impiety for having no *ſacrifices* among them, they never anſwer it by ſaying, that they offered up a *ſacrifice* of ineſtimable value to God; which muſt have been the firſt anſwer that could have occurred to a man poſſeſſed with the ideas of the Church of Rome. On the contrary, Juſtin Martyr, in his Apology, ſays, *They had no other ſacrifices but prayers and praiſes:* and in his Dialogue with Trypho he confeſſes, that *Chriſtians offer to God oblations, according to* Malachi's *prophecy, when they celebrate the euchariſt, in which they commemorate the Lord's death.* Both Athenagoras and Minutius Felix juſtify the Chriſtians for having no other ſacrifices but pure hearts, clean conſciences, and a ſtedfaſt faith. Origen and Tertullian refute the ſame objection in the ſame manner: they ſet the prayers of Chriſtians in oppoſition to all the ſacrifices that were among the Heathens. Clemens of Alexandria and Arnobius write in the ſame ſtrain; and they do all make uſe of one topic, to juſtify their offering no ſacrifices, that God, who made all things, and to whom all things do belong, needs nothing from his creatures. To multiply no more quotations on this head, Julian in his time objected the ſame thing to the Chriſtians, which ſhews that there was then no idea of a *ſacrifice* among them; otherwiſe he who knew their doctrine and rites, had either not denied ſo poſitively as he did, their having ſacrifices; or at leaſt he had ſhewed how improperly the euchariſt was called one. When Cyril of Alexandria, towards the middle of the fifth century, came to anſwer this, he inſiſts only upon the inward and ſpiritual ſacrifices that were offered by Chriſtians; which were ſuitable to a pure and ſpiritual eſſence, ſuch as the Divinity was to take pleaſure in; and therefore he ſets that *in oppoſition to the ſacrifices of beaſts, birds, and of all other things whatſoever:* nor does he ſo much as mention, even in a hint, the ſacrifice of the euchariſt; which ſhews that he did not conſider that as a ſacrifice that was propitiatory.

Apol. 2. Leg. pro Chriſt. Minut. in Octav. Lib. viii. con. Celſum. Tert. Apol. c. 30. Clem. Strom. l. vii. Arnob. lib. vii. Cyr. Al. lib. x. cont. Jul.

Theſe things do ſo plainly ſet before us the ideas that the firſt ages had of this ſacrament, that to one who conſiders them duly, they do not leave ſo much as a doubt in this matter. All that they may ſay in homilies, or treatiſes of piety, concerning the *pure-offering* that, according to Malachi, all Chriſtians offered to God in the ſacrament, concerning the ſacrifice, and the unbloody ſacrifice of Chriſtians, muſt be underſtood to relate to the prayers and



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ART. XXXI.

thankſgivings that accompanied it, to the commemoration that was made in it of the ſacrifice offered once upon the croſs, and finally to the oblation of the bread and wine, which they ſo often compare both to Abel's ſacrifice, and to Melchiſedec's offering bread and wine.

It were eaſy to enlarge further on this head, and from all the rituals of the ancients to ſhew, that they had none of thoſe ideas that are now in the Roman Church. They had but one *altar* in a church, and probably but one in a city: they had but one *communion* in a day at that *altar*: ſo far were they from the many *altars* in every church, and the many maſſes at every altar, that are now in the Roman Church. They did not know what ſolitary maſſes were, without a communion. All the liturgies and all the writings of the ancients are as expreſs in this matter as is poſſible. The whole conſtitution of their worſhip and diſcipline ſhews it. Their worſhip concluded always with the euchariſt: ſuch as were not capable of it, as the *catechumens*, and thoſe who were doing public penance for their ſins, aſſiſted at the more general parts of the worſhip; and ſo much of it was called their *maſs*, becauſe they were diſmiſſed at the concluſion of it. When that was done, then the faithful ſtayed, and did partake of the euchariſt; and at the concluſion of it they were likewiſe diſmiſſed; from whence it came to be called the *maſs of the faithful*. The great rigour of penance was thought to conſiſt chiefly in this, that ſuch penitents might not ſtay with the faithful to communicate. And though this ſeems to be a practice begun in the third century, yet both from Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian it is evident, that all the faithful did conſtantly communicate.

Can. 9. Apoſt. There is a canon, among thoſe which go under the name of the Apoſtles, againſt ſuch as came and aſſiſted in the other parts of the ſervice, and did not partake of the euchariſt: the ſame thing was decreed by the Council of Antioch; and it appears by the *Conſtitutions*, that a Deacon was appointed to ſee that no man ſhould go out, and a Subdeacon was to ſee that no woman ſhould go out, during the oblation. The Fathers do frequently allude to the word *communion*, to ſhew that the ſacrament was to be common to all. It is true, in St. Chryſoſtom's time, the zeal that the Chriſtians of the former ages had to communicate often, began to ſlacken; ſo that they had thin communions, and few communicants: againſt which that Father raiſes himſelf with his pathetic eloquence, in words which do ſhew that he had no notion of ſolitary maſſes, or of the lawfulneſs of them: and it is very evident,

Con. Antioch. Can. 2.

Conſt. Apoſt. l. viii. cap. 11.

Hom. 3. in Ep. ad Eph. lib. ii.

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dent, that the neglect of the ſacrament in thoſe who came not to it, and the profanation of it by thoſe who came unworthily, both which grew very ſcandalous at that time, ſet that holy and zealous Biſhop to many eloquent and ſublime ſtrains concerning it, which cannot be underſtood, without making thoſe abatements that are due to a copious and Aſiatic ſtyle, when much inflamed by devotion. ART. XXXI.

In the ſucceeding ages we find great care was taken to ſuffer none that did not communicate to ſtay in the church, and to ſee the myſteries. There is a rubric for this in the office mentioned by Gregory the Great. The writers of the ninth century go on in the ſame ſtrain. It was decreed by the Council of Mentz, in the end of Charles the Great's reign, that no Prieſt ſhould ſay maſs alone; for how could he ſay, *The Lord be with you*; or, *lift up your hearts*, if there was no other perſon there beſides himſelf? This ſhews that the practice of ſolitary maſſes was then begun, but that it was diſliked. Walafridus Strabus ſays, that to a lawful maſs it was neceſſary that there ſhould be a Prieſt, together with one to anſwer, one to offer, and one to communicate. And the author of Micrologus, who is believed to have writ about the end of the eleventh century, does condemn ſolitary communions, as contrary both to the practice of the ancients, and to the ſeveral parts of the office: ſo that till the twelfth century it was never allowed of in the Roman Church; as to this day it is not practiſed in any other communion. Dialog. Conc. Mogunt. Can. 43. Walaf. Strab. de Rebus Eccleſ. c. 22.

But then with the doctrine of Purgatory and Tranſubſtantiation mixt together, the ſaying of maſſes for other perſons, whether alive or dead, grew to be conſidered as a very meritorious thing, and of great efficacy; thereupon great endowments were made, and it became a trade. Maſſes were ſold, and a ſmall piece of money became their price; ſo that a profane ſort of ſimony was ſet up, and the holieſt of all the inſtitutions of the Chriſtian religion was expoſed to ſale. Therefore we, in cutting off all this, and in bringing the ſacrament to be, according to its firſt inſtitution, a communion, have followed the words of our Saviour, and the conſtant practice of the whole Church for the firſt ten centuries.

So far all the Articles that relate to this ſacrament have been conſidered. The variety of the matter, and the important controverſies that have ariſen out of it, has made it neceſſary to enlarge with ſome copiouſneſs upon the ſeveral branches of it. Next to the infallibility of the Church, this is the deareſt piece of the doctrine of the



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ART. XXXI.

Church of Rome; and is that in which both prieſts and people are better inſtructed, than in any other point whatſoever; and therefore this ought to be ſtudied on our ſide with a care proportioned to the importance of it: that ſo we may govern both ourſelves and our people aright, in a matter of ſuch conſequence, avoiding with great caution the extremes on both hands, both of exceſſive ſuperſtition on the one hand, and of profane neglect on the other. For the nature of man is ſo moulded, that it is not eaſy to avoid the one, without falling into the other. We are now viſibly under the extreme of neglect, and therefore we ought to ſtudy by all means poſſible to inſpire our people with a juſt reſpect for this holy inſtitution, and to animate them to deſire earneſtly to partake often of it; and in order to that, to prepare themſelves ſeriouſly to ſet about it with the reverence and devotion, and with thoſe holy purpoſes and ſolemn vows, that ought to accompany it.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXXII.

### Of the Marriage of Prieſts.

**Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law either to vow the Eſtate of ſingle Life, or to abſtain from Marriage: Therefore it is lawful for them, as well as for all Chriſtian Men, to marry at their own Diſcretion, as they ſhall judge the ſame to ſerve better to Godlineſs.**

THE firſt period of this Article, to the word (*Therefore*), was all that was publiſhed in King Edward's time. They were content to lay down the aſſertion, and left the inference to be made as a conſequence that did naturally ariſe out of it. There was not any one point that was more ſeverely examined at the time of the Reformation than this: for, as the irregular practices and diſſolute lives of both ſeculars and regulars had very much prejudiced the world againſt the celibate of the Roman Clergy, which was conſidered as the occaſion of all thoſe diſorders; ſo, on the other hand, the marriage of the Clergy, and alſo of thoſe of both ſexes who had taken vows, gave great offence. They were repreſented as perſons that could not maſter their appetites, but that indulged themſelves in carnal pleaſures and intereſts. Thus, as the ſcandals of the unmarried Clergy had alienated the world much from them; ſo the marriage of moſt of the Reformers was urged as an ill character both of them and of the Reformation; as a doctrine of libertiniſm, that made the Clergy look too like the reſt of the world, and involved them in the common pleaſures, concerns, and paſſions of human life.

The appearances of an auſterity of habit, of a ſeverity of life in watching and faſting, and of avoiding the common pleaſures of ſenſe, and the delights of life, that were on the other ſide, did ſtrike the world, and inclined many to think, that what ill conſequences ſoever *celibate* produced, yet that theſe were much more ſupportable, and more eaſy to be reformed, than the ill conſequences of an unreſtrained permiſſion of the Clergy to marry.

In treating this matter, we muſt firſt conſider *celibate* with relation to the laws of Chriſt and the Goſpel; and then with relation to the laws of the Church. It does not ſeem contrary to the purity of the worſhip of God, or



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ART. XXXII.

of divine performances, that married perſons ſhould officiate in them; ſince by the law of Moſes, Prieſts not only might marry, but the Prieſthood was tied to deſcend as an inheritance in a certain family. And even the High-Prieſt, who was to perform the great function of the annual atonement that was made for the ſins of the whole Jewiſh nation, was to marry, and he derived to his deſcendants that ſacred office. If there was ſo much as a remote unſuitableneſs between a married ſtate and ſacerdotal performances, we cannot imagine that God would by a law tie the Prieſthood to a family, which by conſequence laid an obligation on the Prieſts to marry. When Chriſt choſe his twelve Apoſtles, ſome of them were married men; we are ſure, at leaſt, that St. Peter was; ſo that he made no diſtinction, and gave no preference to the unmarried: our Saviour did no where charge them to forſake their wives; nor did he at all repreſent *celibate* as neceſſary to the *kingdom of Heaven*, or the diſpenſation of the Goſpel. He ſpeaks indeed of ſome that brought themſelves to the ſtate of eunuchs for *the ſake of the Goſpel*; but in that he left all men at full liberty, by ſaying, *Let him receive it that is able to receive it*; ſo that in this every man muſt judge of himſelf by what he finds himſelf to be. That is equally recommended to all ranks of men, as they can bear it. St. Paul does affirm, that *Marriage is honourable in all*: and to avoid uncleanneſs, he ſays, *It is better to marry than to burn*; and ſo gives it as a rule, that *every man ſhould have his own wife*. Among all the rules or qualifications of Biſhops or Prieſts, that are given in the New Teſtament, particularly in the Epiſtles to Timothy and Titus, there is not a word of the celibate of the Clergy, but plain intimations to the contrary, that they were, and might be married. That of *the huſband of one wife* is repeated in different places: mention is alſo made of the *wives* and *children* of the Clergy, rules being given concerning them: and not a word is ſo much as inſinuated, importing that this was only tolerated in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, but that it was afterwards to ceaſe. On the contrary, the *forbidding to marry* is given as a character of the apoſtaſy of the later times. We find Aquila, when he went about preaching the Goſpel, was not only married to Priſcilla, but that he carried her about with him: not to inſiſt on that privilege that St. Paul thought he might have claimed, of *carrying about with him a ſiſter and a wife, as well as the other Apoſtles*. And thus the firſt point ſeems to be fully cleared, that by no law of God the Clergy are debarred from marriage.

Matth. xix. 10, 11, 12.

Heb. xiii. 4.

1 Cor. vii. 9.

1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 5, 12.

1 Tim. iv. 3.

1 Cor. ix. 5.

There

ART. XXXII.

There is not one word in the whole Scriptures that does ſo much as hint at it; whereas there is a great deal to the contrary.

Marriage being then one of the rights of human nature, to which ſo many reaſons of different ſorts may carry both a wife and a good man, and there being no poſitive precept in the Goſpel that forbids it to the Clergy; the next queſtion is, Whether it is in the power of the Church to make a perpetual law, reſtraining the Clergy from marriage? It is certain that no age of the Church can make a law to bind ſucceeding ages; for whatſoever power the Church has, ſhe is always in poſſeſſion of it; and every age has as much power as any of the former ages had. Therefore if any one age ſhould by a law enjoin celibate to the Clergy, any ſucceeding age may repeal and alter that law. For ever ſince the inſpiration that conducted the Apoſtles has ceaſed, every age of the Church may make or change laws in all matters that are within their authority. So it ſeems very clear, that the Church can make no perpetual law upon this ſubject.

In the next place it may be juſtly doubted, whether the Church can make a law that ſhall reſtrain all the Clergy in any of thoſe natural rights in which Chriſt has left them free. The adding a law upon this head to the laws of Chriſt, ſeems to aſſume an authority that he has not given the Church. It looks like a pretending to a ſtrain of purity, beyond the rules ſet us in the Goſpel; and is plainly the laying a yoke upon us, which muſt be thought tyrannical, ſince the Author of this religion, who knew beſt what human nature is capable of, and what it may well bear, has not thought fit to lay it on thoſe whom he ſent upon a commiſſion that required a much greater elevation of ſoul, and more freedom from the entanglements of worldly or domeſtic concerns, than can be pretended to be neceſſary for the ſtanding and ſettled offices in the Church. Therefore we conclude, that it were a great abuſe of church-power, and a high act of tyranny, for any Church, or any age of the Church, to bar men from the ſervices in the Church, becauſe they either are married, or intend to keep themſelves free to marry, or not, as they pleaſe: this does indeed bring the body of the Clergy more into a combination among themſelves; it does take them in a great meaſure off from having ſeparated intereſts of their own; it takes them out of the civil ſociety, in which they have leſs concern, when they give no pledges to it. And ſo in ages in which the Papacy intended to



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ART. XXXII.

engage the whole Prieſthood into its intereſts againſt the civil powers, as the immunity and exemptions of the Clergy made them ſafe in their own perſons, ſo it was neceſſary to free them from any ſuch incumbrances or appendages by which they might be in the power or at the mercy of ſecular princes. This, joined with the belief of their *making God* with a few words, by the virtue of their character, and of their *forgiving ſin*, was like armour of proof, by which they were invulnerable, and by conſequence capable of undertaking any thing that might be committed to them. But this may well recommend ſuch a rule to a crafty and deſigning body of men, in which it is not to be denied, that there is a deep and refined policy; yet we *have not ſo learned Chriſt*, nor to *handle the word of God*, or the authority that he has truſted to us, *deceitfully*.

As for the conſequences of ſuch laws, inconveniences are on both hands: as long as men are corrupt themſelves, ſo long they will abuſe all the liberties of human nature. If not only common lewdneſs in all the kinds of it, but even brutal and unnatural luſts, have been the viſible conſequences of the ſtrict law of celibate; and if this appears ſo evident in hiſtory that it cannot be denied; we think it better to truſt human nature with the lawful uſe of that in which God has not reſtrained it, than to venture on that which has given occaſion to abominations that cannot be mentioned without horror. As for the temptation to covetouſneſs, we think it is neither ſo great, nor ſo unavoidable upon the one hand, as thoſe monſtrous ones are on the other. It is more reaſonable to expect divine aſſiſtances to preſerve men from temptations, when they are uſing thoſe liberties which God has left free to them, than when, by pretending to a purity greater than that which he has commanded, they throw themſelves into many ſnares. It is alſo very evident, that covetouſneſs is an effect of men's tempers, rather than of their marriage; ſince the inſtances of a ravenous covetouſneſs, and of a reſtleſs ambition, in behalf of men's kindred and families, hath appeared as often and as ſcandalouſly among the *unmarried*, as among the *married Clergy*.

From theſe general conſiderations concerning the power that the Church has to make either a perpetual or an univerſal law in a thing of this kind; I ſhall in the next place conſider in ſhort, what the Church has done in this matter. In the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, Baſilides and Saturninus, and after them, both Montanus and Novatus, and the ſect of

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of the Encratites, condemned marriage as a ſtate of libertiniſm that was unbecoming the purity required of Chriſtians. Againſt thoſe we find the Fathers aſſerted the lawfulneſs of marriage to all Chriſtians, without making a difference between the Clergy and the Laity. It is true, the appearances that were in Montanus and his followers, ſeem to have engaged the Chriſtians of that age to ſtrain beyond them in thoſe things that gave them their reputation: many of Tertullian's writings, that critics do now ſee were writ after he was a Montaniſt, which ſeems not to have been obſerved in that age, carry the matter of celibate ſo high, that it is no wonder, if, conſidering the reputation that he had, a bias was given by theſe to the following ages in favour of celibate: yet it ſeemed to give great and juſt prejudices againſt the Chriſtian religion, if ſuch as had come into the ſervice of the Church ſhould have forſaken their wives. It is viſible how much ſcandal this might have given, and what matter of reproach it would have furniſhed their enemies with, if they could have charged them with this, that men, to get rid of their wives, and the care of their families, went into orders; that ſo, under a pretence of a higher degree of ſanctity, they might abandon their families. Therefore great care was taken to prevent this. They were ſo far from requiring Prieſts to forſake their wives, that ſuch as did it, upon their entering into orders, were ſeverely condemned by the Canons that go under the name of the *Apoſtles*. They were alſo condemned by the Council of Gangra in the fourth century, and by that in Trullo in the ſeventh age. There are ſome inſtances brought of Biſhops and Prieſts, who are ſuppoſed to have married after they were ordained; but as there are only few of thoſe, ſo perhaps they are not well proved. It muſt be acknowledged, that the general practice was, that men once in orders did not marry: but many Biſhops in the beſt ages lived ſtill with their wives. So did the fathers both of Gregory Nazianzen and of St. Baſil. And among the works of Hilary of Poictiers, there is a letter writ by him in exile to his daughter Abra, in which he refers her to her mother's inſtruction in thoſe things which ſhe, by reaſon of her age, did not then underſtand; which ſhews that ſhe was then very young, and ſo was probably born after he was a Biſhop. ART. XXXII.

Some propoſed in the Council of Nice, that the Clergy ſhould depart from their wives; but Paphnutius, though himſelf unmarried, oppoſed this, as the laying an unreaonably heavy yoke upon them. Heliodorus, a Biſhop, the Socr. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. i. c. 12.

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ART. XXXII.

the author of the firſt of thoſe love-fables that are now known by the name of *Romances*, being upon that account accuſed of too much levity, did, in order to the clearing himſelf of that imputation, move that Clergymen ſhould be obliged to live from their wives. Which the hiſtorian ſays they were not tied to before; for till then Biſhops lived with their wives. So that in thoſe days the living in a married ſtate was not thought unbecoming the purity of the ſacred functions. A ſingle marriage was never objected in bar to a man's being made Biſhop or Prieſt. They did not indeed admit a man to orders that had been *twice married*; but even for this there was a diſtinction: if a man had been once married before his baptiſm, and was once married after his baptiſm, that was reckoned only a ſingle marriage; for what had been done when in Heatheniſm went for nothing. And Jerome, ſpeaking of Biſhops who had been twice married, but by this nicety were reckoned to be the *huſbands of one wife*, ſays, *the number of thoſe of this ſort in that time could not be reckoned; and that more ſuch Biſhops might be found, than were at the Council of Arimini.* Canons grew to be frequently made againſt the marriage of thoſe in holy orders; but theſe were poſitive laws made chiefly in the Roman and African Synods; and ſince thoſe canons were ſo often renewed, we may from thence conclude that they were not well kept. When Syneſius was ordained Prieſt, he tells in an epiſtle of his, that he declared openly, that he would not live ſecretly with his wife, as ſome did; but that he would dwell publicly with her, and wiſhed that he might have many children by her. In the Eaſtern Church the Prieſts are uſually married before they are ordained, and continue afterwards to live with their wives, and to have children by them, without either cenſure or trouble. In the Weſtern Church we find mention made, both in the Gallican and Spaniſh Synods, of the wives both of Biſhops and Prieſts; and they are called *Epiſcopæ* and *Preſbyteræ*. In the Saxon times the Clergy in moſt of the cathedrals of England were openly married; and when Dunſtan, who had engaged King Edgar to favour the Monks, in oppoſition to the married Clergy, preſſed them to forſake their wives, they refuſed to do it, and ſo were turned out of their benefices, and Monks came in their places. Nor was the celibate generally impoſed on all the Clergy, before Gregory the Seventh's time, in the end of the eleventh century. He had great deſigns for ſubjecting all temporal princes to the papacy; and, in order to that, he intended to bring the Clergy into an entire dependance upon himſelf;

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ſelf; and to ſeparate them wholly from all other intereſts, but thoſe of the eccleſiaſtical authority: and that he might load the married Clergy with an odious name, he called them all Nicolaitans; though the accounts that the ancients give us of that ſect ſay nothing that related to this matter; but a name of an ill ſound goes a great way in an ignorant age. The writers that lived near that time condemn this ſeverity againſt the married Clergy, as a new and a raſh thing, and contrary to the mind of the holy Fathers; and they tax his rigour in turning them all out. Yet Lanfranc among us did not impoſe the celibate generally on all the Clergy, but only on thoſe that lived at cathedrals and in towns; he connived at thoſe who ſerved in villages. Anſelm carried it farther, and impoſed it on all the Clergy without exception: yet he himſelf laments that unnatural luſts were become then both common and public; of which Petrus Damiani made great complaints in Gregory the Seventh's time. Bernard, in a ſermon preached to the Clergy of France, ſays it was common in his time, and then even *Biſhops* with *Biſhops* lived in it. The obſervation that Abbot Panormitan made of the progreſs of that horrid ſin, led him to wiſh that it might be left free to the Clergy to marry as they pleaſed. Pius the Second ſaid, that there might have been good reaſons for impoſing the celibate on the Clergy; but he believed there were far better reaſons for leaving them to their liberty. As a remedy to theſe more enormous crimes, diſpenſations for concubinate became ſo common, that, inſtead of giving ſcandal by them, they were rather conſidered as the characters of modeſty and temperance: in ſuch concubinary Prieſts the world judged themſelves ſafe from practices on their own families. ART. XXXII.

When we conſider thoſe effects that followed on the impoſing the celibate on the Clergy, we cannot but look on them as much greater evils than thoſe that can follow on the leaving it free to them to marry. It is not to be denied but that, on the other hand, the effects of a freedom to marry may be likewiſe bad: that ſtate does naturally involve men in the cares of life, in domeſtic concerns, and it brings with it temptations both to luxury and covetouſneſs. It carries with it too great a diſpoſition to heap up wealth, and to raiſe families: and in a word, it makes the Clergy both look too like, and live too like the reſt of the world. But when things of this kind are duly balanced, ill effects will appear on both hands: thoſe ariſe out of the general corruption of human nature, which does ſo ſpread itſelf, that it will corrupt us in the moſt innocent,

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ART. XXXII.

nocent, and in the moſt neceſſary practices. There are exceſſes committed in eating, drinking, and ſleeping. Our depraved inclinations will inſinuate themſelves into us in our beſt actions: even the public worſhip of God and all devotion receive a taint from them. But we muſt not take away thoſe liberties, in which God has left human nature free, and engage men to rules and methods, that put a violence upon mankind: this is the leſs excuſable, when we ſee, in fact, what the conſequences of ſuch reſtraints have been for many ages.

Yet after all, though they who *marry, do well*; yet thoſe *who marry not, do better*, provided they live chaſte, and do not *burn*. That man, who ſubdues his body by faſting and prayer, by labour and ſtudy, and that ſeparates himſelf from the concerns of a family, that *he may give himſelf wholly to the miniſtry of the word, and to prayer*, that lives at a diſtance from the levities of the world, and in a courſe of native modeſty and unaffected ſeverity, is certainly a burning and ſhining light; he is above the world, free from cares and deſigns, from aſpirings, and all thoſe reſtleſs projects which have ſo long given the world ſo much ſcandal: and therefore thoſe, who allow themſelves the liberty of marriage, according to the laws of God and the Church, are indeed engaged in a ſtate of many temptations, to which if they give way, they lay themſelves open to many cenſures, and they bring a ſcandal on the Reformation for allowing them this liberty, if they abuſe it.

Acts vi. 4.

It remains only to conſider how far this matter is altered by vows; how far it is lawful to make them; and how far they bind when they are made. It ſeems very unreaſonable and tyrannical to put vows on any, in matters in which it may not be in their power to keep them without ſin. No vows ought to be made, but in things that are either abſolutely in our power, or in things in which we may procure to ourſelves thoſe aſſiſtances that may enable us to perform them. We have a federal right to the promiſes that Chriſt has made us, of inward aſſiſtances to enable us to perform thoſe conditions that he has laid on us; and therefore we may vow to obſerve them, becauſe we may do that which may procure us aids ſufficient for the execution of them. But if men will take up reſolutions, that are not within thoſe neceſſary conditions, they have no reaſon to promiſe themſelves ſuch aſſiſtances: and if they are not ſo abſolutely maſters of themſelves, as to be able to ſtand to them without thoſe helps, and yet are not ſure that they ſhall be given them, then they ought to make no vow, in a matter which they cannot keep by their own

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own natural ſtrength, and in which they have not any promiſe in the Goſpel, that aſſures them of divine aſſiſtances to enable them to keep it. This is, therefore, a tempting of God, when men pretend to ſerve him, by aſſuming a ſtricter courſe of life than either he has commanded, or they are able to go through with. And it may prove a great ſnare to them, when by ſuch raſh vows they are engaged into ſuch a ſtate of life, in which they live in conſtant temptations to ſin, without either command or promiſe, on which they can reſt as to the execution of them. ART. XXXII.

This is to *lead themſelves into temptation*, in oppoſition to that which our Saviour has made a petition of that prayer which he himſelf has taught us. Out of this, great diſtractions of mind, and a variety of different temptations may, and probably will, ariſe; and that the rather, becauſe the vow is made; there being ſomewhat in our natures that will always ſtruggle the harder, becauſe they are reſtrained. It is certain that every man, who dedicates himſelf to the ſervice of God, ought to try if he can dedicate himſelf ſo entirely to it, as to live out of all the concerns and entanglements of life. If he can maintain his purity in it, he will be enabled thereby to labour the more effectually, and may expect both the greater ſucceſs here, and a fuller reward hereafter. But becauſe both his temper and his circumſtances may ſo change, that what is an advantage to him in one part of his life, may be a ſnare and an incumbrance to him in another part of it, he ought therefore to keep this matter ſtill in his own power, and to continue in that *liberty*, in which God has left him *free*, that ſo he may do, as he ſhall find it to be moſt expedient for himſelf, and for the work of the Goſpel.

Therefore it is to be concluded, that it is unlawful either to impoſe, or to make ſuch vows. And, ſuppoſing that any have been engaged in them, more, perhaps, out of the importunity or authority of others, than their own choice; then though it is certainly a character of a man that ſhall dwell in God's holy hill, that though *he ſwears to his own hurt, yet he changes not*; he is to conſider, whether he can keep ſuch a vow, without breaking the commandments of God, or not: if he can, then, certainly, he ought to have that regard to the name of God, that was called upon in the vow, and to the ſolemnities of it, and to the ſcandals that may follow upon his breaking it, that if he can continue in that ſtate, without ſinning againſt God, he ought to do it, and to endeavour all he can to keep his vow, Pſal. xv. 4.

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ART. XXXII.

vow, and preſerve his purity. But if, after he has uſed both faſting and prayer, he ſtill finds that the obligation of his vow is a ſnare to him, and that he cannot both keep it, and alſo keep the commandments of God; then the two obligations, that of the law of God, and that of his vow, happening to ſtand in one another's way, certainly the leſſer muſt give place to the greater. Herod's oath was ill and raſhly made, but worſe kept, when, *for his oath's ſake*, he ordered the head of John the Baptiſt to be cut off. Our Saviour condemns that practice among the Jews, of vowing that to the *Corban* or treaſure of the Temple, which they ought to have given to their parents, and imagining that, by ſuch means, they were not obliged to take care of them, or to ſupply them. The obligation to keep the commandments of God is indiſpenſable, and antecedent to any act or vow of ours, and therefore it cannot be made void by any vow that we may take upon us: and if we are under a vow, which expoſes us to temptations that do often prevail, and that probably will prevail long upon us, then we ought to repent of our raſhneſs in making any ſuch vow, but muſt not continue in the obſervation of it, if it proves to us like the taking fire into our boſom, or the handling of pitch. A vow that draws many temptations upon us, that are above our ſtrength to reſiſt them, is, certainly, much better broken and repented of, than kept. So that, to conclude, celibate is not a matter fit to be the ſubject either of a law, or a vow; every man muſt conſider himſelf, and what he is able to receive: *He that marries does well, but he that marries not does better.*

Matth. xiv. 9.

Matth. xv. 5.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXXIII.

### Of Excommunicate Perſons, how they are to be avoided.

**That Perſon which, by open Denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and Excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful, as a** Heathen **and a** Publican: **Until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and be received into the Church by a Judge that hath Authority thereunto.**

ALL Chriſtians are obliged to a ſtrict purity and holineſs of life: and every private man is bound to avoid all unneceſſary familiarities with bad and vicious men; both becauſe he may be inſenſibly corrupted by theſe, and becauſe the world will be from thence diſpoſed to think, that he takes pleaſure in ſuch perſons, and in their vices. What every ſingle Chriſtian ought to ſet as a rule to himſelf, ought to be likewiſe made the rule of all Chriſtians, as they are conſtituted in a body under guides and paſtors. And as, in general, ſevere denunciations ought to be often made of the wrath and judgments of God againſt ſinners; ſo if any that is called a *Brother*, that is, a Chriſtian, lives in a courſe of ſin and ſcandal, they ought to give warning of ſuch a perſon, to all the other Chriſtians, that they may not ſo much *as eat with him*, but may *ſeparate* themſelves from him. 1 Cor. v. 11.

In this private perſons ought to avoid the moroſeneſs and affectation of ſaying, *Stand by, for I am holier than thou: if one is overtaken in a fault, then thoſe who are ſpiritual ought to reſtore ſuch a one in the ſpirit of meekneſs:* every one conſidering himſelf, *leſt he be alſo tempted.* Exceſſive rigour will be always ſuſpected of hypocriſy, and may drive thoſe on whom it falls either into deſpair on the one hand, or into an unmanageable licentiouſneſs on the other. Gal. vi. 1.

The nature of all ſocieties muſt import this, that they have a power to maintain themſelves according to the deſign and rules of their ſociety. A combination of men, made upon any bottom whatſoever, muſt be ſuppoſed to have a right to exclude out of their number ſuch as may be a reproach to it, or a mean to diſſolve it: and it muſt be a main part of the office and duty of the paſtors of the Church,

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ART. XXXIII.

Church, to separate the good from the bad, to warn the unruly, and to put from among them wicked persons. There are several considerations that shew not only the lawfulness, but the necessity of such a practice.

First, that the contagion of an ill example and of bad practices may not spread too far to the corrupting of others: *Evil communications corrupt good manners.* Their
2 Tim. ii. 17. *doctrines will eat and spread as a gangrene:* and therefore, in order to the preserving the purity of those, who are not yet corrupted, it may be necessary to *note* such persons, and
2 Thess. iii. 14. to *have no company with them.*

A second reason relates to the persons themselves, that are so separated, that they may be *ashamed*; that they may
Jude 23. 1 Cor. v. 2, 5, 7. be thus *pulled out of the fire*, by the terror of such a proceeding, which ought to be done by *mourning* over them,
2 Cor. ii. 1, 2, 3. lamenting their sins, and praying for them.

The Apostles made use even of those extraordinary powers that were given to them, for this end. St. Paul
1 Tim. i. 20. delivered Hymenæus and Alexander unto Satan, *that they might learn not to blaspheme.* And he ordered that the incestuous person at Corinth *should be delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.* Certainly a vicious indulgence to sinners is an encouragement to them to live in sin; whereas when others about them try all methods for their recovery, and mourn for those sins in which they do perhaps glory, and do upon that withdraw themselves from all communication with them, both in spirituals, and as much as may be in temporals likewise; this is one of the last means that can be used, in order to the reclaiming of them.

Another consideration is the peace and the honour of
Gal. v. 12. the society. St. Paul wished that *they were cut off that troubled the Churches:* great care ought to be taken, that *the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed*, and to give no occasion to the enemies of our faith to reproach us; as if we designed to make parties, to promote our own interests, and to turn religion to a faction; excusing such as adhere to us in other things, though they should break out into the most scandalous violations of the greatest of all the commandments of God. Such a behaviour towards excommunicated persons, would also have this further good effect; it would give great authority to that sentence, and fill men's minds with the awe of it, which must be taken off, when it is observed that men converse familiarly with those that are under it.

These rules are all founded upon the principles of societies,

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cieties, which as they aſſociate upon ſome common deſigns, ſo, in order to the purſuing thoſe, muſt have a power to ſeparate themſelves from thoſe who depart from them. ART. XXXIII.

In this matter there are extremes of both hands to be avoided: ſome have thought, that becauſe the Apoſtles have, in general, declared ſuch perſons to be *accurſed*, or under an *Anathema*, *who preach another Goſpel*, and *ſuch as love not the Lord Jeſus, to be Anathema Maranatha*, which is generally underſtood to be a total cutting off, never to be admitted till *the Lord comes*; that therefore the Church may ſtill put men under an *Anathema*, for holding ſuch unſound doctrines, as they think make the Goſpel to become another, in part at leaſt, if not in whole; and that ſhe may thereupon, in imitation of another practice of the Apoſtles, deliver them over *unto Satan*, caſting them out of the protection of Chriſt, and abandoning them to the Devil: reckoning that the *cutting them off* from the body of Chriſt is really the expoſing them to the Devil, who goes about as a roaring lion ſeeking whom he may devour. But with what authority ſoever the Apoſtles might, upon ſo great a matter, as the *changing the Goſpel*, or the *not loving the Lord Jeſus*, denounce an *Anathema*, yet the applying this which they uſed ſo ſeldom, and upon ſuch great occaſions, to every opinion, after a deciſion is made in it, as it has carried on the notion of the infallibility of the Church, ſo it has laid a foundation for much uncharitableneſs, and many animoſities: it has widened breaches, and made them incurable. And unleſs it is certain that the Church which has ſo decreed cannot err, it is a bold aſſuming of an authority to which no fallible body of men can have a right. That *delivery unto Satan* was viſibly an act of a miraculous power lodged with the Apoſtles: for as they ſtruck ſome *blind* or *dead*, ſo they had an authority of letting looſe evil ſpirits on ſome to haunt and terrify, or to puniſh and plague them, that a deſperate evil might be cured by an extreme remedy. And therefore the Apoſtles never reckon this among the ſtanding functions of the Church; nor do they give any charge or directions about it. They uſed it themſelves, and but ſeldom. It is true, that St. Paul being carried by a juſt zeal againſt the ſcandal, which the inceſtuous perſon at Corinth had caſt upon the Chriſtian religion, did adjudge him to this ſevere degree of cenſure: but he *judged* it, and did only order the Corinthians to publiſh it, as coming from him, *with the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*: that ſo the thing might become the more public, and that the effects of it might be the more conſpicuous. The 1 Cor. xvi. 22.



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ART. XXXIII.

primitive Church, that being neareſt the fountain, did beſt underſtand the nature of church-power, and the effects of her cenſures, thought of nothing, in this matter, but of denying to ſuffer apoſtates, or rather ſcandalous perſons, to mix with the reſt in the ſacrament, or in the other parts of worſhip. They admitted them upon the profeſſion of their repentance, by an impoſition of hands, to ſhare in ſome of the more general parts of the worſhip; and even in theſe they ſtood by themſelves, and at a diſtance from the reſt: and when they had paſſed through ſeveral degrees in that ſtate of mourning, they were by ſteps received back again to the communion of the Church. This agrees well with all that was ſaid formerly, concerning the nature and the ends of church-power:

2 Cor. x. 8. *which was given for edification, and not for deſtruction.* This is ſuitable to the deſigns of the Goſpel, both for preſerving the ſociety pure, and for reclaiming thoſe who are otherwiſe like to be carried away by the *Devil in his ſnare.* This is to *admoniſh* ſinners as *brethren*, and not to uſe them as enemies: whereas the other method looks like a power that deſigns *deſtruction*, rather than *edification*, eſpecially when the ſecular arm is called in, and that princes are required, under the penalties of depoſition, and loſing their dominions, to extirpate and deſtroy, and that by the crueleſt ſort of death, all thoſe whom the Church doth ſo anathematize.

We do not deny but that the form of denouncing or declaring *Anathemas* againſt hereſies and heretics is very ancient. It grew to be a form expreſſing horror, and was applied to the dead as well as to the living. It was underſtood to be a *cutting* ſuch perſons off from the communion of the Church: if they were ſtill alive, they were not admitted to any act of worſhip; if they were dead, their names were not to be read at the altar among thoſe who were then commemorated. But as heat about opinions increaſed, and ſome leſſer matters grew to be more valued than the weightier things both of Law and Goſpel, ſo the adding *Anathemas* to every point, in which men differed from one another, grew to be a common practice, and ſwelled up at laſt to ſuch a pitch, that, in the Council of Trent, a whole Body of Divinity was put into Canons, and an *Anathema* was faſtened to every one of them. The *delivering to Satan* was made the common form of excommunication; an act of apoſtolical authority being made a precedent for the ſtanding practice of the Church. Great ſubtilties were alſo ſet on foot concerning the force and effect of church-cenſures: the

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the straining this matter too high, has given occasion to extremes on the other hand. If a man is condemned as an heretic, for that which is no heresy, but is an article founded on the word of God, his conscience is not at all concerned in any such censure: great modesty and decency ought indeed to be shewed by private persons, when they dispute against public decisions: but unless the Church is infallible, none can be bound to implicit faith, or blind submission. Therefore an *Anathema*, ill founded, cannot hurt him against whom it is thundered. If the doctrine, upon which the censures and denunciations of the Church are grounded, is true, and if it appears so to him, that sets himself against it, he who thus *despises* the pastors of the Church, *despises* Christ: in whose name, and by whose authority, they are acting. But if he is still under convictions of his being in the right, when he is indeed in the wrong, then he is in a state of ignorance, and his sins are sins of ignorance, and they will be judged by that God, who knows the sincerity of all men's hearts, and sees into their secretest thoughts, how far the ignorance is wilful and affected, and how far it is sincere and invincible. ART. XXXIII.

And as for those censures, that are founded upon the proofs that are made of certain facts that are scandalous, either the person on whom they are charged knows himself to be really guilty of them, or that he is wronged, either by the witnesses, or the pastors and judges: if he is indeed guilty, he ought to consider such censures as the medicinal provisions of the Church against sin: he ought to submit to them, and to such rebukes and admonitions, to such public confessions, and other acts of self-abasement, by which he may be recovered out of *the snare of the Devil*; and may repair the public scandal that he has brought upon the profession of Christianity, and recover the honour of it, which he has blemished, as far as lies in him. 2 Tim. ii. 26.

This is the *submitting to those that are over him, and the obeying them as those that watch for his soul, and that must give an account of it.* But if, on the other hand, any such person is run down by falsehood and calumny, he must submit to that dispensation of God's providence, that has suffered such a load to be laid upon him: he must not betray his integrity; he ought to commit his way to God, and to bear his burden patiently. Such a censure ought not at all to give him too deep an inward concern: for he is sure it is ill founded, and therefore it can have no effect upon his conscience. God, who knows his innocence, will acquit him, though all the world should condemn him. He must indeed submit to that separation from the Heb. xiii. 17.



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ART. XXXIII.

body of Chriſtians: but he is ſafe in his ſecret appeals to God, who ſees not as man ſees, but judges righteous judgment: and ſuch a cenſure as this cannot be bound in heaven.

In the pronouncing the cenſures of the Church, great care and tenderneſs ought to be uſed; for men are not to be raſhly *cut off* from the body of Chriſt; nothing but a wilful obſtinacy in ſin, and a deliberate contempt of the rules and orders of the Church, can juſtify this extremity. Scandalous ſinners may be brought under the medicinal cure of the Church, and the offender may be denied all the privileges of Chriſtians, till he has repaired the offence that he has given. Here another extreme has been run into by men, who, being jealous of the tyranny of the Church of Rome, have thought that the world could not be ſafe from that, unleſs all church-power were deſtroyed: they have thought that the eccleſiaſtical order is a body of men bound by their office to preach the Goſpel, and to offer the ſacraments to all Chriſtians; but that as the Goſpel is a doctrine equally offered to all, in which every man muſt take the particular application of the promiſes, the comforts, and the terrors of it to himſelf, as he will anſwer it to God; ſo they imagine, that the ſacraments are in the ſame promiſcuous manner to be offered to all perſons; and that every man is to *try and examine himſelf*, and ſo to partake of them; but that the Clergy have no authority to deny them to any perſon, or to put marks of diſtinction or of infamy on men: and that therefore the ancient diſcipline of the Church did ariſe out of a mutual compromiſe of Chriſtians, who, in times of miſery and perſecution, ſubmitted to ſuch rules, as ſeemed neceſſary in that ſtate of things; but that now all the authority that the Church hath, is founded only on the law of the land, and is ſtill ſubject to it. So that what changes or alterations are appointed by the civil authority muſt take place, in bar to any laws and cuſtoms of the Church, how ancient or how univerſal ſoever they may be.

In anſwer to this, it is not to be denied, but that the degrees and extent of this authority, the methods and the management of it, were at firſt framed by common conſent: in the times of perſecution, the Laity, who embraced the Chriſtian religion, were to the Church inſtead of the magiſtrate. The whole concerns of religion were ſupported and protected by them; and this gave them a natural right to be conſulted with in all the deciſions of the Church. The *Brethren* were called to join with

with the *Apoſtles* and *Elders* in that great debate concerning the circumciſion of the Gentiles, which was ſettled at Jeruſalem; and of ſuch practices we find frequent mention in St. Cyprian's Epiſtles: the more eminent among the Laity were then naturally the patrons of the Churches; but when the Church came under the protection of Chriſtian princes and magiſtrates, then the patronage and protection of it fell to them, upon whom the peace and order of the world depended. Yet though all this is acknowledged, we ſee plainly, that in the New Teſtament there are many general rules given, for the government and order of the Church. Timothy and Titus were appointed to *ordain*, to *admoniſh*, and *rebuke*, and that *before all*. The body of the Chriſtians is required to *ſubmit* themſelves to them, and to *obey* them; which is not to be carried to an indefinite and boundleſs degree, but muſt be limited to that doctrine which they were to teach, and to ſuch things as depended upon it, or tended to its eſtabliſhment and propagation. From theſe general heads we ſee juſt grounds to aſſert ſuch a power in the paſtors of the Church, as is for *edification*, but not for *deſtruction*; and, therefore, here is a foundation of power laid down; though it is not to be denied but that, in the application of it, ſuch prudence and diſcretion ought to be uſed, as may make it moſt likely to attain thoſe ends for which it is given. ART. XXXIII.

A general conſent, in time of perſecution, was neceſſary; otherwiſe too indiſcreet a rigour might have pulled down that which ought to have been built up. If in a broken ſtate of things a common conſent ought to be much endeavoured and ſtayed for, this is much more neceſſary in a regular and ſettled time, with relation to the civil authority, under whom the whole ſociety is put, according to its conſtitution. But it can never be ſuppoſed that the authority of the *Paſtors of the Church*, is no other than that of a lawyer or a phyſician to their clients, who are ſtill at their liberty, and are in no ſort bound to follow their directions. In particular advices, with relation to their private concerns, where no general rules are agreed on, an authority is not pretended to; and theſe may be compared to all other advices, only with this difference, that the *Paſtors* of the Church *watch over the ſouls of their people, and muſt give an account of them*. But when things are grown into method, and general rules are ſettled, there the conſideration of edification and unity, and of maintaining peace and order, are ſuch ſacred obligations on every one that has a true regard to religion, that ſuch as



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ART. XXXIII.

deſpiſe all this may be well looked on as *Heathens* and *Publicans*; and they are ſo much worſe than they, as a ſecret and well-diſguiſed traitor is much more dangerous than an open profeſſed enemy. And though theſe words of our Saviour, of *telling the Church*, may, perhaps, not be ſo ſtrictly applicable to this matter, in their primary ſenſe, as our Saviour firſt ſpoke them; yet the nature of things, and the parity of reaſon, may well lead us to conclude, that though thoſe words did immediately relate to the compoſing of private differences, and of delating intractable perſons to the ſynagogues, yet they may be well extended to all thoſe public offences, which are injuries to the whole body; and may be now applied to the Chriſtian Church, and to the paſtors and guides of it, though they related to the ſynagogue, when they were firſt ſpoken.

Matth. xviii. 17.

It is therefore highly congruous both to the whole deſign of the Chriſtian religion, and to many paſſages in the New Teſtament, that there ſhould be rules ſet for cenſuring offenders, that ſo they may be reclaimed, or at leaſt aſhamed, and that others may fear: and as the final ſentence of every authority whatſoever, muſt be the cutting off from the body all ſuch as continue in a wilful diſobedience to the laws of the ſociety; ſo if any, who call themſelves Chriſtians, will live ſo as to be a reproach to that which they profeſs, they muſt be cut off, and caſt out; for if there is any ſort of power in the Church, it muſt terminate in this. This is the laſt and higheſt act of their authority; it is like death or baniſhment by the civil power, which are not proceeded to but upon great occaſions, in which milder cenſures will not prevail, and where the general good of the ſociety requires it: ſo *caſting out* being the laſt act of church-power, like a parent's diſinheriting a child, it ought to be proceeded in with that ſlowneſs, and upon ſuch conſiderations, as may well juſtify the rigour of it. A wilful contempt of order and authority carries virtually in it every other irregularity; becauſe it diſſolves the union of the body, and deſtroys that reſpect, by which all the other ends of religion are to be attained; and, when this is deliberate and fixed, there is no other way of proceeding, but by *cutting off* thoſe who are ſo refractory, and who ſet ſo ill an example to others.

If the execution of this ſhould happen to fall under great diſorders, ſo that many ſcandalous perſons are not cenſured, and a promiſcuous multitude is ſuffered to break in upon the moſt ſacred performances, this cannot juſtify

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juſtify private perſons, who upon that do withdraw from the communion of the Church: for after all that has been ſaid, the divine precept is to every man, to *try and examine himſelf*, and not to *try* and cenſure others. All order and government are deſtroyed, if private perſons take upon them to judge and cenſure others; or to ſeparate from any body, becauſe there are abuſes in the uſe of this authority. ART. XXXIII.

Private confeſſion in the Church of Rome had quite deſtroyed the government of the Church, and ſuperſeded all the ancient penitentiary canons; and the tyranny of the Church of Rome had ſet many ingenious men on many ſubtle contrivances, either to evade the force of thoſe canons, to which ſome regard was ſtill preſerved, or to maintain the order of the Church, in oppoſition to the appeals that were made to Rome: and while ſome pretended to ſubject all things to the Papal authority, others ſtudied to keep up the ancient rules. The encroachments that the temporal and ſpiritual courts were making upon one another, occaſioned many diſputes; which being managed by ſuch ſubtle men as the Civilians and Canoniſts were, all this brought in a great variety of caſes and rules into the courts of the Church: ſo that, inſtead of the firſt ſimplicity, which was evident in the conſtitution of the Church, not only for the firſt three centuries, but for a great many more that came afterwards, there grew to be ſo much practice, and ſo many ſubterfuges in the rules and manner of proceeding of thoſe courts, that the Church has long groaned under it, and has wiſhed to ſee that effected, which was deſigned in the beginnings of the Reformation. The draught of a reformation of thoſe courts is ſtill extant; that ſo inſtead of the intricacies, delays, and other diſorders that have ariſen from the canon law, we might have another ſhort and plain body of rules; which might be managed, as anciently, by Biſhops, with the aſſiſtance of their Clergy. But though this is not yet done, and that, by reaſon of it, *the tares grow up with the wheat*, we ought to *let them grow together* till the great harveſt comes, or, at leaſt, till a proper *harveſt* may be given to the Church by the providence of God; in which the good may be diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated from the bad, without endangering the ruin of all; which muſt certainly be the effect of people's falling indiſcreetly to this, before the time.



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## ARTICLE XXXIV.

### Of the Traditions of the Church.

**It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all Places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of Countries and Men's Manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private Judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth against the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the Consciences of weak Brethren.**

**Every particular or national Church hath Authority to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained only by Men's Authority; so that all things be done to edifying.**

THIS Article consists of two branches: the first is, that the Church hath power to appoint such rites and ceremonies as are not contrary to the word of God; and that private persons are bound to conform themselves to their orders. The second is, that it is not necessary that the whole Church should meet to determine such matters; the power of doing that being in every national Church, which is fully empowered to take care of itself; and no rule made in such matters is to be held unalterable, but may be changed upon occasion.

As to the first, it hath been already considered, when the first words of the twentieth Article were explained. There the authority of the Church in matters indifferent was stated and proved. It remains now only to prove, that private persons are bound to conform themselves to such ceremonies, especially when they are also enacted by the civil authority. It is to be considered, that the Christian religion was chiefly designed to raise and purify the nature of man, and to make human society perfect: now brotherly love and charity does this more than any one virtue whatsoever: it raises a man to the likeness of God; it

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it gives him a divine and heavenly temper within himſelf, and creates the tendereſt union and firmeſt happineſs poſſible among all the ſocieties of men: our Saviour has ſo enlarged the obligation to it, as to make it, by the extent he has given it, *a great and new commandment*, by which all the world may be able to know and diſtinguiſh his followers from the reſt of mankind: and as all the Apoſtles inſiſt much upon this in every one of their Epiſtles, not excepting the ſhorteſt of them; ſo St. John, who writ laſt of them, has dwelt more fully upon it than upon any other duty whatſoever. Our Saviour did particularly intend that his followers ſhould be aſſociated into one body, and join together in order to their keeping up and inflaming their mutual love; and therefore he delivered his prayer to them *all* in the plural, to ſhew that he intended that they ſhould uſe it in a body: he appointed Baptiſm as the way of receiving men into *this body*, and the Euchariſt as a joint memorial that the *body* was to keep up that of his death. For this end he appointed Paſtors to teach and keep his followers in a body: and in his laſt and longeſt prayer to the Father, he repeats this, that *they might be one*; that *they might be kept in one* (body), *and made perfect in one*, in five ſeveral expreſſions; which ſhews both how neceſſary a part of his religion he meant this ſhould be, and likewiſe intimates to us the danger that he foreſaw, of his followers departing from it; which made him intercede ſo earneſtly for it. One expreſſion that he has of this union, ſhews how entire and tender he intended that it ſhould be; for he prayed that the union might be ſuch as that between *the Father and himſelf* was. The Apoſtles uſe the figure of a *body* frequently, to expreſs this union; than which nothing can be imagined that is more firmly knit together, and in which all the parts do more tenderly ſympathize with one another.

ART. XXXIV.

Joh. xvii. 11. 21, 22, 23.

Upon all theſe conſiderations we may very certainly gather, that the diſſolving this union, the diſlocating this body, and the doing any thing that may extinguiſh the love and charity by which Chriſtians are to be made ſo happy in themſelves, and ſo uſeful to one another, and by which the body of Chriſtians grows much the firmer and ſtronger, and ſhines more in the world; that, I ſay, the doing this upon ſlight grounds, muſt be a ſin of a very high nature. Nothing can be a juſt reaſon either to carry men to it, or to juſtify them in it, but the impoſing on them unlawful terms of communion; for in that caſe it is certain, that *we muſt obey God rather than man*; that we muſt *ſeek truth and peace* together; and that the rule of

*keeping*

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ART. XXXIV.

*keeping a good conſcience in all things*, is laid thus, to do it firſt *towards God, and then towards man*. So that a ſchiſm that is occaſioned by any Church's impoſing unlawful terms of communion, lies at their door who impoſe them, and the guilt is wholly theirs. But without ſuch a neceſſity, it is certainly, both in its own nature, and in its conſequences, one of the greateſt of ſins, to create needleſs diſturbances in a Church, and to give occaſion to all that alienation of mind, all thoſe raſh cenſures, and unjuſt judgments, that do ariſe from ſuch diviſions. This receives a very great aggravation, if the civil authority has concurred by a law to enjoin the obſervance of ſuch indifferent things; for to all their lawful commands we owe an obedience, *not only for fear, but for conſcience ſake*; ſince the authority of the magiſtrate is chiefly to be employed in ſuch matters. As to things that are either commanded or forbidden of God, the magiſtrate has only the execution of theſe in his hands; ſo that in thoſe, his laws are only the ſanctions and penalties of the laws of God. The ſubject matter of his authority is about things which are of their own nature indifferent; but that may be made fit and proper means for the maintaining of order, union, and decency in the ſociety: and therefore ſuch laws as are made by him in thoſe things, do certainly bind the conſcience, and oblige the ſubjects to obedience. Diſobedience does alſo give ſcandal to the weak. *Scandal* is a *bloſk* or *trap* laid in the way of another, by which he is made to ſtumble and fall. So this figure of giving ſcandal, or the laying a ſtumbling-block in our brother's way, is applied to our doing of ſuch actions as may prove the occaſions of ſin to others. Every man, according to the influence that his example or authority may have over others, who do too eaſily and implicitly follow him, becomes thereby the more capable of giving them *ſcandal*; that is, of drawing them after him to commit many ſins: and ſince men are under fetters, according to the perſuaſions that they have of things, he who thinks a thing ſinful, does ſin if he does it, as long as he is under that apprehenſion; becauſe he deliberately ventures on that which he thinks offends God; even while he *doubts of it*, or makes a *diſtinction* between meats, (for the word rendered *doubts*, ſignifies alſo the *making a difference*,) *he is damned* (that is, ſelf-condemned, as acting againſt his own ſenſe of things) if he does it. Another man, that has larger thoughts and clearer ideas, may ſee that there is no ſin in an action, about which others may be ſtill in doubt, and ſo upon his own account he may certainly do it: but if

Acts xxiv. 16.

Rom. xiii. 5.

Rom. xiv. 23.

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if he has reaſon to believe that his doing that may draw others, who have not ſuch clear notions, to do it after his example, they being ſtill in doubt as to the lawfulneſs of it, then he gives *ſcandal*, that is, he lays a ſtumbling-block in their way, if he does it, unleſs he lies under an obligation from ſome of the laws of God, or of the ſociety to which he belongs, to do it. In that caſe he is bound to obey; and he muſt not then conſider the conſequences of his actions; of which he is only bound to take care, when he is left to himſelf, and is at full liberty to do, or not to do, as he pleaſes.

This explains the notion of *ſcandal*, as it is uſed in the Epiſtles: for there being ſeveral doubts raiſed at that time, concerning the lawfulneſs or obligation of obſerving the Moſaical Law, and concerning the lawfulneſs of eating meats offered to idols, no general deciſion was made, that went through that matter; the Apoſtles having only decreed, that the Moſaical Law was not to be impoſed on the Gentiles; but not having condemned ſuch as might of their own accord have obſerved ſome parts of that Law, ſcruples aroſe about this; and ſo here they gave great caution againſt the laying a *ſtumbling-block* in the way of their brethren. But it is viſible from this, that the fear of giving ſcandal does only take place where matters are free, and may be done or not done. But when laws are made, and an order is ſettled, the fear of giving ſcandal lies all on the ſide of obedience: for a man of weight and authority, when he does not obey, gives ſcruples and jealouſies to others, who will be apt to collect from his practice, that the thing is unlawful: he who does not conform himſelf to ſettled orders, gives occaſion to others, who ſee and obſerve him, to imitate him in it; and thus he lays a ſcandal or ſtumbling-block in their way; and all the ſins which they commit through their exceſſive reſpect to him, and imitation of him, are in a very high degree to be put to his account, who gave them ſuch occaſion of falling.

Rom. xiv. 13.

The ſecond branch of this Article is againſt the unalterableneſs of laws made in matters indifferent; and it aſſerts the right of every national Church to take care of itſelf. That the laws of any one age of the Church cannot bind another, is very evident from this, that all legiſlature is ſtill entire in the hands of thoſe who have it. The laws of God do bind all men at all times; but the laws of the Church, as well as the laws of every ſtate, are only proviſions made upon the preſent ſtate of things, from the fitneſs or unfitneſs that appears to be in them, for the great ends

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ART. XXXIV.

ends of religion, or for the good of mankind. All these things are subject to alteration, therefore the power of the Church is in every age entire, and is as great as it was in any one age since the days in which she was under the conduct of men immediately inspired. So there can be no unalterable laws in matters indifferent. In this there neither is nor can be any controversy.

An obstinate adhering to things, only because they are ancient, when all the ends for which they were at first introduced do cease, is the limiting the Church in a point in which she ought still to preserve her liberty: she ought still to pursue those great rules in all her orders, of doing all things to *edification*, with *decency*, and *for peace*. The only question that can be made in this matter is, whether such general laws as have been made by greater bodies, by General Councils for instance, or by those Synods whose canons were received into the body of the canons of the Catholic Church, whether these, I say, may be altered by National Churches: or whether the body of Christians is so to be reckoned one body, that all the parts of it are bound to submit, in matters indifferent, to the decrees of the body in general? It is certain, that all the parts of the Catholic Church ought to hold a communion one with another, and mutual commerce and correspondence together: but this difference is to be observed between the Christian and the Jewish religion, that the one was tied to one nation, and to one place, whereas the Christian religion is universal, to be spread to all nations, among people of different climates and languages, and of different customs and tempers; and therefore, since the power in indifferent matters is given the Church only in order to edification, every nation must be the proper judge of that within itself. The Roman empire, though a great body, yet was all under one government; and therefore all the councils that were held while that empire stood, are to be considered only as national synods, under one civil policy. The Christians of Persia, India, or Ethiopia, were not subject to the canons made by them, but were at full liberty to make rules and canons for themselves. And in the primitive times we see a vast diversity in their rules and rituals. They were so far from imposing general rules on all, that they left the Churches at full liberty: even the Council of Nice made very few rules: that of Constantinople and Ephesus made fewer: and though the abuses that were growing in the fifth century, gave occasion to the Council of Chalcedon to make more canons, yet the number of these is but small; so that the tyranny of

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of subjecting particular Churches to laws that might be inconvenient for them, was not then brought into the Church. ART. XXXIV.

The corruptions that did afterwards overspread the Church, together with the papal usurpations, and the new *Canon Law* that the Popes brought in, which was totally different from the old one, had worn out the remembrance of all the ancient canons; so it is not to be wondered at, if they were not much regarded at the Reformation. They were quite out of practice, and were then scarce known. And as for the subordination of Churches and Sees, together with the privileges and exemptions of them, these did all flow from the divisions of the Roman empire into dioceses and provinces, out of which the dignity and the dependencies of their cities did arise.

But now that the Roman empire is gone, and that all the laws which they made are at an end, with the authority that made them; it is a vain thing to pretend to keep up the ancient dignities of *Sees*; since the foundation upon which that was built is sunk and gone. Every empire, kingdom, or state, is an entire body within itself. The magistrate has that authority over all his subjects, that he may keep them all at home, and hinder them from entering into any consultations or combinations, but such as shall be under his direction: he may require the pastors of the Church under him to consult together about the best methods for carrying on the ends of religion; but neither he nor they can be bound to stay for the concurrence of other Churches. In the way of managing this, every body of men has somewhat peculiar to itself; and the pastors of that body are the propereſt judges in that matter. We know that the several Churches, even while under one empire, had great varieties in their forms, as appears in the different practices of the Eastern and Western Churches: and as soon as the Roman empire was broken, we see this variety did increase. The Gallican Churches had their missals different from the Roman: and some Churches of Italy followed the Ambrosian. But Charles the Great, in compliance with the desires of the Pope, got the Gallican Churches to depart from their own missals, and to receive the Roman; which he might the rather do, intending to have raised a new empire; to which a conformity of rites might have been a great step. Even in this Church there was a great variety of usages, which perhaps were begun under the Heptarchy, when the nation was subdivided into several kingdoms.

It is therefore suitable to the nature of things, to the authority

ART. XXXIV.

authority of the magiſtrate, and to the obligations of the paſtoral care, that every Church ſhould act within herſelf as an entire and independent body. The Churches owe not only a friendly and brotherly correſpondence to one another; but they owe to their own body government and direction, and ſuch proviſions and methods as are moſt likely to promote the great ends of religion, and to preſerve the peace of the ſociety both in Church and State. Therefore we are no other way bound by ancient canons, but as the ſame reaſon ſtill ſubſiſting, we may ſee the ſame cauſe to continue them, that there was at firſt to make them.

Of all the bodies of the world, the Church of Rome has the worſt grace to reproach us for departing in ſome particulars from the ancient canons, ſince it was her ill conduct that had brought them all into deſuetude: and it is not eaſy to revive again antiquated rules, even though there may be good reaſon for it, when they fall under that tacit abrogation, which ariſes out of a long and general diſuſe of them.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXXV.

### Of Homilies.

**The Second Book of Homilies, the ſeveral Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were ſet forth in the Time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtanded of the People.**

The Names of the Homilies.

1. *Of the right Uſe of the Church.*
2. *Againſt peril of Idolatry.*
3. *Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.*
4. *Of good Works. Firſt, of Faſting.*
5. *Againſt Gluttony and Drunkenneſs.*
6. *Againſt Exceſs of Apparel.*
7. *Of Prayer.*
8. *Of the Place and Time of Prayer.*
9. *That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be miniſtered in a known Tongue.*
10. *Of the reverent Eſtimation of God's Word.*
11. *Of Alms-doing.*
12. *Of the Nativity of Chriſt.*
13. *Of the Paſſion of Chriſt.*
14. *Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.*
15. *Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*
16. *Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.*
17. *For the Rogation-Days.*
18. *Of the State of Matrimony.*
19. *Of Repentance.*
20. *Againſt Idleneſs.*
21. *Againſt Rebellion.*

AT the time of the Reformation, as there could not be found at firſt a ſufficient number of preachers to inſtruct the whole nation; ſo thoſe that did comply with the changes which were then made, were not all well-affected to them; ſo that it was not ſafe to truſt this matter to the capacity of the one ſide, and to the integrity of others; therefore, to ſupply the defects of ſome, and to oblige the reſt to teach according to the *form of ſound doctrine*, there were two books of Homilies prepared; the firſt was publiſhed in King Edward's time; the ſecond was not finiſhed till about the time of his death; ſo it was not publiſhed before Queen Elizabeth's time. The deſign of them was to mix ſpeculative points with practical matters; ſome explain the doctrine, and others enforce the rules of life

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ART. XXXV.

life and manners. Theſe are plain and ſhort diſcourſes, chiefly calculated to poſſeſs the nation with a ſenſe of the purity of the Goſpel, in oppoſition to the corruptions of Popery; and to reform it from thoſe crying ſins that had been ſo much connived at under Popery, while men knew the price of them, how to compenſate for them, and to redeem themſelves from the guilt of them, by maſſes and ſacraments, by indulgences and abſolutions.

In theſe Homilies the Scriptures are often applied as they were then underſtood; not ſo critically as they have been explained ſince that time. But by this approbation of the two books of Homilies, it is not meant that every paſſage of Scripture, or argument that is made uſe of in them, is always convincing, or that every expreſſion is ſo ſeverely worded, that it may not need a little correction or explanation: all that we profeſs about them, is only that they *contain a godly and wholeſome doctrine*. This rather relates to the main importance and deſign of them, than to every paſſage in them. Though this may be ſaid concerning them, that conſidering the age they were written in, the imperfection of our language, and ſome leſſer defects, they are two very extraordinary books. Some of them are better writ than others, and are equal to any thing that has been writ upon thoſe ſubjects ſince that time. Upon the whole matter, every one who ſubſcribes the Articles, ought to read them, otherwiſe he ſubſcribes a blank; he approves a book implicitly, and binds himſelf to read it, as he may be required, without knowing any thing concerning it. This approbation is not to be ſtretched ſo far, as to carry in it a ſpecial aſſent to every particular in that whole volume; but a man muſt be perſuaded of the main of the doctrine that is taught in them.

To inſtance this in one particular; ſince there are ſo many of the Homilies that charge the Church of Rome with *idolatry*, and that from ſo many different topics, no man who thinks that Church is not guilty of *idolatry*, can with a good conſcience ſubſcribe this Article, that the Homilies *contain a good and wholeſome doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe times*; for according to his ſenſe they contain a falſe and an uncharitable charge of *idolatry* againſt a Church that they think is not guilty of it; and he will be apt to think that this was done to heighten the averſion of the nation to it: therefore any who have ſuch favourable thoughts of the Church of Rome, are bound, by the force of that perſuaſion of theirs, not to ſign this Article, but to declare againſt it, as the authoriſing of an accuſation againſt

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againſt a Church, which they think is ill grounded, and is by conſequence both unjuſt and uncharitable. ART. XXXV.

*By neceſſary for theſe times*, is not to be meant, that this was a book fit to ſerve a turn; but only that this book was neceſſary at that time to inſtruct the nation aright, and ſo was of great uſe then: but though the doctrine in it, if once true, muſt be always true, yet it will not be always of the ſame neceſſity to the people. As for inſtance; there are many diſcourſes in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, that relate to the controverſies then on foot with the Judaizers, to the engagements the Chriſtians then lived in with the Heathens, and to thoſe corrupters of Chriſtianity that were in thoſe days. Thoſe doctrines were neceſſary for that time; but though they are now as true as they were then, yet, ſince we have no commerce either with Jews or Gentiles, we cannot ſay that it is as neceſſary for the preſent time to dwell much on thoſe matters, as it was for that time to explain them once well. If the nation ſhould come to be quite out of the danger of falling back into Popery, it would not be ſo neceſſary to inſiſt upon many of the ſubjects of the Homilies, as it was when they were firſt prepared.



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## ARTICLE XXXVI.

### Of Conſecration of Biſhops and Miniſters.

**The Book of Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and ordering of Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the Time of** Edward **the Sixth, and confirmed at the ſame time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all Things neceſſary to ſuch Conſecration and Ordering; neither hath it any Thing that of itſelf is ſuperſtitious and ungodly. And therefore whoſoever are Conſecrated and Ordered according to the Rites of that Book ſince the Second Year of the aforenamed King** Edward **unto this time, or hereafter ſhall be Conſecrated or Ordered according to the ſame Rites, we decree all ſuch to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully Conſecrated and Ordered.**

AS to the moſt eſſential parts of this Article, they were already examined, when the pretended Sacrament of Orders was explained; where it was proved, that *prayer* and *impoſition* of hands was all that was neceſſary to the giving of orders; and that the forms added in the *Roman Pontifical* are new, and cannot be held to be neceſſary, ſince the Church had ſubſiſted for many ages before thoſe were thought on. So that either our ordinations without thoſe additions are good, or the Church of God was for many ages without true orders. There ſeems to be here inſinuated a ratification of orders that were given before this Article was made; which being done (as the Lawyers phraſe it) *ex poſt facto*, it ſeems theſe orders were unlawful, when given, and that error was intended to be corrected by this Article. The opening a part of the hiſtory of that time will clear this matter.

There was a new form of ordinations agreed on by the Biſhops in the third year of King Edward; and when the Book of *Common-Prayer*, with the laſt corrections of it, was authoriſed by act of parliament in the fifth year of that reign, the new Book of *Ordinations* was alſo enacted, and was appointed to be a part of the *Common-Prayer-Book*. In Queen Mary's time theſe acts were repealed, and thoſe books were condemned by name. When Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, King Edward's *Common-Prayer-Book* was of new enacted, and Queen Mary's act was

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ART. XXXVI.

was repealed. But the Book of Ordination was not expreſsly named, it being conſidered as a part of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, as it had been made in King Edward's time; ſo it was thought no more neceſſary to mention that *office* by name, than to mention all the other offices that are in the book. Biſhop Bonner ſet on foot a nicety, that ſince the Book of Ordinations was by name condemned in Queen Mary's time, and was not by name received in Queen Elizabeth's time, that therefore it was ſtill condemned by law, and that by conſequence ordinations performed according to this book were not legal. But it is viſible, that whatſoever might be made out of this, according to the niceties of our law, it has no relation to the validity of ordinations, as they are ſacred performances, but only as they are legal actions, with relation to our conſtitution. Therefore a declaration was made in a ſubſequent parliament, that the *Book of Ordination* was conſidered as a part of the *Book of Common-Prayer:* and, to clear all ſcruples or diſputes that might ariſe upon that matter, they by a retroſpect declared them to be good; and from that retroſpect in the act of parliament, the like clauſe was put in the Article.

The chief exception that can be made to the form of giving orders amongſt us, is to thoſe words, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*; which as it is no ancient form, it not being above five hundred years old, ſo it is taken from words of our Saviour's, that the Church in her beſt times thought were not to be applied to this. It was proper to him to uſe them, who had the *fulneſs of the Spirit* to give it at pleaſure: he made uſe of it in conſtituting his Apoſtles the governors of his Church in his own ſtead; and therefore it ſeems to have a ſound in it that is too bold and aſſuming, as if we could convey the Holy Ghoſt. To this it is to be anſwered, that the Churches both in the Eaſt and Weſt have ſo often changed the forms of ordination, that our Church may well claim the ſame power of appointing new forms, that others have done. And ſince the ſeveral functions and adminiſtrations that are in the Church are by the Apoſtle ſaid to flow *from one and the ſame Spirit*, all of them from the *Apoſtles* down to the *Paſtors* and *Teachers*, we may then reckon that the *Holy Ghoſt*, though in a much lower degree, is given to thoſe who are inwardly moved of God to undertake that holy office. So that though that extraordinary effuſion that was poured out upon the Apoſtles, was in them in a much higher degree, and was accompanied with moſt amazing characters; yet ſtill ſuch as do ſincerely offer themſelves



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ART. XXXVI.

up, on a divine motion, to this ſervice, receive a lower portion of this Spirit. That being laid down, theſe words, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*, may be underſtood to be of the nature of a wiſh and prayer; as if it were ſaid, *May thou receive the Holy Ghoſt*; and ſo it will better agree with what follows, *And be thou a faithful diſpenſer of the word and ſacraments*. Or it may be obſerved, that in thoſe ſacred miſſions the Church and Churchmen conſider themſelves as acting in the *name* and *perſon* of Chriſt. In baptiſm it is expreſsly ſaid, *I baptize in the name of the Father*, &c. In the euchariſt we repeat the words of Chriſt, and apply them to the elements, as ſaid by him. So we conſider ſuch as deſerve to be admitted to thoſe holy functions, as perſons called and ſent of God; and therefore the Church in the name of Chriſt ſends them; and becauſe he gives a portion of his Spirit to thoſe whom he ſends, therefore the Church in his name ſays, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*. And in this ſenſe, and with this reſpect, the uſe of theſe words may be well juſtified.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXXVII.

### Of Civil Magiſtrates.

The Queen's Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of England, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Cauſes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any Foreign Juriſdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majeſty the chief Government, by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous Folks to be offended: We give not to our Princes the miniſtring either of God's Word or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions alſo lately ſet forth by Elizabeth our Queen do moſt plainly teſtify; but that only Prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himſelf, that is, That they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evil-doers.

The Biſhop of Rome hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of England.

The Laws of the Realm may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Chriſtian Men, at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to wear Weapons, and ſerve in the Wars.

THIS Article was much ſhorter, as it was publiſhed in King Edward's time, and did run thus: *The King of England is ſupreme head in earth, next under Chriſt, of the Church of England and Ireland.* Then followed the paragraph againſt the Pope's juriſdiction, worded as it is now: to which theſe words were ſubjoined, *The civil magiſtrate is ordained and allowed of God; wherefore we muſt obey him, not only for fear of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake.* In Queen Elizabeth's time it was thought fitting to take away thoſe prejudices that the Papiſts were generally

ART. XXXVII.

infuſing into the minds of the people againſt the term *head*; which ſeemed to be the more incongruous, becauſe a woman did then reign; therefore that was left out, and inſtead of it the words *chief power* and *chief government* were made uſe of, which do ſignify the ſame thing.

The Queen did alſo by her Injunctions offer an explanation of this matter; for whereas it was given out by thoſe who had complied with every thing that had been done both in her father's and in her brother's time, but that reſolved now to ſet themſelves in oppoſition to her, that ſhe was aſſuming a much greater authority than they had pretended to: ſhe upon that ordered that explanation which is referred to in the Article, and is in theſe words: *For certainly her Majeſty neither doth nor ever will challenge any authority, other than that was challenged and lately uſed by the ſaid noble Kings of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God to have the ſovereignty and rule over all manner of perſons born within theſe her realms, dominions, and countries, of what eſtate, either eccleſiaſtical or temporal, ſoever they be; ſo as no other foreign power ſhall or ought to have any ſuperiority over them. And if any perſon that hath conceived any other ſenſe of the ſaid oath, ſhall accept the ſame oath with this interpretation, ſenſe, or meaning, her Majeſty is well pleaſed to accept every ſuch in that behalf, as her good and obedient ſubjects; and ſhall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the ſaid act, againſt ſuch as ſhall peremptorily and obſtinately refuſe to take the ſame oath.*

Thus this matter is opened, as it is both in the *Article* and in the *Injunctions*. In order to the treating regularly of this Article, it is, firſt, to be proved, that the Pope hath no juriſdiction in theſe kingdoms. 2dly, That our Kings or Queens have it. And, 3dly, the nature and meaſures of this power and government are to be ſtated.

As for the Pope's authority, though it is now connected with infallibility, yet it was pretended to, and was advanced for many ages before *infallibility* was ſo much as thought on. Nor was the doctrine of their infallibility ever ſo univerſally received and ſubmitted to in theſe *weſtern* parts, as was that of their univerſal juriſdiction. They were in poſſeſſion of it: appeals were made to them: they ſent legates and bulls every where: they granted exemptions from the ordinary juriſdiction; and took Biſhops bound to them by oaths, that were penned in the form of oaths of *fealty* or homage. This was the firſt point that our Reformers did begin with, both here and every where elſe; that

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ART. XXXVII.

that so they might remove that which was an insuperable obstruction, till it was first taken out of the way, to every step that could be made toward a reformation. They laid down therefore this for their foundation, that all Bishops were by their office and character equal; and that every one of them had the same authority that any other had, over that flock which was committed to his care: and therefore they said, that the *Bishops of Rome* had no authority, according to the constitution in which the Churches were settled by the Apostles, but over the city of *Rome*: and that any further jurisdiction that any ancient Popes might have had, did arise from the dignity of the *city*, and the customs and laws of the *empire*. As for their deriving that authority from St. Peter, it is very plain, that the Apostles were all made equal to him; and that they never understood our Saviour's words to him, as importing any authority that was given to him over the rest; since they continued to the last, while our Saviour was among them, *disputing which of them should be the greatest*. The proposition that the mother of James and John made, in which it is evident, that they likewise concurred with her, shews that they did not apprehend that Christ had made any declaration in favour of St. Peter, as by our Saviour's answer it appears that he had not done; otherwise he would have referred them to what he had already said upon that occasion. By the whole history of the Acts of the Apostles, it appears, that the Apostles acted and consulted in common, without considering St. Peter as having any superiority over them. He was called to give an account of his baptizing Cornelius; and he delivered his opinion in the council of Jerusalem, without any strain of authority over the rest. St. Paul does expressly deny, that the other Apostles had any superiority or jurisdiction over him; and he says in plain words, that *he was the Apostle of the uncircumcision, as St. Peter was the Apostle of the circumcision*; and in that does rather claim an advantage over him; since his was certainly the much wider province. He withstood St. Peter to his face, when he thought that he deserved to be blamed; and he speaks of his own *line* and *share*, as being subordinate in it to none: and by his saying, that *he did not stretch himself beyond his own measure*, he plainly insinuates, that within his own province he was only accountable to him that had called and sent him. This was also the sense of the primitive Church, that all Bishops were *Brethren*, *Colleagues*, and *Fellow-Bishops*: and though the dignity of that city, which was the head of the empire, and the opinion of that Church's being founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, created a great

Matth. xx. 21, 24, 26.

Acts xi. 2, 3. Acts xv. 7, 14, 19. Gal. ii. 7, 8, 11.

2 Cor. x. 14.

ART. XXXVII.

respect to the Bishops of that see, which was supported and increased by the eminent worth, as well as the frequent martyrdoms of their Bishops; yet St. Cyprian in his time, as he was against the suffering of any causes to be carried in the way of a complaint for redress to Rome, so he does in plain words say, that *all the Apostles were equal in power; and that all Bishops were also equal; since the whole office and episcopate was one entire thing, of which every Bishop had a complete and equal share.* It is true, he speaks of the *unity* of the Roman Church, and of the union of other Churches with it; but those words were occasioned by a schism that Novatian had made then at Rome; he being elected in opposition to the rightful Bishop: so that St. Cyprian does not insinuate any thing concerning an authority of the see of Rome over other sees, but speaks only of their union under one Bishop; and of the other Churches holding a brotherly communion with that Bishop. Through his whole epistles he treats the Bishops of Rome as his equals, with the titles of *Brother* and *Colleague.*

De Unit. Eccles.

In the first General Council, the authority of the Bishops of the great sees is stated as *equal.* The Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch are declared to have, *according to custom,* the same authority over the Churches subordinate to them, that the Bishops of Rome had over those that lay about that city. This authority is pretended to be derived only from *custom,* and is considered as under the limitations and decisions of a General Council. Soon after that, the Arian heresy was so spread over the *East,* that those who adhered to the Nicene faith, were not safe in their numbers; and the *western* Churches being free from that contagion, (though St. Basil laments that they neither understood their matters, nor were much concerned about them, but were swelled up with pride,) Athanasius and other oppressed Bishops fled to the Bishops of Rome, as well as to the other Bishops of the *West*; it being natural for the oppressed to seek protection wheresoever they can find it: and so a sort of appeals was begun, and they were authorised by the Council of Sardica. But the ill effects of this, if it should become a precedent, were apprehended by the second General Council; in which it was decreed, that *every province should be governed by its own synod*; and that all Bishops should be at first judged by the *Bishops of their own province*; and from them an appeal was allowed to the Bishops of the *diocese*; whereas by the canons of Nice no appeal lay from the Bishops of the *province.* But though this canon of Constantinople

Conc. Nic. Can. 6.

Ep. 12. ad. Greg.

Con. Sard. Can. 3. et 7. Con. Constant. Can. 3.

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ART. XXXVII.

ſtantinople allows of an appeal to the Biſhops of every ſuch diviſion of the Roman empire as was known by the name of *dioceſe*; yet there is an expreſs prohibition of any other or further appeal; which is a plain repealing of the canon at Sardica. And in that ſame Council it appears upon what the dignity of the ſee of Rome was then believed to be founded: for Conſtantinople being made the ſeat of the empire, and called *new Rome*, the Biſhops of that ſee had the ſame privileges given them, that the Biſhops of *old Rome* had; except only the point of *rank*, which was preſerved to *old Rome*, becauſe of the dignity of the city. This was alſo confirmed at Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century. This ſhews, that the authority and privileges of the Biſhops of Rome were then conſidered as ariſing out of the dignity of that city, and that the order of them was ſubject to the authority of a General Council.

Con. Chalced. Can. 28.

The African Churches in that time knew nothing of any ſuperiority that the Biſhops of Rome had over them: they condemned the making of appeals to them, and appointed that ſuch as made them ſhould be excommunicated. The Popes, who laid that matter much to heart, did not pretend to an univerſal juriſdiction as St. Peter's ſucceſſors by a divine right; they only pleaded a canon of the Council of Nice; but the Africans had heard of no ſuch canon, and ſo they juſtified their independence on the ſee of Rome. Great ſearch was made after this canon, and it was found to be an impoſture. So early did the ſee of Rome aſpire to this univerſal authority, and did not ſtick at forgery in order to the compaſſing of it. In the ſixth century, when the Emperor Mauritius continued a practice begun by ſome former Emperors, to give the Biſhop of Conſtantinople the title of Univerſal Biſhop; Pelage, and after him Gregory the Great, broke out into the moſt pathetical expreſſions that could be invented againſt it; he compared it to the pride of Lucifer; and ſaid, that *he who aſſumed it, was the forerunner of Antichriſt*; and as he renounced all claim to it, ſo he affirmed, that none of his predeceſſors had ever aſpired to ſuch a power.

Conc. Afric. cap. 101. et 105. Epiſt. ad Bonifac. et Celeſt.

Greg. Ep. Lib. iv. Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39. Lib. vi. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 31. Lib. vii. Ep. 70.

This is the more remarkable, becauſe the Saxons being converted to the Chriſtian religion under this Pope's direction, we have reaſon to believe, that this doctrine was infuſed into this Church at the firſt converſion of the Saxons: yet Pope Gregory's ſucceſſor made no exceptions to the giving himſelf that title, againſt which his predeceſſor had declaimed ſo much: but then the confuſions of Italy gave the Popes great advantages to make all new invaders

ART. XXXVII.

invaders or pretenders enlarge their privileges; ſince it was a great acceſſion of ſtrength to any party, to have them of their ſide. The Kings of the Lombards began to lie heavy on them; but they called in the Kings of a new conquering family from France, who were ready enough to make new conqueſts; and when the nomination of the Popes was given to the Kings of that race, it was natural for them to raiſe the greatneſs of one who was to be their creature; ſo they promoted their authority; which was not a little confirmed by an impudent forgery of that time, of the *Decretal Epiſtles* of the firſt Popes; in which they were repreſented as governing the world with an univerſal and unbounded authority. This book was a little diſputed at firſt, but was quickly ſubmitted to, and the Popes went on upon that foundation, ſtill enlarging their pretenſions. Soon after that was ſubmitted to, it quickly appeared, that the pretenſions of that ſee were endleſs.

They went on to claim a power over Princes and their dominions; and that firſt with relation to ſpiritual matters. They depoſed them, if they were either heretics themſelves, or if they favoured hereſy, at leaſt ſo far as not to extirpate it. From depoſing they went to the diſpoſing of their dominions to others: and at laſt Boniface the Eighth completed their claim; for he decreed, that *it was neceſſary for every man to be ſubject to the Pope's authority*: and he aſſerted a direct dominion over Princes as to their temporals, that they were all ſubject to him, and held their dominions under him, and at his courteſy. As for the juriſdiction that they claimed over the ſpiritualty, they exerciſed it with that rigour, with ſuch heavy taxes and impoſitions, ſuch exemptions and diſpenſations, and ſuch a violation of all the ancient canons, that as it grew inſupportably grievous, ſo the management was groſsly ſcandalous, for every thing was openly ſet to ſale. By theſe practices they diſpoſed the world to examine the grounds of that authority, which was managed with ſo much tyranny and corruption. It was ſo ill founded, that it could not be defended but by force and artifices. Thus it appears, that there is no authority at all in the Scripture for this extent of juriſdiction that the Popes aſſumed: that it was not thought on in the firſt ages: that a vigorous oppoſition was made to every ſtep of the progreſs that it made: and that forgery and violence were uſed to bring the world under it. So that there is no reaſon now to ſubmit to it.

As for the patriarchal authority, which that ſee had over a great part of the Roman empire, that was only a regulation

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ART. XXXVII.

regulation made conform to the conſtitution of that empire: ſo that the empire being now diſſolved into many different ſovereignties, the new Princes are under no ſort of obligation to have any regard to the Roman conſtitution: nor does a nation's receiving the faith by the miniſtry of men ſent from any ſee, ſubject them to that ſee; for then all muſt be ſubject to Jeruſalem, ſince the Goſpel came to all the Churches from thence. There was a deciſion made in the third General Council in the caſe of the Cypriotic Churches, which pretended that they had been always complete Churches within themſelves, and independent; therefore they ſtood upon this privilege, not to be ſubject to appeals to any patriarchal ſee. The Council judged in their favour. So ſince the Britannic Churches were converted long before they had any commerce with Rome, they were originally *independent*; which could not be loſt by any thing that was afterwards done among the Saxons, by men ſent over from Rome. This is enough to prove the firſt point, that the Biſhops of Rome had no lawful juriſdiction here among us.

The ſecond is, that Kings or Queens have an authority over their ſubjects in matters eccleſiaſtical. In the Old Teſtament, the Kings of Iſrael intermeddled in all matters of religion: Samuel acknowledged Saul's authority; and Abimelech, though the High-Prieſt, when called before Saul, appeared and anſwered to ſome things that were objected to him, that related to the worſhip of God. Samuel ſaid in expreſs words to Saul, that *he was made the head of all the tribes*; and one of theſe was the *tribe of Levi*. David made many laws about ſacred matters, ſuch as the orders of the courſes of the Prieſts, and the time of their attendance at the public ſervice. When he died, and was informing Solomon of the extent of his authority, he told him, that *the courſes of the Prieſts, and all the people, were to be wholly at his commandment*. Purſuant to which, Solomon did appoint them their charges in the ſervice of God; and *both the Prieſts and Levites departed not from his commandment in any matter*. He turned out Abiathar from the High-Prieſt's office, and yet no complaint was made upon it, as if he had aſſumed an authority that did not belong to him. It is true, both David and Solomon were men that were particularly inſpired as to ſome things; but it does not appear that they acted in thoſe matters by virtue of any ſuch inſpiration. They were acts of regal power, and they did them in that capacity. Jehoſhaphat, Hezekiah, and Joſiah, gave many direc-

1 Sam. xv. 30. xxii. 14. xv. 17.

1 Chron. xxiii. 6. xxviii. 21.

2 Chron. viii. 14, 15.

2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9. chap. x. 8. to the end.

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ART. XXXVII.

directions and orders in ſacred matters: but though the Prieſts withſtood Uzziah when he was going to offer incenſe in the holy place, yet they did not pretend privilege, or make oppoſition to thoſe orders that were iſſued out by their Kings. Mordecai appointed the feaſt of *Purim*, by virtue of the authority that King Ahaſuerus gave him: and both Ezra and Nehemiah, by virtue of commiſſions from the Kings of Perſia, made many reformations, and gave many orders in ſacred matters.

2 Chron. xxvi. 16, 17, 18, 19.

Under the New Teſtament, Chriſt, by ſaying, *Render to Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's*, did plainly ſhew, that he did not intend that his religion ſhould in any ſort leſſen the temporal authority. The Apoſtles writ to the Churches to *obey magiſtrates, to ſubmit to them, and to pay taxes:* they enjoined obedience, *whether to the King as ſupreme, or to others that were ſent by him: every ſoul*, without exception, is charged *to be ſubject to the higher powers.* The magiſtrate is ordained of God, and *is his miniſter to encourage them to do well, and to puniſh the evil doers.* If theſe paſſages of Scripture are to be interpreted according to the common conſent of the Fathers, Churchmen are included within them, as well as other perſons. There was not indeed great occaſion to conſider this matter before Conſtantine's coming to the empire; for till then the Emperors did not conſider the Chriſtians otherwiſe than either as enemies, or at beſt as their ſubjects at large: and therefore, though the Chriſtians made an addreſs to Aurelian in the matter of Samoſatenus, and obtained a favourable and juſt anſwer to it; yet in Conſtantine's time, the protection that he gave to the Chriſtian religion led him and his ſucceſſors to make many laws in eccleſiaſtical matters, concerning the *age*, the *qualifications*, and the *duties* of the Clergy. Many of theſe are to be found in Theodoſius and Juſtinian's Code: Juſtinian added many more in his *Novels*. Appeals were made to the Emperors againſt the injuſtice of ſynods: they received them, and appointed ſuch Biſhops to hear and try thoſe cauſes, as happened to be then about their courts. In the Council of Nice, many complaints were given to the Emperor by the Biſhops againſt one another. The Emperors called General Councils by their ſummons; they ſate in them, and confirmed their decrees. This was the conſtant practice of the Roman Emperors, both in the *Eaſt* and in the *Weſt:* when the Church came to fall under many leſſer ſovereignties, thoſe Princes continued ſtill to make laws, to name Biſhops, to give inveſtitures into benefices, to call

Rom. xiii. 6. Ver. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

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call ſynods, and to do every thing that appeared neceſſary to them, for the good government of the Church in their dominions. ART. XXXVII.

When Charles the Great was reſtoring thoſe things that had fallen under much diſorder in a courſe of ſome ignorant and barbarous ages, and was reviving both learning and good government, he publiſhed many *Capitulars*, a great part of them relating to eccleſiaſtical matters; nor was any exception taken to that in thoſe ages: the ſynods that were then held were for the greateſt part mixed aſſemblies, in which the *temporalty* and the *ſpiritualty* ſate together, and judged and decreed of all matters in common. And it is certain, that ſuch was the *Sanhedrim* among the Jews in our Saviour's time; it was the ſupreme court both for ſpirituals and temporals.

In England our Princes began early, and continued long to maintain this part of their authority. The letters that are pretended to have paſſed between King Lucius and Pope Eleutherius, are very probably forgeries; but they are ancient ones, and did for many ages paſs for true. Now a forgery is generally calculated to the ſenſe of the age in which it is made. In the Pope's letter, the King is called *God's Vicar in his kingdoms*; and it is ſaid to *belong to his office, to bring his ſubjects to the holy Church, and to maintain, protect, and govern them in it.* Both Saxon and Daniſh Kings made a great many laws about eccleſiaſtical matters; and after the Conqueſt, when the nation grew into a more united body, and came to a more ſettled conſtitution, many laws were made concerning theſe matters, particularly in oppoſition to thoſe practices that favoured the authority that the Popes were then aſſuming; ſuch as appeals to Rome, or Biſhops going out of the kingdom without the King's leave. King Alfred's laws were a ſort of a text for a great while; they contain many laws about ſacred matters. The exempting of monaſteries from epiſcopal juriſdiction was granted by ſome of our Kings at firſt. William the Conqueror, to perpetuate the memory of his victory over Harold, and to endear himſelf to the Clergy, founded an abbey in the field where the battle was fought, called *Battle-Abbey:* and in the charter of the foundation, in imitation of what former Kings had done in their endowments, this clauſe was put; *It ſhall be alſo free and quiet for ever from all ſubjection to Biſhops, or the dominion of any other perſons.* This is an act that does as immediately relate to the authority of the Church, as any one that we can imagine. The Conſtitutions of Clarendon were aſſerted by both King and Parliament,

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ART. XXXVII.

liament, and by the whole body of the Clergy, as *the ancient cuſtoms of the kingdom*. Theſe relate to the Clergy, and were ſubmitted to by them all, Becket himſelf not excepted, though he quickly went off from it.

It is true, the papacy got generally the better of the temporal authority, in a courſe of ſeveral ages; but at laſt the Popes living long at Avignon, together with the great ſchiſm that followed upon their return to Rome, did very much ſink in their credit, and that ſtopped the progreſs they had made before that time; which had probably ſubdued all, if it had not been for thoſe accidents. Then the Councils began to take heart, and reſolved to aſſert the freedom of the Church from the papal tyranny. *Pragmatic ſanctions* were made in ſeveral nations to aſſert their liberty. That in France was made with great ſolemnity: in theſe the Biſhops did not only aſſert their own juriſdiction, independent in a great meaſure of the papacy, but they likewiſe carried it ſo far as to make themſelves independent on the civil authority, particularly in the point of elections. This diſpoſed Princes generally to enter into agreements with the Popes; by which the matter was ſo tranſacted, that the Popes and they made a diviſion between them of all the rights and pretenſions of the Church. Princes yielded a great deal to the Popes, to be protected by them in that which they got to be reſerved to themſelves. Great reſtraints were laid both on the Clergy, and likewiſe on the ſee of Rome, by the appeals that were brought into the ſecular courts, from the ordinary judgments of the eccleſiaſtical courts, or from the bulls or powers that legates brought with them. A diſtinction was found that ſeemed to ſave the eccleſiaſtical authority, at the ſame time that the ſecular court was made the judge of it. The *appeal* did lie upon a pretence that the eccleſiaſtical judge had committed ſome *abuſe* in the way of proceeding, or in his ſentence. So the *appeal* was from that *abuſe*, and the ſecular court was to examine the matter according to the rules and laws of the Church, and not according to the principles or rules of any other law: but upon that they did either confirm or reverſe the ſentence. And even thoſe Princes that acknowledge the papal authority, have found out diſtinctions to put ſuch ſtops to it as they pleaſe; and ſo to make it an engine to govern their people by, as far as they think fit to give way to it; and to damn ſuch bulls, or void ſuch powers, as they are afraid of.

Thus it is evident, that both according to Scripture, and the practice of all ages and countries, the Princes of Chriſten-

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ART. XXXVII.

Chriſtendom have an authority over their ſubjects in matters eccleſiaſtical. The reaſon of things makes alſo for this; for if any rank of men are exempted from their juriſdiction, they muſt thereby ceaſe to be ſubjects: and if any ſort of cauſes, ſpiritual ones in particular, were put out of their authority, it were an eaſy thing to reduce almoſt every thing to ſuch a relation to *ſpirituals*, that if this principle were once received, their authority would be very precarious and feeble. Nothing could give Princes ſtronger and juſter prejudices againſt the Chriſtian religion, than if they ſaw that the effect of their receiving it muſt be the withdrawing ſo great a part of their ſubjects from their authority; and the putting as many checks upon it, as thoſe that had the management of this religion ſhould think fit to reſtrain it by. In a word, all mankind muſt be under one obedience and one authority. It remains that the meaſures and the extent of this power be rightly ſtated.

It is certain, firſt, that this power does not depend upon the Prince's religion; whether he is a Chriſtian, or not; or whether he is of a true or a falſe religion; or is a good or a bad man. By the ſame tenure that he holds his ſovereignty, he holds this likewiſe. Artaxerxes had it as well as either David or Solomon, when the Jews were once lawfully his ſubjects; and the Chriſtians owed the ſame duty to the Emperors while Heathen, that they paid them when Chriſtian. The relations of nature, ſuch as that of a *parent* and *child*, *huſband* and *wife*, continue the ſame that they were, whatſoever men's perſuaſions in matters of religion may be: ſo do alſo civil relations, *maſter* and *ſervant*, *prince* and *ſubject*; they are neither increaſed nor diminiſhed by the truth of their ſentiments concerning religion. All perſons are ſubject to the Prince's authority, and liable to ſuch puniſhments as their crimes fall under by law. *Every ſoul is ſubject to the higher powers:* neither is *treaſon* leſs *treaſon*, becauſe ſpoke in a pulpit or in a ſermon: it may be more treaſon for that than otherwiſe it would be; becauſe it is ſo public and deliberate, and is delivered in the way in which it may probably have the worſt effect. So that as to perſons, no great difficulty can lie in this, ſince *every ſoul* is declared to be *ſubject to the higher powers*.

As to eccleſiaſtical cauſes, it is certain, that as the magiſtrate cannot make void the laws of nature, ſuch as the authority of parents over their children, or of huſbands over their wives, ſo neither can he make void the law of God: that is from a ſuperior authority, and cannot be diſ-

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ART. XXXVII.

diſſolved by him. Where a thing is poſitively commanded or forbid by God, the magiſtrate has no other authority but that of executing the laws of God, of adding his ſanctions to them, and of uſing his utmoſt induſtry to procure obedience to them. He cannot alter any part of the doctrine, and make it to be either truer or falſer than it is in itſelf; nor can he either take away or alter the ſacraments, or break any of thoſe rules that are given in the New Teſtament about them; becauſe in all theſe the authority of God is expreſs, and is certainly ſuperior to his. The only queſtion that can be made, is concerning indifferent things: for inſtance, in the canons or other rules of the Church, how far they are in the magiſtrate's power, and in what caſes the body of Chriſtians, and of the paſtors of the Church, may maintain their union among themſelves, and act in oppoſition to his laws. It ſeems very clear, that in all matters that are indifferent, and are determined by no law of God, the magiſtrate's authority muſt take place, and is to be obeyed. The Church has no authority that ſhe can maintain in oppoſition to the magiſtrate, but in the executing the laws of God and the rules of the Goſpel: in all other things, as ſhe acts under his protection, ſo it is by his permiſſion. But here a great diſtinction is to be made between two caſes that may happen: the one is, when the magiſtrate acts like one that intends to preſerve religion, but commits errors and acts of injuſtice in his management: the other is, when he acts like one that intends to deſtroy religion, and to divide and diſtract thoſe that profeſs it. In the former caſe, every thing that is not ſinful of itſelf, is to be done, in compliance with his authority; not to give him umbrage, nor provoke him to withdraw his protection, and to become, inſtead of a nurſing father, a perſecutor of the Church. But on the other hand, when he declares, or it is viſible that his deſign is to deſtroy the faith, leſs regard is to be had to his actions. The people may adhere to their paſtors, and to every method that may fortify them in their religion, even in oppoſition to his invaſion. Upon the whole matter, the power of the King in eccleſiaſtical matters among us is expreſſed in this Article under thoſe reſerves, and with that moderation, that no juſt ſcruple can lie againſt it; and it is that which all the Kings, even of the Roman communion, do aſſume, and in ſome places with a much more unlimited authority. The methods of managing it may differ a little; yet the power is the ſame, and is built upon the ſame foundations. And though the term *head* is left out by the Article, yet even that is founded

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founded on an expreſſion of Samuel's to Saul, as was formerly cited. It is a figure, and all figures may be uſed either more looſely or more ſtrictly. In the ſtricteſt ſenſe, as the *head* communicates vital influences to the whole body, Chriſt is the only head of his Church; he only ought to be in all things obeyed, ſubmitted to, and depended on; and from him all the functions and offices of the Church derive their uſefulneſs and virtue. But as *head* may in a figure ſtand for the fountain of order and government, of protection and conduct, the King or Queen may well be called, *the head of the Church*. ART. XXXVII.

The next paragraph in this Article is concerning the lawfulneſs of capital puniſhments in Chriſtian ſocieties. It has an appearance of compaſſion and charity, to think that men ought not to be put to death for their crimes, but to be kept alive, that they may repent of them. Some, both ancients and moderns, have thought that there was a cruelty in all capital puniſhments, that was inconſiſtent with the gentleneſs of the Goſpel: but when we conſider that God, in that law which he himſelf delivered to the Jews by the hand of Moſes, did appoint ſo many capital puniſhments, even for offences againſt poſitive precepts, we cannot think that theſe are contrary to juſtice or true goodneſs; ſince they were dictated by God himſelf, who is eternally the ſame, unalterable in his perfections. This ſhews that God, who knows moſt perfectly our frame and diſpoſition, knows that the love of life is planted ſo deep in our natures, and that it has ſuch a root there, that nothing can work ſo powerfully on us, to govern and reſtrain us, as the fear of death. And therefore, ſince the main thing that is to be conſidered in government is the good of the whole body; and ſince a feeble indulgence and impunity may ſet mankind looſe into great diſorders, from which the terror of ſeverer laws, together with ſuch examples as are made on the incorrigible, will naturally reſtrain them; it ſeems neceſſary, for the preſervation of mankind and of ſociety, to have recourſe ſometimes to capital puniſhments.

The precedent that God ſet in the Moſaical Law ſeems a full juſtification of ſuch puniſhments under the Goſpel. The charity, which the Goſpel preſcribes, does not take away the rules of juſtice and equity, by which we may maintain our poſſeſſions, or recover them out of the hands of violent aggreſſors: only it obliges us to do that in a ſoft and gentle manner, without rigour or reſentment. The ſame charity, though it obliges us, as Chriſtians, not to keep up hatred or anger in our hearts, but to pardon,



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ART. XXXVII.

as to our own parts, the wrongs that are done us; yet it does not oblige us to throw up the order and peace of mankind, and abandon it to the injuſtice and violence of wicked men. We owe to human ſociety, and to the ſafety and order of the world, our endeavours to put a ſtop to the wickedneſs of men; which a good man may do with great inward tenderneſs to the ſouls of thoſe whom he proſecutes. It is highly probable, that as nothing beſides ſuch a method could ſtop the progreſs of injuſtice and wickedneſs, ſo nothing is ſo likely a mean to bring the criminal to repent of his ſins, and to fit him to die as a Chriſtian, as to condemn him to die for his crimes: if any thing can awaken his conſcience, and ſtrike terror in him, that will do it. Therefore, as capital puniſhments are neceſſary to human ſociety, ſo they are often real bleſſings to thoſe on whom they fall; and it may be affirmed very poſitively, that a man who can harden himſelf againſt the terrors of death, when they come upon him ſo ſolemnly, ſo ſlowly, and ſo certainly, he being in full health, and well able to reflect on the conſequences of it, is not like to be wrought on by a longer continuance of life, or by the methods of a natural death.

It is not poſſible to fix rules, to which capital puniſhments ought to be proportioned. It is certain, that, in a full equality, *life* only can be ſet againſt *life*: but there may be many other crimes, that muſt end in the ruin of ſociety, and in the diſſolution of all order, and all the commerce that ought to be among men, if they go unpuniſhed. In this all princes and ſtates muſt judge according to the real exigencies and neceſſities that appear to them. Nor can any general rule be made, ſave only this, that ſince man was made after the image of God, and that the life of man is precious, and, when once extinguiſhed, it ceaſes for evermore; therefore all due care and tenderneſs ought to be had in preſerving it; and ſince the end of government is the preſervation of mankind, therefore the lives of men ought not to be too lightly taken, except as it appears to be neceſſary for the preſervation and ſafety of the ſociety.

Rom. xiii. 4.

Under the Goſpel, as well as under the Law, the magiſtrate is the *miniſter of God*, and has the ſword put in his hand; which *he beareth not in vain*, for he is appointed to be *a revenger, to execute wrath on him that doth evil.* The natural ſignification of his carrying the ſword is, that he has an authority for puniſhing capitally; ſince it is upon thoſe occaſions only that he can be ſaid to uſe the ſword as a revenger. Nor can Chriſtian charity oblige a man,

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man, whom the law has made to be the avenger of blood, or of other crimes, to refuſe to comply with that obligation, which is laid upon him by the conſtitution under which he is born: he can only forgive that of which he is the maſter, but the other is a debt which he owes the ſociety; and his private forgiving of the wrong done himſelf, does not reach to that other obligation, which is not in his own power to give away. ART. XXXVII.

The laſt paragraph in this Article is concerning the lawfulneſs of wars. Some have thought all wars to be contrary to Chriſtian charity, to be inhuman and barbarous; and that therefore men ought, according to the rule ſet us by our Saviour, *not to reſiſt evil*; but when one injury is done, not only to bear it, but to ſhew a readineſs rather to receive new ones; *turning the other cheek to him that ſmites us on the one; going two miles with him that ſhall compel us to go one with him; and giving our cloak to him that ſhall take away our coat.* It ſeems juſt, that, by a parity of reaſon, ſocieties ſhould be under the ſame obligations to bear from other ſocieties, that ſingle perſons are under to other ſingle perſons. This muſt be acknowledged to be a very great difficulty; for as, on the one hand, the words of our Saviour ſeem to be very expreſs and full; ſo, on the other hand, if they are to be underſtood literally, they muſt caſt the world looſe, and expoſe it to the injuſtice and inſolence of wicked perſons, who would not fail to take advantages from ſuch a compliance and ſubmiſſion. Therefore theſe words muſt be conſidered, firſt, as addreſſed to private perſons; then, as relating to ſmaller injuries, which can more eaſily be borne; and, finally, as phraſes and forms of ſpeech, that are not to be carried to the utmoſt extent, but to be conſtrued with that ſoftening, that is to be allowed to the uſe of a phraſe. So that the meaning of that ſection of our Saviour's ſermon is to be taken thus; that private perſons ought to be ſo far from purſuing injuries, to the equal retaliation of an *eye for an eye*, or *a tooth for a tooth*, that they ought in many caſes to bear injuries, without either reſiſting them, or making returns of evil for evil; ſhewing a patience to bear even repeated injuries, when the matter is ſmall, and the wrong tolerable. Matth. v. 39. 40.

Under all this, ſecret conditions are to be underſtood, ſuch as when by ſuch our patience we may hope *to overcome evil with good*; or at leaſt to ſhew to the world the power that religion has over us, to check and ſubdue our reſentments. In this caſe certainly we ought to ſacrifice

ART. XXXVII.

our juſt rights, either of defence, or of ſeeking reparation, to the honour of religion, and to the gaining of men by ſuch an heroical inſtance of virtue. But it cannot be ſuppoſed that our Saviour meant that good men ſhould deliver themſelves up to be a prey to be devoured by bad men; or to oblige his followers to renounce their claims to the protection and reparations of law and juſtice.

1 Cor. vi. 6, 7.

In this St. Paul gives us a clear commentary on our Saviour's words: he reproves the Corinthians *for going to law with one another, and that before unbelievers*; when it was ſo great a ſcandal to the Chriſtian religion in its firſt infancy. He ſays, *Why do not ye take wrong? Why do not ye ſuffer yourſelves to be defrauded?* Yet he does not deny, but that they might claim their rights, and ſeek for redreſs; therefore he propoſes their doing it by arbitration among themſelves, and only urges the ſcandal of ſuing before Heathen magiſtrates; ſo that his reproof did not fall on their ſuing one another, but on the ſcandalous manner of doing it. Therefore men are not bound up by the Goſpel from ſeeking relief before a Chriſtian judge, and, by conſequence, thoſe words of our Saviour's are not to be urged in the utmoſt extent of which they are capable. If private perſons may ſeek reparation of one another, they may alſo ſeek reparations of the wrongs that are done by thoſe who are under another obedience; and every prince owes a protection to his people in ſuch caſes; for *he beareth not the ſword in vain*; he is their *avenger*. He may demand reparation by ſuch forms as are agreed on among nations; and, when that is not granted, he may take ſuch reparation from any that are under that obedience, as may oblige the whole body to repair the injury. Much more may he uſe the ſword to protect his ſubjects, if any other comes to invade them. For this end chiefly he has both the ſword given him, and thoſe taxes paid him, that may enable him to ſupport the charge, to which the uſe of it may put him. And as a private man owes, by the ties of humanity, aſſiſtance to a man whom he ſees in the hands of thieves and murderers; ſo princes may aſſiſt ſuch other princes as are unjuſtly fallen upon, both out of humanity to him who is ſo ill uſed, and to repreſs the inſolence of an unjuſt aggreſſor, and alſo to ſecure the whole neighbourhood from the effects of ſucceſs in ſuch unlawful conqueſts. Upon all theſe accounts we do not doubt but that wars, which are thus originally, as to the firſt occaſion of them, *defenſive*,

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*ſive*, though in the progreſs of them they muſt be often *offenſive*, may be lawful. ART. XXXVII.

God allowed of wars in that policy which he himſelf conſtituted; in which we are to make a great difference between thoſe things that were permitted by reaſon of the hardneſs of their hearts, and thoſe things which were expreſsly commanded of God. Theſe laſt can never be ſuppoſed to be immoral, ſince commanded by God, whoſe precepts and judgments are altogether righteous. When the ſoldiers came to be baptized of St. John, he did not charge them to relinquiſh that courſe of life, but only to *do violence to no man, to accuſe no man falſely, and to be content with their wages.* Luke iii. 14. Nor did St. Peter charge Cornelius to forſake his poſt when he baptized him. Acts x. The primitive Chriſtians thought they might continue in military employments, in which they preſerved the purity of their religion entire; as appears both from Tertullian's works, and from the hiſtory of Julian's ſhort reign. But though wars, that are in their own nature only defenſive, are lawful, and a part of the protection that princes owe their people; yet unjuſt wars, deſigned for making conqueſts, for the enlargement of empire, and the raiſing the glory of princes, are certainly public robberies, and the higheſt acts of injuſtice and violence poſſible; in which men ſacrifice, to their pride or humour, the peace of the world, and the lives of all thoſe that die in the quarrel, whoſe blood God will require at their hands. Such princes become accountable to God, in the higheſt degree imaginable, for all the rapine and bloodſhed that is occaſioned by their pride and injuſtice.

When it is viſible that a war is unjuſt, certainly no man of conſcience can ſerve in it, unleſs it be in the defenſive part: for though no man can owe that to his prince, to go and murder other perſons at his command, yet he may owe it to his country to aſſiſt towards its preſervation, from being overrun even by thoſe, whom his prince has provoked by making war on them unjuſtly. For even in ſuch a war, though it is unlawful to ſerve in the attacks that are made on others, it is ſtill lawful for the people of every nation to defend themſelves againſt foreigners.

There is no cauſe of war more unjuſt, than the propagating the true religion, or the deſtroying a falſe one. That is to be left to the providence of God, who can change the hearts of men, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth, when he will. Ambition, and the



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ART. XXXVII.

desire of empire, must never pretend to carry on God's work. *The wrath of man worketh not out the righteousness of God.* And it were better barefacedly to own, that men are set on by carnal motives, than to profane religion, and the name of God, by making it the pretence.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE XXXVIII.

### Of Chriſtian Men's Goods, which are not common.

**The Riches and Goods of Chriſtians are not common, as touching the Right, Title, and Poſſeſſion of the ſame; as certain Anabaptiſts do falſly boaſt. Notwithſtanding, every Man ought of ſuch Things as he poſſeſſeth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor, according to his Ability.**

THERE is no great difficulty in this Article, as there is no danger to be apprehended that the opinion condemned by it is like to ſpread. Thoſe may be for it, who find it for them. The poor may lay claim to it, but few of the rich will ever go into it. The whole charge that is given in the Scripture for charity and almſgiving; all the rules that are given to the *rich*, and to *maſters*, to whom their ſervants were then properties and ſlaves, do clearly demonſtrate, that the Goſpel was not deſigned to introduce a community of goods. And even that fellowſhip or community, which was practiſed in the firſt beginnings of it, was the effect of particular men's charity, and not of any law that was laid on them. *Barnabas having land, ſold it, and laid the price of it at the Apoſtles' feet.* And when St. Peter chid Ananias for having vowed to give in the whole price of his land to that diſtribution, and then withdrawing a part of it, and, by a lie, pretending that he had brought it all in; he affirmed that the right was ſtill in him, till he by a vow had put it out of his power. When God fed his people by miracle with the manna, there was an equal diſtribution made; yet, when he brought them into the promiſed land, every man had his property. The equal diviſion of the land was the foundation of that conſtitution; but ſtill every man had a property, and might improve it by his induſtry, either to the increaſing of his ſtock, the purchaſing houſes in towns, or buying of eſtates, till the redemption at the jubilee. Acts iv. 36, 37.

It can never be thought a juſt and equitable thing, that the ſober and induſtrious ſhould be bound to ſhare the fruits of their labour with the idle and luxurious. This would be ſuch an encouragement to thoſe whom all wiſe governments ought to diſcourage, and would ſo diſcourage thoſe who ought to be encouraged, that all the order of



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ART. XXXVIII.

the world must be dissolved, if so extravagant a conceit should be entertained. Both the rich and the poor have rules given them, and there are virtues suitable to each state of life. The rich ought to be sober and thankful, modest and humble, bountiful and charitable, out of the abundance that God has given them, and not to set their hearts upon uncertain riches, but to trust in the living God, and to make the best use of them that they can. The poor ought to be patient and industrious, to submit to the providence of God, and to study to make sure of a better portion in another state, than God has thought fit to give them in this world.

It will be much easier to persuade the world of the truth of the first part of this Article, than to bring them up to the practice of the second branch of it. We see what particular care God took of the poor in the old dispensation, and what variety of provision was made for them; all which must certainly be carried as much higher among Christians, as the laws of love and charity are raised to a higher degree in the Gospel. Christ represents the essay, that he gives of the day of judgment, in this article of charity, and expresses it in the most emphatical words possible; as if what is given to the poor were to be reckoned for as if it had been given personally to Christ himself: and in a great variety of other passages this matter is so oft insisted on, that no man can resist it who reads them, and acknowledges the authority of the New Testament.

It is not possible to fix a determined quota, as was done under the Law, in which every family had their peculiar allotment, which had a certain charge specified in the Law, that was laid upon it. But under the Gospel, as men may be under greater inequalities of fortune than they could have been under the old dispensation; so that vast variety of men's circumstances makes that such proportions as would be intolerable burdens upon some, would be too light and disproportioned to the wealth of others. Those words of our Saviour come pretty near the marking out every man's measure. *These have of their abundance cast into the offerings of God; but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had. Abundance* is superfluity in the Greek, which imports that which is over and above the *food that is convenient*; that which one can well spare and lay aside. Now, by our Saviour's design, it plainly appears, that this is a low degree of charity, when men give only out of this; though, God knows, it is far beyond what is done by the greater part of Christians. Whereas that which is so peculiarly acceptable to God is when

Luke xxi. 4.

Prov. xxx. 8.

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when men give out of their *penury*, that is, out of what is neceſſary to them; when they are ready, eſpecially upon great and crying occaſions, even to pinch nature, and ſtraiten themſelves within what upon other occaſions they may allow themſelves; that ſo they may diſtribute to the neceſſities of others, who are more pinched, and are in great extremities. By this every man ought to judge himſelf, as knowing that he muſt give a moſt particular account to God, of that which God hath reſerved to himſelf, and ordered the diſtribution of it to the poor, out of all that *abundance* with which he has bleſſed ſome far beyond others.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XXXIX.

### Of a Chriſtian Man's Oath.

**As we confeſs that vain and raſh Swearing is forbidden Chriſtian Men by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and James his Apoſtle; ſo we judge that Chriſtian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a Man may ſwear when the Magiſtrate requireth, in a Cauſe of Faith and Charity, ſo it be done according to the Prophets teaching, in Juſtice, Judgment, and Truth.**

AN oath is an appeal to God, either upon a teſtimony that is given, or a promiſe that is made, confirming the truth of the one, and the fidelity of the other. It is an appeal to God, who knows all things, and will judge all men: ſo it is an act that acknowledges both his omniſcience, and his being the governor of this world, who will judge all at the laſt day according to their deeds, and muſt be ſuppoſed to have a more immediate regard to ſuch acts, in which men made him a party. An appeal, truly made, is a committing the matter to God: a falſe one is an act of open defiance, which muſt either ſuppoſe a denial of his knowing all things, or a belief that he has forſaken the earth, and has no regard to the actions of mortals: or, finally, it is a bold venturing on the juſtice and wrath of God, for the ſerving ſome preſent end, or the gaining of ſome preſent advantage: and which of theſe ſoever gives a man that brutal confidence of adventuring on a falſe oath, we muſt conclude it to be a very crying ſin; which muſt be expiated with a very ſevere repentance, or will bring down very terrible judgments on thoſe who are guilty of it.

Thus, if we conſider the matter upon the principles of natural religion, an oath is an act of worſhip and homage done to God; and is a very powerful mean for preſerving the juſtice and order of the world. All deciſions in juſtice muſt be founded upon evidence; two muſt be believed rather than one; therefore the more terror that is ſtruck into the minds of men, either when they give their teſtimony, or when they bind themſelves by promiſes, and the deeper that this goes, it will both oblige them to the greater caution in what they ſay, and to the greater ſtrictneſs in what they promiſe. Since therefore truth and fidelity are ſo neceſſary to the ſecurity and commerce of the world, and

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and ſince an appeal to God is the greateſt mean that can be thought on to bind men to an exactneſs and ſtrictneſs in every thing with which that appeal is joined; therefore the uſe of an oath is fully juſtified upon the principles of natural religion. This has ſpread itſelf ſo univerſally through the world, and began ſo early, that it may well be reckoned a branch of the law and light of nature. ART. XXXIX.

We find this was practiſed by the Patriarchs: Abimelech reckoned that he was ſafe, if he could perſuade Abraham to ſwear to him by God, that he would not deal falſely with him; and Abraham conſented ſo to ſwear. Either the ſame Abimelech, or another of that name, deſired that an oath might be between Iſaac and him; and *they ſware one to another*. Jacob did alſo ſwear to Laban. Thus we find the Patriarchs practiſing this before the Moſaical Law. Under that Law we find many covenants ſealed by an oath; and that was a ſacred bond, as appears from the ſtory of the Gibeonites. There was alſo a ſpecial conſtitution in the Jewiſh religion, by which one in authority might put others under an *oath*, and *adjure* them either to do ſomewhat, or to declare ſome truth. The law was, that *when any ſoul* (*i. e.* man) *ſinned, and heard the voice of ſwearing* (adjuration), *and was a witneſs whether he hath ſeen it, or known it, if he do not utter it, then he ſhall bear his iniquity*; that is, he ſhall be guilty of perjury. So the form then was, the judge or the parent did adjure all perſons to declare their knowledge of any particular. They charged this upon them with an oath or curſe, and all perſons were then bound by that oath to tell the truth. So Micah came and confeſſed, upon his mother's adjuration, that he had the eleven hundred ſhekels, for which he heard her put all under a curſe; and upon that ſhe bleſſed him. Saul, when he was purſuing the Philiſtines, put the people under a curſe, if they ſhould eat any food till night; and this was thought to be ſo obligatory, that the violation of it was capital, and Jonathan was put in hazard of his life upon it. Thus the High-Prieſt put our Saviour under the oath of *curſing*, when he required him to tell, whether he was the Meſſias or not? Upon which our Saviour was, according to that law, upon his oath; and though he had continued ſilent till then, as long as it was free to him to ſpeak or not, at his pleaſure; yet then he was bound to ſpeak, and ſo he did ſpeak, and owned himſelf to be what he truly was.

Gen. xxi. 23. xxvi. 28. xxxi. 53. Lev. v. 1. Judg. xvii. 2. 1 Sam. xiv. 24, 28, 44. Mat. xxvi. 63, 64.

This was the form of that conſtitution: but if, by practice, it were found that men's pronouncing the words of the oath themſelves, when required by a perſon in authority

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ART. XXXIX.

rity to do it; and that such actions, as their lifting up their hand to heaven, or their laying it on a Bible, as importing their sense of the terrors contained in that book, were like to make a deeper impression on them, than barely the judge's charging them with the *oath* or *curse*; it seems to be within the compass of human authority, to change the rites and manner of this oath, and to put it in such a method as might probably work most on the minds of those who were to take it. The institution in general is plain, and the making of such alterations seems to be clearly in the power of any state, or society of men.

In the New Testament we find St. Paul prosecuting a discourse concerning the *oath*, which God sware to Abraham, *who, not having a greater to swear by, swore by himself*; and to inforce the importance of that, it is added, *an oath for confirmation* (that is, for the affirming or assuring of any thing) *is the end of all controversy*. Which plainly shews us what notion the author of that Epistle had of an oath; he did not consider it as an impiety or profanation of the name of God.

Heb. vi. 13, 14, 15.

Ver. 16.

Rev. x. 5, 6. In St. John's visions an angel is represented as *lifting up his hand, and swearing by him that liveth for ever and ever*: and the Apostles, even in their Epistles, that are acknowledged to be writ by divine inspiration, do frequently appeal to God in these words, *God is witness*; which contain the whole essence of an oath. Once St. Paul carries the expression to a form of imprecation, when he calls *God to record upon* (or against) *his soul*.

Rom. i. 9. Gal. i. 20. 2 Cor. i. 23.

These seem to be authorities beyond exception, justifying the use of an oath upon a great occasion, or before a competent authority; according to that prophecy quoted in the Article, which is thought to relate to the times of the Messias: *And thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness; and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory*. These last words seem evidently to relate to the days of the Messiah: so here an oath religiously taken is represented as a part of that worship, which all nations shall offer up to God under the new dispensation.

Jer. iv. 2.

Against all this the great objection is, that when Christ is correcting the glosses that the Pharisees put upon the law, whereas they only taught that men *should not forswear themselves, but perform their oaths unto the Lord*; our Saviour says, *Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, nor the earth, nor by Jerusalem, nor by the head; but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil*. And St. James,

Matth. v. 34, 35, 36, 37.

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James, ſpeaking of the enduring afflictions, and of the patience of Job, adds, *But above all things, my brethren, ſwear not; neither by the heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, leſt ye fall into condemnation.* It muſt be confeſſed that theſe words ſeem to be ſo expreſs and poſitive, that great regard is to be had to a ſcruple that is founded on an authority that ſeems to be ſo full. But according to what was formerly obſerved of the manner of the judiciary oaths among the Jews, theſe words cannot belong to them. Thoſe oaths were bound upon the party by the authority of the judge; in which he was paſſive, and ſo could not help his being put under an oath: whereas our Saviour's words relate only to thoſe oaths which a man took voluntarily on himſelf, but not to thoſe under which he was bound, according to the law of God. If our Saviour had intended to have forbidden all judiciary oaths, he muſt have annulled that part of the authority of magiſtrates and parents, and have forbid them to put others under oaths. The word *communication*, that comes afterwards, ſeems to be a key to our Saviour's words, to ſhew that they ought only to be applied to their communication or commerce; to thoſe diſcourſes that paſs among men, in which it is but too cuſtomary to give oaths a very large ſhare. Or ſince the words that went before, concerning the performing of vows, ſeem to limit the diſcourſe to them, the meaning of *ſwear not at all*, may be this; be not ready, as the Jews were, to make vows on all occaſions, to devote themſelves or others: inſtead of thoſe, he requires them to uſe a greater ſimplicity in their communication. And St. James's words may be alſo very fitly applied to this, ſince men in their afflictions are apt to make very indiſcreet vows, without conſidering whether they either can, or probably will pay them; as if they would pretend by ſuch profuſe vows to overcome or corrupt God.

ART. XXXIX.

James v. 12.

This ſenſe will well agree both to our Saviour's words and to St. James's; and it ſeems moſt reaſonable to believe that this is their true ſenſe, for it agrees with every thing elſe; whereas, if we underſtand them in that ſtrict ſenſe of condemning all oaths, we cannot tell what to make of thoſe oaths which occur in ſeveral paſſages of St. Paul's Epiſtles: and leaſt of all, what to ſay to our Saviour's own anſwering upon oath, when adjured. Therefore all raſh and vain ſwearing, all ſwearing in the communication or intercourſe of mankind, is certainly condemned, as well as all imprecatory vows. But ſince we have ſo great authorities

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ART. XXXIX.

from the Scriptures in both Teſtaments for other oaths; and ſince that agrees ſo evidently with the principles of natural religion, we may conclude with the Article, that a man may ſwear when the magiſtrate requireth it. It is added, *in a cauſe of faith and charity*; for certainly, in triſling matters, ſuch reverence is due to the holy name of God, that ſwearing ought to be avoided: but when it is neceſſary, it ought to be ſet about with thoſe regards that are due to the great God, who is appealed to. A gravity of deportment, and an exactneſs of weighing the truth of what we ſay, are highly neceſſary here: certainly, our words ought to be few, and our hearts full of the apprehenſions of the majeſty of that God, with whom we have to do, before whom we ſtand, and to whom we appeal, who knows all things, *and will bring every work to judgment, with every ſecret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

INDEX.

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# INDEX.

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Digitized by Google

# INDEX.

A.

ABRAHAM, the poſſibility of a tradition from Adam to him, 96. The occaſion and deſign of a revelation to him, ibid.
Abſolute decrees. See Decrees.
Abſolution, in what ſenſe it ought to be pronounced, 367. The bad effects of the haſty abſolutions of the Church of Rome, 380. As uſed in the Church of England, is only declaratory, 381. This agreeable to the practice of the primitive Church, ibid. A prayer uſed in the Church of Rome after abſolution, 382. This does not mend it, ibid. When this practice was introduced, ibid.
Abſtinence. See Faſting.
Action, whether God is the firſt and immediate cauſe of every action, 42. What it is that denominates an action good or bad, 181. Diſtinction between thoſe that are univerſally binding on all, and ſuch as bind only ſome ſort of men, 186. The judgments to be made of them from appearances, 187.
Acts of Apoſtles, when and by whom wrote, 78.
Acts, no ſucceſſive acts in God, 34.
Adam, wherein the image of God, in which he was created, conſiſted, 150, 151. Whether the death he was threatened with was only natural, 147, 151. Whether by covenant he was conſtituted to repreſent all his poſterity, 154. Of the propagation of his ſin, 155. See Original Sin.
Adoration, God only the proper object of it, 62. What it is, ibid. Chriſt propoſed in the New Teſtament as the object of it, ibid. Ought not to be given to any creature, 63. See Hoſt.
Adultery, on the part of the wife, diſſolves marriage, 389. This agreeable both to the law of nature and the Goſpel, ibid. And to the practice of the primitive Church, ibid. The contrary doctrine of a modern date, 390.
Agobard, Biſhop of Lyons, wrote with great vehemence againſt the worſhip of images, 317.
Ahab, his feigned humiliation rewarded, 181.
Air, greatly improved by the induſtry of man, 40.
Almaric expreſsly denied the corporal preſence, 459. Is condemned by the Lateran Council, and his body raiſed and burnt on that account, ibid.
Almſgiving, a main part of charity, 380. See Charity.
Altar, but one in a church among the primitive Chriſtians, 482.
Ambaſſador, his extenſive power, 369.



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Ambroſe, the variation of that prayer of conſecration, which goes under his name, from that uſed in the maſs, 452.
Ananias, wherein the guilt of his ſin lay, 535.
Anathemas, the form of denouncing them againſt heretics very ancient, 498. What was meant by them, ibid. A great number of them denounced by the Council of Trent, ibid. Thoſe ill-founded cannot hurt, 499. See Cenſures.
Angels, good or bad, are capable of doing many things beyond our reach, 82. Are perfect moral agents, and yet cannot ſin, 160. Worſhipping them expreſsly forbid in the New Teſtament, 330. Invocation of them diſclaimed in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, 331.
Animal ſpirits, their ſubtile nature, 45. Their influence on our managing matter, 82. Receive their quality from that of the blood, 150. Are the immediate organs of thought and ſubtiler parts of the blood, 162. A conjecture how they may excite thought, 164.
Annihilation only in the power of God, 39. A common miſtake about it rectified, ibid. Created beings have not a tendency to it, 40.
Antiquity, not a note of the true Church, 250.
Apocrypha. The Chriſtian Churches were for ſome ages ſtrangers to theſe books, 118. Were firſt mentioned by Athanaſius, ibid. Where, and by whom wrote, ibid. Were left out of the canon by the Council of Laodicea, 119. Were firſt received into it by that of Trent, ibid. Were always denied to be a part of it by the beſt and moſt learned writers, ibid. See Maccabees.
Apoſtles were not the authors of the Creed, which goes by their name, 2, 144. How far they complied with Judaiſm, 9, 274. The difficulties they met with in propagating Chriſtianity, 80. Could not be impoſtors, 81. Nor impoſed on, 83. Their being endowed with extraordinary inſpiration, no argument for a ſucceſſion of infallibility, 287. Of the powers with which our Saviour ſent them, 341. Were not conſtituted Prieſts by our Saviour's words, *Do this*, in the Sacrament, 470. Did not derive their authority from St. Peter, being all equal to him, 519.
Apparitions, there are many hiſtories of them well atteſted, 46. To diſbelieve all unreaſonable, ibid.
Apollinarian hereſy, what it was, 446. Was confuted by many great men of different ages, ibid.
Aquarii, thoſe who uſed water inſtead of wine in the Sacrament, 473. Their reaſon for ſo doing, ibid. Are ſeverely condemned by St. Cyprian, ibid.
Aquinas, Thomas, his notion of providence and free-will, 207. His diſtinction to avoid making God the author of ſin, 208. His doctrine concerning image-worſhip, 319.
Arians, their opinion that Chriſt is a creature of a ſpiritual nature, 65. Councils decree differently concerning this, 282.
Arminians, their opinions of free-will and predeſtination, 203. Were condemned by the Synod of Dort, 211. The occaſion of their becoming the diſtinction of a party inſtead of doctrinal points, ibid. See Remonſtrants.



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Artemon held the ſame opinion of Chriſt as the Socinians, 65.
Articles of the Church of England, objections againſt them, 1. Reaſons for their deſcending to ſo many particulars, 5. The fundamental Article of the Reformation, 6. How, or by whom the Articles were prepared, ibid. What the ſanction of public authority to them implies, 7. Whether they are Articles of Peace only, or of Doctrine, ibid. To the Laity, only Articles of Church-communion, 9. Diſtinction between Articles of Faith and Articles of Doctrine, 8. What the Clergy are bound to by their ſubſcriptions, 9. A royal declaration to end diſputes about this matter, 10. May have different ſenſes, 11. This illuſtrated by the third Article, ibid. Care taken to ſettle the true reading of them, 12. Collations of them with MSS. ibid—19. Difficulty ariſing from the various readings cleared, 20. Expreſs words of Scripture for each Article not neceſſary, 101. Several differences of the preſent from thoſe publiſhed in King Edward's reign, 73, 120, 121, 350, 485. The latitude of the Articles, 9, 236, 347. Fundamental Articles ought not to be too ſtrictly determined, 252. The moderation of the Articles, 10, 158, 160, 237, 411, 528.
Aſſiſtance, the doctrine of inward aſſiſtances proved from Scripture, 163. How they are conveyed to us, 164. The effect of them, ibid.
Athanaſius, his account of the books of the Old Teſtament, 118. And thoſe of the Apocrypha, ibid. Was not author of the Creed, which goes by his name, 142. The condemnatory clauſes of it explained, 143.
Atheiſts, their objections to the argument, from the conſent of mankind, for the being of God, anſwered, 23. Their arguments for the eternity of the world conſidered, 25. That for its being made by chance anſwered, 27. Their objections to miracles anſwered, 28. The notion that the world is a body to God, the foundation of Atheiſm, 33.
Attrition, an imperfect contrition, 377. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, ibid. See Contrition.
Augſburgh confeſſion of faith, on what occaſion it was prepared, 5.
Auguſtin, or Auſtin, his doctrine of original ſin, 154. And of reprobation, ibid. Hated Pelagianiſm, 206. Wherein he differed from the Sublapſarians, 207. Speaks very doubtfully concerning the ſtate of the ſoul after death, 300. A famous paſſage about his mother Monica referred to, 301. His extraordinary relations of miracles not to be credited, 325. His declaration againſt invocation of Saints, 332. Thought that all who were baptized were regenerated, 409. His rule concerning figurative expreſſions, 437.
Auricular Confeſſion. See Confeſſion.
Authority of the books of the Old Teſtament, 99, 109. That of the New, 105, 106. That of the Apocrypha diſproved, 118. That of the Church in religious matters not abſolute, 245. In relation to ceremonies, 270. Diſtinction between that which is founded on infallibility and an authority of order, 274. Lawful



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ful authority in the Church, what it is, 345. Is ſubject to the law of the land, 501. The higheſt act of their authority, 502. That of the Pope, 518, 519. Of the King in eccleſiaſtical matters, 523, 527. See Pope, King, Church.

B.

BAITULIA, the leaſt enſnaring of all idols, 309.
Baptiſm, what it is, 50. The danger of delaying it till death, 197. What gave riſe to this practice, ibid. What neceſſary to make it true and valid, 252. That by laics and by women not null, though irregular, 253. The obligation baptiſm brings us under, 255. Baptiſm no new thing among the Jews in our Saviour's time, 403. Its inſtitution as a federal act was by Chriſt, 404. Wherein the Chriſtian differs from that of St. John, 405. What meant by being born of water, and of the ſpirit, 406. It is a precept, but not a mean neceſſary to ſalvation, ibid. The ends and purpoſes of it, 407. The bad conſequences of maintaining the abſolute neceſſity of it, 409. How it becomes effectual to ſalvation, 410. Wherein it agrees with circumciſion, 412. Baptiſm of infants moſt agreeable to the inſtitution of Chriſt, 413. And to the practice of circumciſion under the Old Teſtament, 414. Why the office for baptizing infants is the ſame with that for perſons of riper age, ibid. Reaſonableneſs of changing the form to ſprinkling, 471.
Baſil, St. his opinion of the ſouls of the martyrs, 326.
Beaſts are not mere machines, 45. May have ſpirits of an inferior order, ibid.
Begetting, the natural meaning of it, 57. What underſtood by it when ſpoken of the Son of God, is beyond our preſent comprehenſion, ibid.
Beginning, what meant by it in the firſt of St. John's Goſpel, 57.
Begotten and born of God, the meaning of theſe expreſſions, 196, 198.
Berengarius, his character, 458. Oppoſed the doctrine of the corporal preſence, ibid. Had many followers, ibid.
Binding and looſing, that power granted equally to all the Apoſtles, 267. What the Jewiſh writers meant by it, 268.
Biſhops, the declaration of their faith was at firſt in very general terms, 3. Which they ſent round them, 4. What obliged them afterwards to make fuller declarations, ibid. A ſucceſſion of them no certain note of a true Church, 251. Why confirmation was in the earlieſt ages reſerved for the Biſhop only, 363. No inſtructions of celibacy given them in the New Teſtament, 486. Many of them in the beſt ages were married, 489. Of their conſecration, 514. Are all equal by their office and character, 519. Authority of thoſe in great ſees only from cuſtom, 520. See Pope.
Blood, a probable conjecture about the natural ſtate of it, 150. Its influence on the animal ſpirits, ibid.



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Body, of the ſtate of our Saviour's body from his death to his reſurrection, 86. Whether it put on a new form in his aſcenſion, 87. Glorified bodies are of a different texture from thoſe of fleſh and blood, 472. See Reſurrection.

Boniface VIII. Pope, claimed a feudatory power in temporals over princes, 262.

Brain, the influence of its diſorder upon the mind, 45. Our thoughts are governed by impreſſions made on it, 161.

Bread in the Sacrament in what ſenſe the body of Chriſt, 418. When dipping it in the wine became a practice, 473. This condemned by the Council of Bracara, ibid.

C.

CALF, golden, what intention the Iſraelites had in making it, 311. The deſign of thoſe calves ſet up by Jeroboam, ibid. See Idolatry.

Calviniſts, how far they agree with St. Auſtin about predeſtination, 207. The peculiar advantages and diſadvantages of their opinions on this ſubject, 232. See Supralapſarians.

Canon. See Scriptures.

Canons of the Church, what reſpect due to them for antiquity, 510. The new canon law different from the old, 509. Ancient canons little regarded by the reformers, ibid. Were brought into deſuetude by the Church of Rome, 510.

Caſſian, his doctrine concerning predeſtination, 206. Is oppoſed and defended by ſeveral, ibid. His collations were in great eſteem, 207.

Catholic, not a note of the true Church, 249.

Celibacy of the Clergy, no rule for it in the Goſpel, 486. Not in the power of the Church to order it, 487. The political advantages of it, ibid. When and by whom it was firſt introduced, 489. The practice of the Church not uniform in it, ibid. Was not impoſed on all the Clergy till the end of the eleventh century, 490. The good and bad conſequences of it, 488, 491. Vows not lawful in this matter, 492. And are not binding, though made, 494. See Oath.

Cenſures of the Church, how to behave under them, 500. What right the Laity have to be conſulted in them, ibid. Are agreeable to the deſign of Chriſtianity, 502. Defects in them no juſt cauſe of ſeparation, ibid. Popery introduced a great variety of rules concerning them, 503. A farther reformation in theſe ſtill wanted, ibid.

Century, the great ignorance that prevailed in the tenth century, 458.

Ceremonial law, was not deſigned to be perpetual, 128. The deſign of its inſtitution, 134. Is now aboliſhed, as become uſeleſs and impoſſible, 135.

Ceremonies, the Church has power to appoint them, 270. The practice of the Jewiſh Church in this matter, ibid. Changes in them ſometimes neceſſary, 271. The practice of the Apoſtles,



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272. When appointed, ought to be obſerved, if lawful, 273, 504. Cautions to be obſerved in appointing them, 273. Unity among Chriſtians, a great reaſon for obſerving them, 505.

Cerinthus denied the divinity of Chriſt in the earlieſt age of Chriſtianity, 59.

Chalice. See Cup.

Chance, the abſurdity of maintaining that the world was made by it, 27. An argument for this opinion anſwered, 28.

Charity and brotherly love, their great uſefulneſs in the Chriſtian religion, 504. Charity to the poor, of the extent of it, 186. What renders it acceptable to God, 380. Is more particularly recommended by the Goſpel, 536. Our Saviour's rule concerning the meaſure of it, ibid.

Charles the Great, a council in his time, and books publiſhed in his name, againſt image-worſhip, 317. Introduced the Roman miſſal into the Gallican Church, 509. Publiſhed many Capitulars concerning eccleſiaſtical matters, 525.

Cherubims that were in the holieſt of all, no argument for image-worſhip, 320.

Children, of their parents' power over them, 412. In what ſenſe they are ſaid to be holy, 413.

Chineſe, their alleged antiquity without foundation, 26.

Chriſm, uſed by the Church of Rome in confirmation, what it is, 364. Might only be conſecrated by the Biſhop, 365. Was applied by preſbyters in the Greek Church, ibid. Great diſputes about it, 366.

Chriſt, in two reſpects the Son of God, 56. In what ſenſe of one ſubſtance with the Father, 57. Proofs of his divinity, ibid. —66. This was early denied by Ebion and Cerinthus, 59. Was the creator of all things, 57. Has all the names, operations, and attributes of God given him, 61. Is propoſed in the New Teſtament as the object of divine worſhip, 63. This not charged as idolatry by the Jews at that time, ibid. The Jews underſtood this part of our religion in a manner conſiſtent with their former ideas, 64. What thoſe were, ibid. The Arian and Socinian hypotheſis concerning him, 65. Is not to be worſhipped as an angel or prophet, but as truly God, 66. Took on him the nature of man, ibid. The two natures united in one perſon, 67. The deſign of uſing the term Perſon, 68. That there ſhall be an end to his mediatorial office, ibid. But not to his perſonal glory, ibid. Of the certainty and deſign of his death, 69. It was not merely in confirmation of his doctrine, and a pattern of ſuffering, 70. Atoned for more than Adam's ſin, 71. In what ſenſe his death is ſaid to be our ſacrifice, ibid. His agony explained, ibid. The reconciliation made by his death not abſolute, and without conditions, 72. Of his deſcent into hell, 73. When and by whom this Article was introduced, ibid. Several different opinions about this, 74, 75. What ſeems to be the true meaning of it, 76. Proof of his reſurrection depends on the authority of the New Teſtament, 77. Several circumſtances concurring to prove it, ibid. 84.

His

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His aſcenſion not capable of ſo full a proof, 85. This depends chiefly on the teſtimony of the Apoſtles and effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, ibid. His reſurrection was brought about by a miracle, 86. Curioſity about the manner of it taxed, ibid. How it may be ſaid he was three days in the grave, ibid. The intention of his ſtaying forty days after on earth, ibid. Of the manner of his aſcenſion, 87. The great authority with which he is veſted, ibid. Of his glorious appearance at the laſt day, 88. Whether he was the mediator of the old, as well as the new diſpenſation, 129. His death applied to thoſe who are incapable of expreſsly laying hold of it, 133. His death the only cauſe of our juſtification, 174. Chriſt alone was without ſin, 191. Of the efficacy and extent of his death, 176, 217. Is our only mediator in point of interceſſion as well as redemption, 330. Why he choſe to ſuffer at the time of the Paſſover, 417. He is the only prieſt, and his death the only ſacrifice under the Goſpel, 479.

Chriſtianity gives much purer ideas of God than the Moſaic diſpenſation, 62. The foundation of, 173. Does not leſſen the temporal authority, 524. Raiſes the laws of love and charity to a high degree, 536. Does not condemn all oaths, 541.

Chriſtians are not exempt from capital puniſhment for great crimes, 530. In what caſe may engage in war, 532. Or go to law, ibid. Are not obliged to have their goods in common, 535. May ſwear on important occaſions, 540.

Chronology, the diverſity of it no ſufficient objection to the authority of the Scriptures, 114.

Chryſoſtom, St. mentions nothing of relics, 326. Denies that any miracles were wrought in his time, ibid. Condemns auricular confeſſion, 373.

Church ought to proportion her rules of communion and cenſure to thoſe of the Goſpel, 198. Of its authority to eſtabliſh doctrines, 245. What a true Church is, 252, 257. May be viſible, though not infallible, 257. Of her power in appointing ceremonies, 270, 271. And in matters of faith, 268. Can make no new terms of ſalvation, 276. The meaning of Chriſt's words, *Tell the Church*, &c. 286. How the Church is the pillar and ground of truth, ibid. There was to be an authority in the Church, 342. What it is, 345. The order ſettled by the Apoſtles was for ſucceeding ages, 343. Every Church an independent body, 510. The reſpect due from one Church to another, ibid. Wherein her authority in oppoſition to the civil magiſtrate conſiſts, 528.

Church of Rome owns the poſitive doctrines of the Church of England, 6. Its tyranny in impoſing its doctrines, 9. Their opinion concerning the Scriptures and traditions confuted, 95. Leave the ſecond Commandment out of their Catechiſm, 140. Maintain that original ſin is quite taken away by Baptiſm, 153. The conſequence of this, ibid. Their doctrine concerning the remiſſion of ſins, 171. The uſe of the Sacraments, 172. And the ſufficiency of inherent holineſs for juſtification, 173. What they call



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call a good work, 178. What they teach concerning the love of God, 184. Their doctrine of ſupererogation confuted, 188. Their diſtinction of mortal and venial ſin, 194. Juſt prejudices againſt its infallibility, 246—268. Their notes of a true Church, 249. Theſe do not agree to their Church, 251. Have erred not only in their living and ceremonies, but in matters of faith alſo, 258. The influence of the Popes on the canons, ceremonies, and government of the Church, ibid. Is guilty of a circle, 249, 277. The abſurdity of this, ibid. Their doctrine concerning purgatory, 290. See Purgatory. Concerning pardons, 305. Of indulgences, 307. Of image-worſhip, ibid. Of worſhipping of relics, 322. Of the invocation of ſaints and angels, 329. Of worſhip in an unknown tongue, 354. Of their five additional Sacraments, 362. Of the intention of the Prieſt being neceſſary to the eſſence of a Sacrament, 400. Of Tranſubſtantiation, 430. Of withholding the cup from the Laity, 469. Of the ſacrifice of the Maſs, 478. Of the celibacy of the Clergy, 485.

Church of England and Rome, wherein they agree, and wherein of different opinions, 146. Anſwer to the queſtion, Where was your Church before Henry VIII. 258. See Articles, Authority.

Circumciſion, why not neceſſary to be continued, 128. Of infants under the Old Teſtament an argument for infant Baptiſm under the New, 414.

Claud of Turin wrote with vehemence againſt image-worſhip, 317.

Clergy, the import of their ſubſcription to the Articles, 10. Their marriage made an argument againſt the Reformation, 485. This not contrary to the purity of divine performances, 486. Thoſe in England were married in the Saxon times, 490. Are ſubject to their Princes in eccleſiaſtical matters, 523. See Celibacy, Councils.

Commandments, or moral law, the nature of it, 136. The two firſt againſt idolatry, 137. The morality of them, ibid. The third againſt not only vain and idle, but falſe ſwearing, 138. The morality of this, ibid. The fourth, in what ſenſe moral and reaſonable, ibid. The rigour of it abated by our Saviour, 139. Theſe four diſtinct Commandments, 140. Why this diviſion is preferred to that of the Church of Rome, ibid. The order of the ſecond table, ibid. The fifth and tenth, how they are the fences of the intermediate four, ibid. In what ſenſe the laſt is moral, 141. Of the obligation of this law upon Chriſtians, ibid.

Communion of the body and blood of Chriſt, the meaning of it explained, 427.

Concomitance, no ſufficient argument for communion only in one kind, 472.

Confeſſion of ſins, the Scripture account of it, 368. Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary, 371. No authority for it in Scripture, ibid. Nor from the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, 372. The firſt occaſion and progreſs of it, ibid. Gave great ſcandal at Conſtantinople, 373. How far the power of the Church extends in

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in this matter, 375. The good and bad effects of it, ibid. Ought to be no law of the Church, becauſe not a law of God, 376. The bad effects of it in the Church of Rome, 376, 503.
Confeſſion of adverſaries, not a note of the true Church, 250.
Confirmation, a very ancient practice, and juſtifiable as uſed in the Church of England, 362. Reaſons why it is no Sacrament, 363. The form of it in the Church of Rome, 364. Whether the Biſhop only ſhould confirm, 365. Great diſputes about this, 366.
Conſecration, the effect of it in the Euchariſt, according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, 430. The virtue of it depends on the intention of the Prieſt, 431. By whom a bell was ordered to be rung at the conſecration, 455. It was an opinion that the Lord's prayer was at firſt the prayer of conſecration, 475.
Conſequences of opinions ought not to be charged as tenets, 233.
Conſtance, Council of, its decree for withholding the cup from the Laity, 475. The abſurdity of it, and cruelty uſed to eſtabliſh it, ibid.
Conſtantia, the legend concerning her great reſpect for Hilarion's body, 325.
Conſtantinople, Council, made no new additions to the Creed, 3. Said that the Holy Ghoſt proceeded from the Father only, 91. Condemned image-worſhip, 316.
Conſubſtantiation, what the Lutherans mean by it, 460. Their doctrine confuted, ibid. Ought not to diſſolve the union of Churches where adoration is not joined with it, 461.
Contrition, the definition of it, 377. Wherein the Church of Rome make it differ from attrition, ibid. Their doctrine concerning it liable to great abuſe, 378.
Corporal Preſence, how the doctrine concerning it came into the Church, 452. The progreſs of it, 453—460. See Tranſubſtantiation.
Covenant, whether God made one with Adam for his poſterity, 154. The tenor of the New Covenant, 198.
Covetouſneſs, the precept againſt it not moral in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, 140. Not a crime more peculiar to the married than the unmarried Clergy, 488.
Councils, cannot be called without the conſent of Princes, 278. Popes were not always conſulted, 279. Have aſſumed the power of cenſuring, depriving, and making Popes, ibid. What makes a Council to be general, 280. The numbers neceſſary, and how cited, ibid. Not of divine inſtitution, becauſe no rules in Scripture concerning them, 281. Several arguments againſt their infallibility, ibid.—288. They have been contrary to one another, 282. Diſorders and intrigues in Councils, ibid. No General Councils pretended in the firſt three centuries, 285. No proſpect of another General Council, ibid. Of the decree of the Council of Jeruſalem, 287. Some General Councils have erred, 288. Doctrines are not to be believed on their authority, ibid.
Creation imports infinite power, 39, 57. The neareſt approach to a true

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a true idea of it, 39, 57. Is aſcribed to Chriſt in the New Teſtament, 61.

Creeds were at firſt conceived in general terms, 2. That which goes by the name of the Apoſtles not made by them, ibid.—144. What probably was the firſt, 2. The occaſion of their being enlarged, 4. Thoſe of Nice and Conſtantinople, 3. None of the three Creeds named with exactneſs, 142. That of Nice is the Conſtantinopolitan, ibid. That of Athanaſius not made by him, ibid. That ſaid to be the Apoſtles, of no great antiquity, 144.

Croſs, a prayer uſed in the conſecration of a croſs, 320.

Crucifixion of Chriſt, and his death, owned by all Chriſtians, 69. Denied by the Docetæ and Mahomet, ibid.

Cup, or Chalice, in the Sacrament, ought to be given to the Laity, 469. This particularly enjoined in the words of inſtitution, ibid. Not to the Clergy only, as Prieſts, 470. This the practice for above a thouſand years, 472. The inſufficiency of concomitance and other arguments advanced againſt it, ibid.—474.

Cyprian owned not the infallibility of Pope Stephen, 263. Made the effect of a Sacrament to depend on the good ſtate of the adminiſtrator, 398.

D.

DAMNATION, to eat and drink their own damnation explained, 425. Damnation ſometimes means temporary puniſhments, ibid.

Daniel, his prophecy of the LXX. Weeks explained, 126.

Death might have been the natural conſequence of Adam's fall, 154. This not to be reſtrained to a natural death, ibid. How this might be tranſmitted to his poſterity, 152. Prayers for the dead, an early practice in the Church, 300. What gave riſe to it, ibid. Tertullian's opinion about it, 301. The abſurdity of maſſes for the dead, 302. The method of commemorating eminent ſaints in the primitive times, 303.

Death-bed repentance, the truſting to it a fatal error, 197, 379.

Decrees of God have been the ſubject of many diſputes, 10, 146. The foundation of the doctrine of abſolute decrees, 155. This ſeems contrary to the nature of God, 156, and expoſes the Chriſtian religion, ibid. Upon what views God formed his decrees concerning mankind, 202. Four opinions concerning them, 203, 204.

Decretal Epiſtles of the firſt Popes, with what view publiſhed, 261. Are univerſally held ſpurious, ibid. Was a forgery of the eighth century, contrived with little art, 454.

Delivery unto Satan, an effect of the extraordinary power of the Apoſtles, 496, 497.

Dipping in Baptiſm, the danger of it in cold climates, a good reaſon for ſprinkling, 471. The cuſtom of dipping the bread in the wine in the Lord's Supper, when introduced, 474. Was condemned by the Council of Bracara, ibid.



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Diſcipline in the Church, the nature and neceſſity of it, 402, 495. That of the primitive Church lay heavieſt on the Clergy, 402. Moderation ought to be obſerved in it, 495.
Divorce lawful in caſe of adultery, 389. Our Saviour's rule in this caſe, ibid. This agreeable to the opinion of the Fathers, ibid. The contrary was not eſtabliſhed till the Council of Trent, 390.
Docetæ, a ſect that denied the death of Chriſt, 69.
Doctrine, the difference between Articles of Faith, and thoſe of Doctrine, 8. The tyranny of impoſing doctrines, 9. Conformity of doctrines with former times not a note of a true Church, 270.
Donatiſts, their notions concerning the Sacraments, 398.
Dulia and Hyperdulia, degrees of worſhip paid to images in the Church of Rome, 320.
Durandus was cenſured by the Church of Rome for his opinion of image-worſhip, 318.

E.

EARTH is greatly improved by man's induſtry, 40. The influence of the wind upon it, 41. See World.
Eating and drinking their own damnation, the meaning of the phraſe, 425. Opinions of ſeveral Fathers concerning eating and drinking Chriſt's body and blood, 467.
Ebion denied the divinity of Chriſt very early, 59.
Edward VI. differences of the Articles in his reign from the preſent, 120, 121, 290, 350, 356, 415, 485, 514, 517.
Egyptians, their alleged antiquity without foundation, 26.
Elders, who they were at the Council of Jeruſalem, 287.
Election, of Election and Predeſtination, 201. See Predeſtination.
Elevation of the Hoſt not known in the firſt ages, 443, 464. What gave riſe to it, ibid. Was not done at firſt, in order to adoration, 465. Who firſt mentions it with that view, ibid.
Eliberis, Council of, condemned pictures on the walls of Churches, 315. Forbid the lighting candles about the tombs of martyrs in day-light, 326, 336.
Elizabeth, Queen, gives authority to require ſubſcriptions to the Articles, 10. A royal declaration for taking them in the literal ſenſe, ibid. Her injunctions concerning ſupremacy, 518.
Elohim, the meaning of it in the Old Teſtament, 48.
Emperors, their authority in eccleſiaſtical affairs, 524.
Endowments were procured by impoſtors in the Church of Rome, 304. By what means the profuſeneſs of them was reſtrained, ibid. When they are to be held ſacred, ibid. The violation of them, when founded on falſe opinions, no ſacrilege, ibid.
Enthuſiaſts, an extravagant ſort of them at the Reformation, 128.
Epheſus, Council, their decree concerning the Holy Ghoſt, 91.
Epicureans ſet all things at liberty, and denied Providence, 204.
Epiphanius, his zeal againſt pictures in Churches, 315. Is ſevere upon the Collyridians for worſhipping the bleſſed Virgin, 336.



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Epiſtles, why the general ones were not ſo early and univerſally received, as the reſt of the New Teſtament, 107.
Erudition, a book publiſhed, called the Neceſſary Erudition, a preliminary to compiling the Articles, 6.
Eternity, in a ſucceſſion of determinate durations impoſſible, 25. Of the world diſproved, 26. See World.
Euchariſt, in what ſenſe it may be called a ſacrifice, 477. The virtue of it, to whom limited, 478. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, ibid. Wherein the virtue of it conſiſts, 480. The importance of the controverſy concerning it, 483. See Lord's Supper.
Eugenius, Pope, does not mention Biſhops as belonging to the ſacrament of orders, 385.
Evil, whether God is the author of it, 42. The being of it in the world, how accounted for by the Remonſtrants, 225. Liberty cannot be aſſerted without it, 233.
Evil ſpirits, what ſort of miracles they can perform, 82.
Eunapius, his ſpiteful repreſentation of the primitive martyrs, 327.
Eutychian hereſy was condemned by the Athanaſian Creed, 142. What it was, 446. Was confuted by ſeveral ancient writers, ibid. The force of their argument explained, 448.
Excommunication, the nature of it, and its neceſſity in ſome caſes, 495—502. Ought not to be done raſhly, 502.
Extreme Unction no Sacrament, 390. A paſſage in St. James, which ſeems to favour it, explained, 391. The deſign and effects of the anointing by the Apoſtles and Elders, 392. The matter and form of it uſed in the Church of Rome, 393. Was not reckoned a Sacrament in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, 395. When, and by whom decreed to be one, ibid. Argument for it anſwered, ibid.

F.

FABRI HONORATUS, the doctrines of the Church of Rome examined in this book, chiefly taken from him, 386. His character, ibid.
Faith, the Scriptures the only and complete rule of it, 95. No articles of it to be allowed, but what are proved from Scripture, 100. An objection againſt this anſwered, 101. What is meant by it in the New Teſtament, 170. How it juſtifies, 174. Is indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſalvation, 175, 407. The nature of juſtifying faith, 175.
Fall of Adam, of its conſequences to him, and his poſterity, 147—158. See Sin.
Faſting, times of faſting, appointing them in the power of the Church, 271. When joined with prayer, its efficacy, 380. In what caſes of no avail, ibid. The abſurdity of pretending to expiate ſins by it, 381.
Fate, the Stoics put all things, even the Gods themſelves, under it, 204. This downright atheiſm, ibid. Was maintained by the Eſſenes,

Digitized by Google

Eſſenes, 204. Is a prevailing opinion among the Mahometans, ibid.
Figures in Scripture, how to be explained, 117. Were frequently made uſe of by Chriſt, 423. Auguſtine's rule for explaining them, 437.
Fire of purgatory, the proof alleged for it examined, 299.
Forgiving injuries, the neceſſity and extent of it, 197.
Forms were ſettled very early in moſt Churches, 2. Theſe not all in the ſame words, ibid. See Creed.
Francfort, Council, condemned the Nicene Council, together with the worſhip of images, 317.
Free-will, wherein it conſiſts, 160. See Liberty.
Frumentius preached to the Indians before he was ordained, 348.
Future ſtate was looked for under the Old Teſtament, 132. But is brought to a much clearer light by the Goſpel, 133.

G.

GEHENNA, Hell known by that name among the Jews, 76. Gelaſius, Pope, condemns the communicating in one kind only as ſacrilege, 473.
General Council. See Council.
Gentiles, their prejudices againſt Chriſtianity, 81.
German and Lupus reform Britain from Pelagianiſm, 206. A legendary miracle ſaid to be wrought by them, ibid.
Gnoſtics pretended to traditions from the Apoſtles, 100. Their opinion concerning the ſoul, 205. Were deteſted by all Chriſtians for idolatry, 315.
God, his exiſtence proved from the univerſal conſent of mankind, 22. Objections, that ſome nations do not believe a Deity, and that it is not the ſame belief amongſt them all, anſwered, 23. The viſible world and hiſtory of nations, prove a Deity, 24—27. Whence the notion of a plurality of Gods might take its riſe, 24. The argument from miracles conſidered, 28. And from the idea of God, 29. This not the moſt concluſive, ibid. Muſt be eternal, and neceſſarily exiſts, ibid. His exiſtence ought not to be proved from Scripture, 30. His unity proved from the order of the world, and from the idea of infinite perfection, 31. From the Scriptures, ibid. Is without body or parts, 32. The origin of the notion of a good and bad God, ibid. The world not a body to God, 33. The outward manifeſtations and bodily parts aſcribed to God in Scripture, how to be underſtood, ibid. No ſucceſſive acts in God, 34. Queſtion concerning his immanent acts, ibid. Is without paſſions, 35. The meaning of Scriptures, which aſcribe theſe to him, ibid. Is of infinite power, 36. Objections to this anſwered, ibid. Wherein his wiſdom conſiſts, and a twofold diſtinction of it, ibid. True ideas of his goodneſs of great importance, 37. Wherein it conſiſts, ibid. And how limited, 38. Has a power of creating and annihilating, 36, 39. Is the preſerver of all things, 40. This a conſequence of his being infinitely perfect, 41. Objection againſt his providence anſwered,

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anſwered, 42. Whether he does immediately produce all things, 43. Or is the author of evil, ibid. All agree that the Father is truly God, 53. Juſt notions of him the fundamental article of all religion, ibid. 135. The beſt manner of framing an idea of him, ibid. Is the only proper object of adoration, 62. In what ſenſe called the God of Abraham, &c. long after they were dead, 131. Image of God in which man was created, wherein it conſiſted, 150. Diſtinction between the methods of his goodneſs and the ſtrictneſs of his juſtice, 181. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning our love of God, 184. His view in forming his decrees, 202. What meant by his hardening Pharaoh's heart, 228. The impiety of ſpeaking too boldly of him, 233.

Goods, the unreaſonableneſs of a community of them, 535.

Good works. See Works.

Goſpel condemns all idolatry, 62. The deſign of it, 80. Refines upon the law of Moſes, 138.

Government was ſettled in the Church by the Apoſtles, 343. The neceſſity of Church-Government, 344.

Grace, aſſiſting and preventing grace aſſerted and proved from Scripture, 162—166. A probable conjecture concerning the conveyance of actual grace, 164. The efficacy and extent of it, 167, 214, 217, 229.

Greek Church, wherein they differed from the Latins, 92.

Gregory I. Pope, condemns worſhipping of images, 316. The IId. declares for them, ibid. The IXth firſt ordered the adoration of the Hoſt as now practiſed, 455. Gregory the Great, his violent oppoſition to the title of Univerſal Biſhop, 521.

H.

HEAD of the Church, in what ſenſe Chriſt is the only head of the Church, 529. And in what ſenſe the King is called the Head, ibid.

Hebrews, why the authority of the Epiſtle to them was doubted, 106. Proofs of its authority, ibid.

Heliodorus, a Biſhop, author of the firſt romance, 490. Propoſed that Clergymen ſhould live from their wives, ibid.

Hell, three different ſenſes of it, 11. Of Chriſt's deſcent into Hell, 73. See Chriſt. The gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church, the meaning of this, 266.

Henry VIII. ſeveral ſteps towards reformation, and the foundation of the Articles were laid in his time, 6.

Hereſies occaſioned the enlargement of Creeds, 4.

Heretics, ſeveral of them pretended to traditions from the Apoſtles, 100. When the doctrine of extirpating them took place, 458.

Hezekiah commended for breaking the Brazen Serpent, 324.

Hilarion, a fabulous ſtory of his body and tomb, 325.

Hobbes grafted fate and abſolute neceſſity on the Supralapſarian hypotheſis, 212.



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Holineſs of life, not a note of the Church, 250. A twofold ſenſe of holineſs in Scripture, 413.
Holy Ghoſt, or Holy Spirit, what meant by it in the Old and New Teſtament, 89. Is properly a diſtinct perſon in the Trinity, 90. Curioſities about his proceſſion to be avoided, 91. Decrees of ſeveral Churches and Councils about it, ibid. The doctrine of the Church of England concerning it, 92. Is truly God, ibid. His teſtimony not a ſufficient argument to prove the canon of the Scriptures, 104. Of the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, 195, 198. *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us*, the meaning of this, 287. Of the form, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, in Ordination, 515.
Homilies of the Church of England, their names, 511. When and on what account they were compoſed, ibid. The meaning of the approbation of them, 512. Ought to be read by all who ſubſcribe them, ibid. The meaning of their being ſaid to be *neceſſary for theſe times*, 513.
Honorius, Pope, was condemned as a Monothelite, 260. The IVth firſt appointed the adoration of the Hoſt, 455.
Hoſt, adoration of it, by whom firſt introduced, 455. Is plain idolatry, 461. Argument for it anſwered, 462. Reſerving, carrying it about, and the elevation of it without foundation in Scripture, or primitive practice, 463, 464.
Hus, John, met with great cruelty from the Church of Rome, 475.

I.

JAMES I. King, his declaration concerning the ſubſcription of the Articles, 10.
Janſenius publiſhed a ſyſtem of St. Auſtin's doctrine, 209. On what account his book was condemned at Rome, 210.
Iberians were converted by their King before he was baptized, 349.
Idolatry, the neceſſity of guarding againſt it at the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, 4. What makes it a great ſin, 38, 137. The Jews were particularly jealous of every thing that ſavoured of it, 58. The deſign both of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religion to baniſh it, 62. By what means the ſeed of Abram were preſerved from it, 96. The nature and immorality of it, 137, 309. General rules concerning it, 308. Several kinds of it among the heathens, ibid. Was very ſtrictly prohibited among the Jews, 309. This owing chiefly to the Egyptian idolatry, 310. The expoſtulations of the Prophets againſt it, ibid. How practiſed by the Iſraelites, 311. Is contrary to the nature and perfections of God, 313. St. Paul condemns the idolatry of the Greeks and Romans, ibid. The refined notions of the Athenians concerning it, ibid. Was much condemned by the writers of the firſt four centuries, 314.
Idols, inchantment in ſacrifices offered to them, 428. Chriſtians not to partake of them, ibid.
Jehu rewarded, though acting with a bad deſign, 182.



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Jerome, St. once admired, but afterwards oppoſed Origen's doctrine, 205. Maintained that no Chriſtian would finally periſh, 298. Set a high value on relics, 323. But diſclaims the worſhipping of them, ibid. Said that the ſouls of the ſaints might be in ſeveral places at once, 328.

Jerom of Prague ſuffered cruelly by the Roman Catholics, 475.

Jeſuits, wherein they differed from the Semipelagians, 208. What gave them great merit at Rome, 209.

Jews, their averſion to idolatry and Chriſtianity, 58. Did not charge Chriſtianity with idolatry, 63. Their notions of God, 64. Their notion of the ſtate of the ſoul after death, 76, 296. Expected the Meſſias to be a conqueror, 81, 98. Were always rebellious, 110. Wherein the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions differed from thoſe of the heathen, 112. Their objections againſt the authority of the New Teſtament, 127. Looked for more than tranſitory promiſes, 132. Believed that ſome ſins cannot be expiated by ſacrifices, ibid. Of their ceremonial, judiciary, and moral laws, 134, 135, 136. Imagined that the ſouls of all mankind were in Adam's body, 157. The diſtinguiſhing point of the Jewiſh from the Chriſtian religion, 217. Their religion had a period fixed to it, 257. Had many rites not mentioned in the Old Teſtament, 270. Fell into great errors, though the keepers of the oracles of God, 276. Believe that every Jew ſhall have a ſhare in the world to come, 297. They prayed only to God, 330. Of the office of their High Prieſt, 347. Had their worſhip in a known tongue, 351. Their authority over their children, 412. Were ſtrictly prohibited the eating of blood, 419. Their objections to Chriſtianity, 441.

Images, the worſhipping even the true God by them expreſsly forbidden, 311. In Churches when introduced, 315. Great debates about them, 316. Foundation of image-worſhip laid by the Council of Nice, 317. Is carried much farther by the modern Church of Rome, ibid. Thoſe of the Egyptians and Chineſes leſs ſcandalous, 318. The deciſion of the Council of Trent in this matter, 319. Reaſon for enlarging on this ſubject, 320. The argument in favour of them drawn from the Cherubims anſwered, ibid. The ſum of the arguments againſt them, 321. The corruptions occaſioned by worſhipping them, 322.

Immaterial ſubſtance, proof of its being in us, 44. Its nature and operations, ibid. Objections againſt it anſwered, ibid. There may be other intellectual ſubſtances which have no bodies, 46. Theſe beings were created by God, and are not rays of his eſſence, 47.

Impoſition of hands, a neceſſary rite in giving orders, 383.

Indulgences, the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome concerning them, 305. When introduced and eſtabliſhed, ibid. The abuſe of them gave riſe to the Reformation, 306. The pretences for them examined, ibid. No foundation for them in Scripture or in the firſt ten centuries, 307. The natural ill tendency of them, ibid. See Pardons.



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Induſtry of man, of great advantage to the earth and air, 40.
Infallibility, proofs of it ought to be very expreſs, 245. Is not to be inferred from the neceſſity of it, 246. General conſiderations againſt it, ibid. Miracles, though neceſſary, not pretended to ſupport it, 247. The Jewiſh had a better claim to it than the Roman Church, ibid. Reaſons why it cannot be proved from Scripture, 248. A circle not to be admitted, 249. Notes of the Church no proof of it, ibid. Argument againſt the infallibility both of Popes and General Councils, 263. Proofs from Scripture anſwered, 266. The importance of this controverſy, 268. No determination where it is fixed, 282.
Infants are by the law of nature and nations in the power of their parents, 412. Argument from circumciſion for infant Baptiſm, ibid. This agreeable to the inſtitution of Chriſt, 413, 414.
Infinite, time nor number cannot be infinite, 25. Difference betwixt an infinite ſucceſſion of time, and compoſition of matter, 26.
Injuries, our Saviour's words concerning them explained, 531.
Innocent I. Pope, his Epiſtle advanced to favour the chriſm, does not prove it, 393. The VIIIth granted licenſe to celebrate the Lord's Supper without wine in Norway, 471. The IVth ſaid that all might have the cup who were cautious that none of it was ſpilt, 474.
Inſects, the argument for chance from the production of them conſidered, 27.
Inſpiration, a general notion of it, 114. Several kinds and degrees of it, ibid. Different ſtyles in thoſe degrees, 115. Diſtinguiſhed from enthuſiaſm and impoſture by miracles and prophecy, 116. Of individual words, or ſtrict order of time, not neceſſary, ibid.
John, St. the paſſage concerning the Trinity in his firſt Epiſtle doubtful, 52. The beginning of his Goſpel explained, 57. This confirmed by the ſtate of the world at that time, 58.
Jonas of Orleans wrote againſt image worſhip, 317.
Joſephus, his account of the books of the Old Teſtament, 118.
Joſias, what thoſe books of the law were which were diſcovered in his time, 111.
Irenæus, his care to prove the authority of the Goſpel, 105.
Judgment, private, ought to be allowed in religious matters, 255.
Julian the Apoſtate, though he reproaches the Chriſtians for Baptiſm, does not charge them with the abſurdities of Tranſubſtantiation, 441. Objected that the Chriſtians had no ſacrifices, 481.
Juſt, or juſtified, two ſenſes of theſe words, 168.
Juſtification, ſeveral miſtaken notions of it, 128. Whence they proceeded, ibid. The law of Moſes not ſufficient to juſtify, 168. The condition of our juſtification, 169, 172. The difference between St. Paul and St. James on this ſubject explained, 170. Inherent holineſs not the cauſe of juſtification, 173. What we ought to believe concerning it, and the proper uſe to be made of this doctrine, 176.



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K.

KEYS, of the power of them committed to St. Peter, 267. Kingdom of Heaven, what meant by it in the Gospel, 267.
Kings, their authority founded on Scripture, 523. And practice of the primitive Church, 524. This does not depend on their religion, 527. Cannot make void the laws of God, ibid.
King of England declared head of the Church, 517. This claimed very early by them, 525.
Kiss of Peace, a practice of the apostolic times, why let fall, 271.

L.

LAITY, were of great use to the Church in times of persecution, 500. Had a right to be consulted in the decisions of the primitive Church, ibid. How far required to submit to the Clergy, 501, 502.
Languages, the gift of them to the Apostles, a strong proof of Christianity, 79.
Laodicea Council, their catalogue of the canonical books, 119. Why the book of the Revelation was not in it, ibid. Condemned those who invocated angels, 332.
Latria, a degree of religious worship, the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome concerning it, 318, 319, 320.
Laud, Archbishop, falsely accused with corrupting the doctrine of the Church, 20. Espoused the Arminian tenets, 211.
Law, not binding the consciences of those of a different persuasion, 7. In what sense the laws of the Jews are said to be statutes for ever, 127. Why not always observed, 128. Errors that flowed from mistaking the word Law in the New Testament, 129. The design of the ceremonial law, 134. It is now abrogated, 135. Judiciary laws of the Jews belonged only to them, ibid. What is meant by the moral law, 136. Laws of the Church in matters indifferent are not unalterable, 507.
Lay Administrations in the Church not lawful, 341—344. Lay-Baptism, how introduced, 409.
Liberius, Pope, condemned Athanasius, and subscribed to Semiarianism, 260.
Liberty, several opinions about it, 160. Wherein it consists, 161. The notions of the Stoics, Epicureans, Philosophers, and Jews, concerning it, 204. That of the Fathers, 205, 206. What coaction is consistent with it, 218. The Remonstrants' notion of it, 224. Several advantages and temptations that attend the different opinions, 232. See Predestination.
Limbus Infantum, a supposed partition in hell for children that die without Baptism, 154.
Limbus Patrum, what, 75. Without foundation in Scripture, ibid.
Lombard, Peter, the first that reckons seven sacraments, 362.
Lord's Supper, the change made in the Article concerning it in Queen Elizabeth's reign, 415. The importance of the controversy

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verſy with the Church of Rome concerning it, 416, 429. The words of the inſtitution explained, 417—422. The deſign of it, 424. Who are unworthy receivers of it, 425. The danger of this, ibid. 466. Of the good effects of worthy receiving, 426. What meant by the communion of the body and blood of Chriſt, 427. Of receiving it in both kinds, 469.

Lucifer, the common notion of his ſin, 60.

Lucretius owns that the world had a beginning, 26. His argument for chance from the production of inſects, anſwered, 27.

Luther, what determined him to embrace St. Auſtin's opinions, 208. Whether he aſſerted free-will, 210.

Lutherans have univerſally gone into the Semipelagian opinions, 210. Their doctrine of Conſubſtantiation, 460. Wherein it differs from Tranſubſtantiation, 461.

Lie, what is the loweſt, and what the higheſt act of that kind, 308.

M.

MACCABEES, the firſt book commended, 297. The ſecond of little authority, ibid. The argument in favour of purgatory taken from this book confuted, 298.

Macedonians denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, 91. This hereſy condemned by the Athanaſian Creed, 142.

Mahomet denied the death of Chriſt, 69.

Mahometans, one ſect aſſert liberty, but the generality fate, 204. Maintain that men of all religions are equally acceptable to God, 239.

Magiſtrate, the extent of his authority in ſacred things, 504.

Man, though all reſemble one another, yet each have their peculiar difference, 27.

Manichees denied the authority of the Goſpels, 105. Scarce deſerved the name of Chriſtians, 108. Their abſurd opinions, ibid. Concerning the Old and New Teſtament, 121. Of original ſin, 149. Did not uſe wine in the Sacrament, 473.

Marcionites, their opinions, 105, 205. Are oppoſed by Origen, ibid.

Marriage, in what degrees, and why, unlawful, 136. Why it ought to be for life, 137. The meaning of that paſſage, *Such as marry do well, but ſuch as marry not do better*, 186, 492. Is no ſacrament, 386. In what ſenſe a myſtery, ibid. The bad conſequences of the Romiſh doctrine on this ſubject, ibid. Is diſſolved by adultery, 389. The practice of the Church in this matter, 390. Whether a Chriſtian may marry an Infidel, 412. That of the Clergy lawful, 485. Is recommended equally to all ranks of men, 486. Is one of the rights of human nature, ibid. Several of the Apoſtles and Fathers of the primitive Church were married, ibid.

Martyrs, the regard due to their bodies, 322. This being carried too far degenerates into ſuperſtition, 323.

Maſs, the abſurdity of ſaying maſſes for the dead, 302. This was



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the occaſion of great endowments, 303. As practiſed in the Church of Rome not known in the primitive ages, 482. What was underſtood by it in the primitive Church, ibid. Solitary maſſes not known to them, ibid. The bad effects of them, 303, 483.

Matter, of the diviſibility of it, 25. A difference between the ſucceſſion of time, and the diviſibility of matter, 26. Is a paſſive principle, 28, 54. Is not capable of thought, 44. Objections to this anſwered, 45. How the mind acts on it, we cannot diſtinctly conceive, ibid. Had its firſt motion from the Eternal Mind, 54. The great influence of the animal ſpirits on it, 82.

St. Matthew's and St. Mark's Goſpel, Papias, his account of them, 105.

Maurus Rabanus wrote againſt the Corporal Preſence, 456.

Melito, Biſhop of Sardis, his account of the books of the Old Teſtament, 118.

Memories of the Martyrs, what, 326, 327.

Merit of Congruity, what meant by it, 182. There is no ſuch merit, ibid. See Works.

Meſſias, the revelation thoſe before and under the law had of one, 122. Jews have long had, and ſtill have, an expectation of him, ibid. Proofs of the Meſſias from the Old Teſtament, ibid. 125. Daniel very expreſs in this matter, 126. The proofs ſummed up, 127. The objections of the Jews anſwered, ibid.

Metaphor, no good foundation for argument, 287, 293.

Middle Knowledge, what meant by it, 37, 209.

Millennium, an account of it, 296.

Mind. See Soul.

Miniſters, their unworthineſs hinders not the effect of the ſacraments, 398. Their intention not neceſſary to the eſſence of a ſacrament, 400. Ought to be cenſured for their faults, 402.

Miracles well atteſted a proof of the being of a God, 29. A diſtinct idea of them, 55. The nature and deſign of them, 81, 436. How to know if they are performed by good or evil ſpirits, 82. Of thoſe wrought by Moſes, 110. The ſpiteful conſtruction put upon thoſe of our Saviour by the Jews, 195. Are neceſſary to prove infallibility, 246. The inſtruments of them not to be ſuperſtitiouſly uſed, 324. Were not to be attempted without an inward impulſe, 392. Are an appeal to our ſenſes, 434. Thoſe that are contrary to our ſenſes not to be believed, 435. The abſurdity of thoſe pretended in the Church of Rome, 430, 437.

Miſſals, thoſe of the Gallican Church different from the Roman, 509.

Molina and Fonſeca invented the middle or mean ſcience, 209. What meant by it, ibid.

Moral evil, how reconciled with providence, 42. The occaſion of phyſical evil, ibid.



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Moral Law. See Commandments.
Morality, the ſources of it, 136. Two orders of moral precepts, ibid. Religion the foundation of it, 137.
Moſes, the deſign of the Moſaical religion, 62. God's deſign in ordering him to put things in writing, 96. His miracles a proof of his divine miſſion, 110. The deſign and authority of his writings, ibid. His laws not unalterable, 128. Of the covenant he made between God and the Iſraelites, 129. The ſeveral things he ſuppoſed known, 130. The Jews had better reaſon to invoke him, than Chriſtians have any ſaint under the Goſpel, 329.
Myſteries that contradict reaſon are not to be believed, 435.

N.

NATALITIA, the day of a ſaint's death, ſo called, 301. Nature, though we cannot fix the bounds of it, we can know what goes beyond it, 81.
Nazianzen, his complaints of Councils, 282.
Neceſſary, whether God's acts are ſo, 34.
Neceſſary Erudition, the title of a book, publiſhed at the beginning of the Reformation, 6.
Neceſſary exiſtence muſt belong to God, 30.
Neceſſity juſtifies breaking through rules of worſhip, 348.
Nectarius, Biſhop of Conſtantinople, what occaſioned him to forbid confeſſion, 373.
Negative, why to be maintained in points of faith, and not in matters of fact, or theories of nature, 6.
Neſtorius, his doctrine concerning the perſon of Chriſt, 68. Concerning the Bleſſed Virgin, 327. His hereſies are condemned in the Athanaſian Creed, 142.
Nice, Council, compoſed their Creed out of many former ones, 3. What they determined concerning the Trinity, 52. Aſſerted the worſhip of images, 317. Was rejected in England on that account, ibid. The hiſtory and acts of that Council give a bad opinion of them, ibid. The nature of that worſhip they allowed to images, 318.
Nicene Creed, an account of it, 142.
Nicolaitans, a name of reproach given to the married Clergy, 491.
Notes, the pretended ones of the true Church examined, 249.
Novatians oppoſed the receiving the lapſed into the Church, 197, 372.

O.

OATHS, ill and raſhly made, ought not to be kept, 494. What an oath is, 538. A falſe one, what, ibid. Oaths were very early uſed, 539. Are lawful among Chriſtians, 540. Objections againſt them anſwered, 541. All vain and raſh ſwearing condemned, ibid. When and in what manner they ought to be taken, 542.



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Oil began very early to be uſed in ſacred rites, 364, 393. What probably introduced it, ibid. That uſed by the Apoſtles was attended with a miraculous effect, 390. The form of applying it in the Church of Rome, 393. This is of a modern date, 394. Argument from the fitneſs of it anſwered, 395.

Old Teſtament. See Scriptures.

Opinions, a rule to be obſerved in repreſenting different opinions, 159. In what caſe opinion is no excuſe for ſin, 462.

Opus Operatum, or the act of receiving the ſacraments not ſufficient to convey grace, 358.

Orders, the different ranks of them in the Church, 382. No ſacrament, 383. What the eſſentials of them are, ibid. Validity of thoſe of the Church of England, 514. See Paſtors.

Ordination by Laymen valid, 349. The form of it in the Greek Church, 383. In the Church of Rome, ibid. 384. Several regulations about them, 514. The phraſe, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, which is uſed in them, explained and vindicated, 515.

Origen, his care in ſettling the canon of the New Teſtament, 105. His opinion of the ſoul, free-will, and providence, 205. His doctrine was much followed, ibid.

Original ſin, various opinions about it, 147—149. What the Scriptures teach concerning it, 149. How it may be conveyed, 150. The conſequences of it more than a natural death, 151. The effects of it not quite taken away by Baptiſm, 153.

Overal, Biſhop, eſpouſed the Arminian tenets, 211.

P.

PAGANS not excuſed from idolatry, becauſe they worſhipped the true God under their idols, 461.

Papias, who converſed with the Apoſtles, his account of the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, 105.

Papiſts. See Church of Rome.

Parable, conſequences to be drawn from the ſcope of them, and not from particular phraſes, 293.

Paradiſe, what notion the Jews had of it, 76.

Pardon of ſin, the conditions of it, 37. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning pardons, 305. The abuſe and bad conſequences of it, 190, 305. This gave riſe to the Reformation, 190, 306. The pretence of their being only an exemption from penance examined, ibid. Is without foundation in Scripture or antiquity, 307.

Parents, their authority over their children by the Jewiſh conſtitution, 411. This agreeable to Chriſtianity and the law of nature, 412. Their obligation more particularly to take care of their ſouls, 414.

Paris Council condemned image-worſhip, 317.

Paſſion defined, 35. In what ſenſe aſcribed to God, ibid. Its influence, 161.

Paſſover, the original and deſign of its inſtitution, 417. A type of our deliverance by the Meſſias, ibid.



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Paſtors, a ſucceſſion of them ought to be in the Church, 341. This to continue till the end of the world, 342. And did not belong to the infancy of Chriſtianity only, 343. The danger of taking this office without a due vocation, 344. Who are lawfully called, 345. Lawful authority, what, ibid. Where the juriſdiction is fixed in the Church of Rome, 348. What may be done in caſes of neceſſity, ibid. Inſtances of lay-preachers, ibid.

Patriarchal authority of the ſee of Rome is diſſolved with that empire, 522.

Pelagius, his opinion of original ſin, 147. Objections againſt it, ibid. His opinion of liberty, 162, 205. His character, 205. Is oppoſed by ſeveral learned men, 206. Had many followers in Britain, ibid.

Penance, a long one impoſed on ſinners in the primitive times, 190. Whence the word is derived, 366. The ſeveral acts of it, ibid. No characters of a Sacrament in it, 367. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, 368. No Sacrament, becauſe of a modern date, ibid. Many canons about it, 372. The ancient diſcipline ſlackened, 374. Whether penance is to be performed before abſolution, 378. The abſurdity of the doctrine of the Church of Rome on this ſubject, 379. What is the true penance enjoined by the Goſpel, 380.

Perfection, no councils of perfection in the New Teſtament, 184. A paſſage in the xixth of St. Matthew, which ſeems to imply this, explained, 185. In what ſenſe we are called to be perfect as God and Chriſt, 192. The Scripture repreſents the beſt of men as imperfect, ibid. This is no encouragement to live in ſin, 193.

Perſeverance, a neceſſary conſequence of abſolute decrees, 219.

Perſon, reſulting from the conjunction of two natures, what, 67. What meant by Chriſt's having one perſon, 68. Of the perſonality of the Holy Ghoſt, 91.

St. Peter, of the authority committed to him, 266. Had no ſuperiority, 519. Was withſtood by St. Paul, ibid.

Phariſees aſſerted free-will and providence, 204.

Philoſophers, their opinion of matter, 32. Deſpiſed revelation, ſecret aſſiſtances, and miracles, 81. Their account of original ſin, and the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, 149. Were puzzled about free-will and providence, 204. Were not ſo groſs idolaters as the vulgar among the heathens, 309.

Philoſophy was new modelled to explain Tranſubſtantiation, 439.

Photinus, his opinion of Chriſt, 65.

Pictures in Churches condemned by the Council of Eliberis, 315. Soon led to idolatry, 316.

Plato, his opinion of the ſoul after death, 296. Was probably the ſource of purgatory, 297.

Polycarp, a remarkable paſſage concerning his body, 324.

Popes, when they took the full power of indulgences to themſelves, 190. Have been condemned for hereſy, 260. Their ambition,



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forgeries, and cruelties, 261. Of their pretended power over Princes, 262. Arguments againſt their infallibility, 258, 263. Alleged proofs of it anſwered, 266. Several abſurdities in aſſerting it, ibid. Were not much conſulted in calling ſome Councils, 279. Of the pardons and indulgences granted by them, 305. Have been the moſt wicked ſucceſſion of men hiſtory has produced, 454. Their authority was pretended to long before their infallibility, 518. Their juriſdiction founded on a forgery, 521, 525. The extent of their claim, and by whom completed, 522. See Church of Rome.

Prayer, what outward geſtures proper for it, 62. Prayers for the dead an early practice in the Church, 300. What gave occaſion to it, ibid. Tertullian's opinion of them, 301. Why not practiſed in the Church of England, ibid. Prayers in an unknown tongue. See Worſhip. The great efficacy of prayer with right diſpoſitions, 380, 381. The abſurdity of appointing prayers as a taſk, 381.

Preaching of the Apoſtles, the nature of it, and wherein it differed from that of their ſucceſſors, 411.

Precepts, wherein they differ from the means of ſalvation, 406.

Predeſtination, the controverſy about it reduced to a ſingle point, 202. Three main queſtions that ariſe out of it, ibid. Various opinions about it, 203. Hiſtory of the controverſy concerning it both in ancient and modern times, 204—212. General reflections on the ſubject, 231. The advantages and diſadvantages of the ſeveral opinions, 232. Points in which all are agreed, 235. How far the Article has determined in this controverſy, ibid. The deſign of the cautions added to it, 236. Paſſages in the Liturgy concerning it explained, 237. The impartiality obſerved in treating this ſubject, 238.

Preſcience, the notions of the Supralapſarians concerning it, 213. Thoſe of the Sublapſarians, 221. The certainty of it is not caſual, but eventual, 226. A conditionate preſcience agreeable to Scripture, ibid.

Preſence, real, the meaning of it as taught by the Church of England, 429. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, 430. The myſtical preſence is acknowledged by them, 437. Whence the controverſy about the matter of the preſence took its riſe, 456.

Preventing grace, proof of it, 165. Of the efficacy and extent of it, 167. See Grace.

Prieſt, the rules concerning the High Prieſt of the Jews diſpenſed with in caſes of neceſſity, 348. The Jewiſh notion of a Prieſt, 479. Chriſt was both a Prieſt and Sacrifice, ibid.

Primaſius, his compariſon of the Euchariſt, 451.

Private judgment, objections againſt it anſwered, 255. Is allowed by the Church of Rome, ibid.

Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, we can have no explicit idea of it, 91. Yet ought to be believed, 92.

Promiſes, whether any other than temporary under the old diſpenſation,

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ſation, 129. Thoſe that were national only temporary, 130. Particular perſons had a proſpect of a future ſtate, ibid. Proofs of this, 131.
Prophecy, not a mark of the true Church, 250. Of thoſe relating to the Meſſias, 122—127.
Prophetical writings, why dark and obſcure, 115.
Providence, wherein it conſiſts, 41. How the difficulty of conceiving it may be removed, ibid. Objections againſt it conſidered, 42. The neceſſity of it, 43. Was denied by the Epicureans and Sadducees, 204. How the great deſigns of it are carried on, 227.
Puniſhments, the temporal ones of good men, no argument for the reſerve of others in another ſtate, 292. The lawfulneſs and neceſſity of capital puniſhments, 529. The meaſure and extent of them, 530.
Purgatory, the doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, 290. No foundation for it in Scripture, 291. Arguments for it conſidered, 292—294. Reaſons for rejecting it, 294. A middle ſtate not warranted from Scripture, ibid. Different opinions about the ſtate after death, 296. The ſources of this doctrine, 297. Argument from Maccabees examined, ibid. A paſſage from the New Teſtament alleged in favour of it conſidered, 299. Not known for the firſt ſix hundred years, 300. Was never received by the Greek Church, ibid. Is a remnant of paganiſm, ibid. The great abuſes of this doctrine, 304. Political reaſons are not ſufficient to ſupport it, ibid.

R.

RADBERT, Paſchaſe, the firſt who aſſerted and explained the corporal preſence, 456. Was oppoſed by all the eminent men of his time, ibid.
Ratramne, his account of the real preſence, 457.
Real preſence, the meaning of it in the doctrine of the Church of England, 429. The abſurdity of the Romiſh doctrine on this head, 430—438. See Tranſubſtantiation.
Reconciliation by the death of Chriſt is not abſolute and without conditions, 72.
Redemption, the Remonſtrants' notion of its extent, 227.
Reformation, why many wild ſects ſprang up with it, 5. The fundamental article on which it depends, 6. The main ground upon which it is juſtified, 104. What occaſioned the firſt beginnings and progreſs of it, 306.
Reformed, their different opinions concerning free-will and predeſtination, 210.
Reformers, reaſons for their deſcending into ſo many particulars, 5. Put Chriſtianity on its right foundation, 173. Thoſe in England were Sublapſarians, 211.
Regeneration, how it may be explained, 164.
Relics, whence a ſuperſtitious regard for them took its riſe, 323. The conſequence of enſhrining of them, ibid. Were appointed to

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to be venerated by the Council of Trent, ibid. Have no countenance from Scripture, 324. Nor from the practice of the firſt Chriſtians, ibid. No uſe made of them in the times of perſecution, when moſt neceſſary, 325. Fables and forgeries invented to ſupport them, ibid. 328. The novelty of the worſhip of them, 327.

Religion, juſt notions of God the baſis of it, 39, 53, 137. The aſſiſtance that revealed religion can receive from philoſophy, 151. The deſign of natural and revealed religion, 162, 340. The truths of religion are impreſſed by a divine direction, 164. Alcoran aſſerts that all religions are equally acceptable to God, 239. Hobbes makes religion and law to be the ſame, ibid. The hypotheſis of thoſe who would accommodate their religion to their ſecular intereſt, 240. Theſe opinions condemned, ibid.—243. All religions are not alike, 243. A true notion of it, 379.

Remiſſion of ſins, the notion of it under the old diſpenſation, 132. Not previous to juſtification, 171. Is an act of God's favour, 173. The nature of it in the Goſpel, 291. Of the power of it committed to the Apoſtles, 369. In what ſenſe it is continued by their ſucceſſors, ibid.

Remonſtrants, their opinions concerning free-will and predeſtination, 203, 222. Their arguments, 222—230. Difficulties obviated by their doctrine, 228. The advantages and diſadvantages of it, 232.

Repentance, not the valuable conſideration, but the condition of juſtification, 175. The true notion of it, 367, 379. The danger of truſting to a death-bed repentance, ibid.

Reprobation, the Supralapſarians' notion of it, 220. Is a doctrine hard to be digeſted, 234.

Reſurrection, the poſſibility of it, 47. Of the nature of the body after it, ibid. Was denied by the Sadducees, 98. Was believed under the Old Teſtament, 130—132. Completes the happineſs of a future ſtate, 295.

Reſurrection of Chriſt. See Chriſt.

Revelation, what it is, and the deſign of it, 162, 340. That which deſtroys the evidence of our ſenſes is not to be believed, 435. See Scripture.

Revelation of St. John, its authority proved, 107. Why not mentioned in the catalogue of the Council of Laodicea, 119.

Righteouſneſs, the doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, 173. That of the Reformed, ibid.

Rites. See Ceremonies.

Rock of the Church, what meant by it, 266.

Roman-Catholic. See Church of Rome.

Ruffin was the firſt who mentioned the article of Chriſt's deſcent into hell, 73.



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S.

SABBATH is not moral in the higheſt ſenſe, 138. The reaſonableneſs of it, 139. Of the change of it, ibid. Works of neceſſity, or charity, may be done on it, 186.

Sacramental actions, the nature of them conſidered, 471. May be altered as to circumſtances, ibid.

Sacraments, the doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning them, 172, 358. Its bad conſequences, ibid. Of the eſſentials of them, 253. Are to be meaſured only by the inſtitution, 302. Are more than mere ritual acts, 357, 359. Do not juſtify by the *Opus Operatum*, ibid. A Sacrament defined, 360. Matter is of the eſſence of it, ibid. Muſt be inſtituted by Chriſt, ibid. Proteſtants acknowledge only two, 361. Lombard the firſt who mentions ſeven of them, 362. Reaſons for rejecting the five additional Sacraments, 396. Sacraments are ordained to be uſed, and not to be gazed on and carried about, ibid. Their effect depends on the worthy receiving, and not on the intention of him that diſpenſes them, 398.

Sacraments conſidered as acts of church-communion, or as federal acts, 466.

Sacrifices, expiatory ones, the nature of them, 69. How the death of Chriſt may be ſaid to be our Sacrifice, 71. In a general ſenſe all religious worſhip may be ſo called, 477. But one Prieſt and one Sacrifice in the Chriſtian Religion, 479. Anſwer of the Fathers to the Heathens, who charged them with having no Sacrifices, 481.

Sadducees denied the reſurrection, 98. From whom ſprung, and what gave riſe to their opinions, 129. Our Saviour's anſwer to their puzzling queſtion, 131. Aſſerted liberty free from all reſtraints, 204.

Saints were not invocated under the Old Teſtament, 329. More rational foundation for this under the old than under the new diſpenſation, 329. Chriſt the only mediatór and interceſſor, 330. This ſuperſtition derived from the heathens, ibid. When it was introduced, 332. Its progreſs, ibid. The abſurdity of it, 333. Scandalous offices of this kind in the Church of Rome, ibid. What they found this practice upon, 334. Arguments for it examined, 335—339.

Salvation, whether eternal ſalvation was promiſed under the Old Teſtament, 129. Is to be obtained only by the name of Chriſt, 239. Of thoſe who never heard of the Chriſtian religion, 241. Curioſity in this not to be indulged, 243. How far the Article has determined in it, ibid. Difference between the means of ſalvation, and commanded precepts, 345.

Samoſatenus, his opinion of Chriſt, 65.

Sanctification, what it is, and wherein it differs from juſtification, 172. Is not perfected in this life, 197.

Scandal, the true notion of it, 506. The fear of giving ſcandal no warrant to break eſtabliſhed laws, 507.



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Schiſm in the Church, the making it, a great ſin, 506.
Schoolmen, their vain attempt to explain the Trinity, 91. Their many ſubtilties in the doctrine of the Euchariſt, 432. Their explanation of the real preſence, 459.
Scot, John, his character, 457. Wrote againſt the doctrine of the corporal preſence, ibid.
Scotus, Erigena, wrote againſt St. Auſtin's doctrine of Predeſtination, 207.
Scriptures, the being of God ought not to be proved from them, 30. His unity frequently aſſerted in them, 31. Their ſtyle ſuited to the capacities of thoſe for whom they were writ, 33. Their meaning to be taken from the ſcope of them, 43. New Teſtament when wrote, 79. Was early received, ibid. The names and number of the canonical books, 94. Are the only complete rule of faith, 95. Old Teſtament was always appealed to by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, 98, 109. The care taken to preſerve them, 99. Juſt conſequences from them are to be believed, 101. Contain all that is neceſſary to ſalvation, 103. Are no ſure guard againſt error, ibid. Ought not to be read careleſsly, ibid. Proofs of the canon of the New Teſtament, 106—110. Their authority is not founded on the judgment of the Church, 108. That of the Old, 110—117. Why divided into three volumes, 115. Why they were called canonical, 119.
Sees, whence their privileges and exemptions roſe, 509. The vanity of keeping up their ancient dignity, ibid.
Semipelagians, their notion of aſſiſting grace and free-will, 162, 206.
Senſes, their influence on the mind, 321. The importance of their evidence, 434. They determine our judgment of miracles, ibid. The foundation of our belief of them, 435. Were appealed to by the Fathers as infallible, 441.
Septuagint was highly eſteemed in our Saviour's time, 109. When, and at whoſe charge it was wrote, 112. How it may be reconciled to the Hebrew, 113.
Serenus, Biſhop of Marſeilles, his zeal againſt image-worſhip, 316.
Serpent, Brazen, the breaking it when it came to be ſuperſtitiouſly uſed, vindicated, 324.
Severity ought not to be affected, 199.
Sin, Adam's ſin ſaid to be perſonal by the Pelagians and Socinians, 147. Our being liable to death and the miſeries of mortality thought by ſome to be original ſin, 148. Experience and Scripture teach an univerſal corruption, 148, 149. How this came about, 150. God's juſtice vindicated in the imputation of Adam's ſin, 151. Whether it deſerves damnation, 152. Church of Rome believe original ſin is taken away by Baptiſm, 153. St. Auſtin's doctrine concerning it, 154. The manner of its propagation not eaſy to be explained, ibid. Reaſons why many are of a different opinion, 156. How they explain the paſſages of Scripture, and the Article concerning it, 157, 158. What meant by

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by deadly and venial ſin, 194. The ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt explained, 195. None capable of this ſin ſince miracles have ceaſed, 196. Of the pardon of ſin after Baptiſm, ibid. Is pardoned according to the ſincerity of our repentance, 198. What meant by the ſin unto death, 199. Difference to be made between deliberate ſins and ſins of infirmity, ibid. Sins once pardoned not liable to after-puniſhment, 291. Unleſs with temporal chaſtiſements, 292. Of the Apoſtles' power of remitting ſins, 368. Whether this be continued in the Church, 369.

Socinians, their notion of the death of Chriſt, 70. Of Adam's ſin, 147. Objections againſt it, ibid. Their doctrine concerning Predeſtination, 204. Their opinion of preſcience and contingencies, ibid. How far they agree with the Remonſtrants and Calviniſts, 230.

Soldania, a moſt degenerate nation, ſaid to deny the being of a God, 23.

Son of God. See Chriſt.

Soul is diſtinct from matter, 44. What perceptions we have of its nature and operation, ibid. Of the ſouls of beaſts, 45. The ſoul is not the ſame with the animal ſpirits, ibid. How it acts on matter, inconceivable to us, ibid. In ſome places of Scripture ſtands for a dead body, 74. Philoſophers' notion of its pre-exiſtence, 149. How defiled by Adam's ſin, 152. Conjectures about its ſtate after death, 294. Various opinions concerning this, 295—300.

Spirits, animal, their nature and uſe, 45, 162. Are the immediate organs of thought, ibid.

Spirits, inviſible, the probability of their exiſtence, and conjectures about their nature, 46. Are not emanations or rays of the Divine Eſſence, 47. What meant by the ſpirits in priſon, 75. Of the power of evil ſpirits, 82. See Soul.

Stephen, St. worſhipped Chriſt in his laſt moments, 63. No other care taken of his body, but to bury it, 324. No mention made of worſhipping him, 331.

Stephen, Pope, his infallibility denied by Cyprian and Firmilian, 259.

Stephen, Biſhop of Autun, the firſt who introduced the word Tranſubſtantiation, 459.

Stoics made all ſins alike, 195. Put all things under a fate, 204.

Sublapſarians, their doctrine concerning Predeſtination, 221. Avoid anſwering the Supralapſarians, and ſeem in effect not to differ from them, ibid.

Subſcription, what the Clergy are bound to by their ſubſcription of the Articles, 9. Does import an aſſent to them, 11. Different perſons may ſubſcribe to them in different ſenſes, ibid.

Suetonius, his account of Chriſt, 78.

Supererogation. See Works.

Superſtition, the danger of its being ſuffered to mix with religion, 323.

Supralapſarians, the chief baſis of their doctrine concerning Predeſtination,

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tination, 212. Their arguments from the abſurdity of the contrary opinion, 213.
Supremacy of the Pope diſproved, 518—522. That of Kings or Queens aſſerted, 523—527.
Swearing. See Oath.
Symbols federal, the nature of them, 427.

T.

TEMPLE, how the glory of the ſecond exceeded the firſt, 125.
Thought different from matter and motion, 44. Has no parts, ibid. Whether beaſts have thought, 45. Is governed by impreſſions made on the brain, 161. Is influenced by the animal ſpirits, 164.
Time cannot be eternal, 25. Is not diviſible to infinity, as matter is, 26.
Timothy and Titus, rules given them concerning church-government, 342.
Tradition, oral, the regard due to it, 95. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, ibid. No rule in matters of faith, ibid. The Scriptures intended to prevent the impoſtures of it, 96. No certain way of conveying the articles of religion, 97. Was objected againſt on many occaſions by our Saviour, ibid. The occaſion of great errors and ruin of the Jews, 98. The Apoſtles laid no ſtreſs on them, 99. Arguments of Irenæus and Tertullian againſt them, 100. Objection from the darkneſs of Scripture anſwered, 101. The difference between a ſettled canon of Scripture and oral tradition, 107. Traditions concerning image-worſhip departed from, 317.
Tranſubſtantiation, a paragraph againſt it in the Articles in Edward the VIth's reign, 415. Why it was afterward ſuppreſſed, 416. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning it, 430. The conſequences of it, 431. The grounds on which it was believed, 432. Is contrary to our faculties both of ſenſe and reaſon, 433. It was not received in the firſt and beſt ages, 438. Several preſumptive proofs of this, ibid.—444. The Fathers believed the elements continued to be bread and wine after conſecration, 444—446. By whom it was formed and broached, 446. Several arguments againſt it, 449—467. How this doctrine crept into the Church, 453. By whom the term was firſt introduced, 459.
Tree of knowledge of good and evil, and the tree of life, conjectures about them, 147, 148, 151.
Trent Council, the diſappointments of it, a great probability there will never be another, 285. Firſt received the Apocrypha into the canon, 119. Their decree concerning good works, 178. Declined to give a clear deciſion about image-worſhip, 319. Reaſons of this, ibid. Did not determine poſitively about relics, 323. Did not decree the office of a Biſhop an order, or a ſacrament, 385. Was the firſt that decreed the indiſſolubleneſs of marriage, even for

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for adultery, 390. Decreed extreme unction to be a ſacrament, 395.
Trinity is not to be proved by reaſon, 47. Tradition of it very ancient, ibid. Not to be proved by the Old Teſtament without the New, 48. What meant by one ſubſtance, and what by three perſons in explaining it, 48. The difficulties in it no ſufficient reaſon for not believing it, 49. Different methods of explaining it, ibid. Several proofs of it, 50—52. From whence the errors in this doctrine took their riſe, 53.
Tully, his account of the notion the heathens had of their images, 312.
Twiſſe carried it high to the Supralapſarian hypotheſis, 212.

V.

VALENTINIANS pretended to traditions from the Apoſtles, 100.
Various readings of the Scriptures, whence they aroſe, 113. Are inconſiderable, and affect not our faith or morals, 114.
Ubiquity of human nature impoſſible, 460.
Vigilantius complains of the worſhipping of relics, 323, 327. And of ſaints and angels, 336.
Virgin, bleſſed, was reprimanded by our Saviour, 192. Why ſhe was not taken notice of in the firſt age of ſuperſtition, 326. Has the preference to God and Chriſt in the worſhip of the Church of Rome, 333.
Virgins, parable of ten Virgins contradicts ſupererogation, 188.
Viſible Church, what it is, 245.
Underſtanding is as free as the will, 256.
Union of the Church among themſelves, and with their head, is not a note of the true Church, 250.
Unity of the Godhead, proofs of it, 31. Is a chief article of the Chriſtian religion, ibid.
Unity among Chriſtians, the advantages of it, 505. The great ſin of diſſolving it, ibid.
Vows of celibacy unlawful, 493. Of the obligation of them, 494. See Oath.
Uſher, Archbiſhop, his explanation of Daniel's ſeventy weeks, 126.

W.

WAR, in what caſes lawful, 532. And when unlawful, 533.
Water in Baptiſm, what it is an emblem of, 404.
Will, whether it is always determined by the underſtanding, 161. Wherein our liberty conſiſts, ibid. The opinions of the Pelagians and Semipelagians concerning it, 162. See Liberty.
Winds, their great influence on the earth, 41. Are under a particular direction of Providence, ibid.
Wiſdom of God, wherein it conſiſts, 36.
Women are not allowed to teach, 342.
Works, what is meant by good works, 171. They are indiſpenſably

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bly neceſſary to ſalvation, 177. The doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning them, 178. None abſolutely perfect, ibid. This the opinion of the beſt men in all ages, 179. The abſurdity of aſſerting the merit of good works, ibid. The uſe to be made of the doctrine of the imperfection of good works, 180. Whether any good works can be performed without divine aſſiſtance, 181. Works of ſupererogation, the foundation of that doctrine deſtroyed, 188. Its bad conſequences, 190.

World is not eternal, becauſe time nor number cannot be eternal, or infinite, 25. The novelty of hiſtory, a further proof of this, 26. Not made by chance, 27. Objection from the production of inſects anſwered, ibid. Is not a body to God, 33. Is preſerved by a conſtant Providence, 40. Many changes made in it by the induſtry of man, ibid. Shall be deſtroyed by fire, 88.

Worſhip of God, what it is, 350. The deſign of the various acts of it, ibid. The philoſophers' notion that the varieties of worſhip were acceptable to God, 239. That it ſhould not be in an unknown tongue proved from reaſon, Scripture, and the practice of the primitive Church, 351—353. When the preſent practice of the Church of Rome was introduced, 353. Arguments for it anſwered, 354, 355.

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